

J A P A N
THE NEW WORLD-POWER

BEING A DETAILED ACCOUNT
OF THE PROGRESS AND RISE
OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

BY

ROBERT P. PORTER

WITH SEVEN COLOURED MAPS

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PREFACE

THE reader will easily discover the reasons which have encouraged the author to issue this second edition of his work, which first appeared under the title 'The Full Recognition of Japan'. In that book it was his pleasing task to chronicle the course of events which, from the dawn of history to the year 1911, had caused the rise of Japan in commercial, political, military, naval, and international importance, until she had reached the level at which it was no longer possible for the Great Powers of the world to overlook her or to deny to her that 'full recognition' which was due to her many-sided strength and merit. In performing this task the author was unconsciously doing more. He was tracing the real causes which immediately afterwards led to Japan's triumphant intervention in the Great War by the side of her ally Great Britain, and to her unchallenged admission as an equal and a friend into the inner circle of the true World-Powers. Thus in the short interval between 1911 and 1914 the great ordeal which has staggered humanity came so quickly and found Japan so ready that the full recognition which the author claimed for the Island Empire of the East was already won; and this book, in which the claim is fully stated from many points of view, gains new interest and importance as the due recital of the merits and achievements by which Japan now takes her proper place among her peers. Not often is it an author's privilege to say so soon that world-events have moved to justify his words: but not often has author so true a cause to plead.

R. P. P.

QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS,
July 28, 1915.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

IN the course of his journalistic work the author of this volume has been twice—first in 1896 and again in 1910—commissioned by well-known newspapers to visit and report on the economic conditions of Japan and the countries within her sphere of influence. The second visit entirely dispelled the fiction of ‘the changeless East’, and proved that great political and industrial developments had been at work in Japan during the years which intervened between the two journeys to the Far East.

The facts and figures showing this progress have been obtained almost exclusively from official sources, and the writer is under obligations to the heads of nearly every department of the Japanese Government, not only for the latest printed documents but for specially prepared reports containing the most recent information. The assistance thus freely given, and the aid accorded by the other authorities consulted, have been acknowledged as far as possible in the chapters of the book; and it is only necessary to repeat here that this generous help has been fully appreciated.

In printing the proper names it will be noticed that in transliterating from the Japanese the use of accents has been avoided. The best authorities agree that it is not practicable to give a correct representation of the Japanese sounds by the use of roman letters accented or unaccented; and as the practice in English printing varies, accented letters have been altogether avoided, and the most familiar English forms of transliteration have been adopted.

Thanks are due to *The Times* for permission to include portions of articles contributed by the author to that journal. Advantage has been taken of this privilege in Chapters xli, xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, xlviii, xlix.

R. P. P.

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WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND MONEYS, WITH ENGLISH AND AMERICAN EQUIVALENTS

JAPAN	GREAT BRITAIN	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
<i>Ri</i>	2 44030 miles	2.44029 miles
<i>Ri</i> (Marine)	1 15152 miles	1.15151 miles
Square <i>ri</i>	5.95505 square miles	5.95501 square miles
<i>Cho</i> = 10 <i>tan</i> = 6,000 <i>tsubo</i>	2.45064 acres	2.45062 acres
<i>Tsubo</i>	3.95369 square yards	3.95367 square yards
<i>Koku</i> = 10 <i>to</i> = 100 <i>sho</i>	4.96005 bushels	47.65389 gallons (Liquid) 5 11902 bushels (Dry)
<i>Koku</i> (capacity of vessel)	$\frac{1}{16}$ of one ton	$\frac{1}{16}$ of one ton
<i>Kwan</i> = 1,000 <i>momme</i>	8.26733 lb. (Avoir.) 10 04711 „ (Troy)	8.26733 lb. (Avoir.) 10 04711 „ (Troy)
<i>Kin</i> = 160 <i>momme</i>	1.32277 lb. (Avoir.) 1.60754 „ (Troy)	1.32277 lb (Avoir.) 1.60754 „ (Troy)
<i>Momme</i>	2.11644 drams 2.41131 dwts.	0.13228 ounce (Avoir.) 0.12057 ounce (Troy)
<i>Yen</i> = 100 <i>sen</i>	2s. 0d. 582	0.4984 dollar

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

THE period of the Great War deserves, for two very special reasons, to be accorded a leading chapter in the story of Japan. In the first place, although it exercised a profound influence upon the world as a whole, yet it must separately be regarded as a crisis in the evolution of the Far East. Secondly, it raised far-reaching political issues in both hemispheres, going far beyond the limits of the quarrel in Europe. It is probable that the end of the war would not have been retarded for a single day if the German flag were still floating over Tsing-Tau. Nor would the fact that Germany still possessed a naval base in the Far East, whence her evasive submarines could harry British commerce, have modified in any material respect the terms which the Allies had decided to impose. Therefore, it might be argued that the affair of Tsing-Tau and the general co-operation of Japan in the war were matters of little moment; but, as a matter of fact, their fundamental importance was almost as great as that of any other issue involved in the war. Of course, the direct issue of Right and Wrong raised by the German violation of Belgian neutrality and contemptuous disregard of signed treaties was the most important; and second to this was the scientific issue involved in the question whether the Germans were justified in presuming that the German superman was destined to dominate the world. Indeed, if they had been able to prove themselves correct in this belief, they would have been able to thrust even the question of Right and Wrong into the background. Triumphant Germany, with the

spoils of Britain, France, and Russia at her disposal, would, no doubt, have been generous in granting pecuniary compensation to Belgium for the injury done to her; and the self-satisfied German historian of the future would have been able to explain to posterity that it was only the foolish short-sightedness of the Belgian Government which caused all the trouble, because they had refused to see that God must be on the German side.

These two issues—the question of Right and Wrong involved in the violation of Belgian neutrality, and the scientific question whether the German was superior to every other kind of human being—were, therefore, the most important matters which the belligerent nations had to settle; but scarcely behind these in significance came the question whether this war should be allowed to establish for all time the political equality of all races of mankind, irrespective of geography, creed, or colour.

The initial answer to this third question was given by the French Allies in their unhesitating employment of the dusky Turcos from North Africa, side by side with their own regiments, against the white Germans. It is unlikely that the decision upon this ‘colour’ question was reached by the French without consulting the British Government, because it was manifestly a question which affected the latter much more vitally, owing to the British position in India, Egypt, South Africa, and many other territories inhabited by coloured races. We may, therefore, presume that at the outbreak of war not only were the British Government aware that the Turcos would be employed in the French fighting line, but also that—as, indeed, subsequent events seemed to show—all arrangements were in readiness for similar employment of Indian troops if

need should arise. And having thus decided to cross the 'colour line' in marshalling the forces of the Empire against German aggression it was manifest that the British Government could neither draw any distinction between the various races and creeds of India, nor reject without ungrateful and impolitic discourtesy the loyal offers of assistance made by the Native States of India. Nor could it refuse to accept similar offers made by races and communities outside India: so that one logical result of the employment of the French Algerian troops may be said to have been the appearance of a gallant, if small, contingent of Fiji Islanders, with bushy hair and cotton petticoats, among the local forces which volunteered for service in the armies of King George.

All this, of course, cut away the ground beneath any possible objection to the admission of the Japanese into the war on the score of race or colour. The Kaiser indeed, at one period of his kaleidoscopic career, had posed as a futurist artist in depicting the horrors of the Yellow Peril which he conceived to be menacing Europe; but in spite of his lurid prophecies the Western world in general readily accommodated itself to the new position which resulted from the triumph of Japan over Russia. In its hour of victory the Yellow Peril showed itself to be such a self-restrained, businesslike, and gentlemanly sort of peril that we were all willing to continue relations with it; and the British Government, in particular, had the good sense to conclude with it a treaty for the joint defence in the East of the two island empires, as well as, later, the moral courage to demand the fulfilment of the compact.

To those who know the facts the chief point of interest in the intervention of Japan in the war is that

it was made in response to a direct request from Britain, as was emphatically stated by the Foreign Minister, Baron Katô, to the Japanese Diet in the following memorable words :

‘Early in August the British Government asked the Imperial Government for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. German men-of-war and armed vessels were prowling around the seas of Eastern Asia, menacing our commerce and that of our Ally, while Kiaochau was carrying out operations apparently for the purpose of constituting a base for warlike operations in Eastern Asia. Grave anxiety was thus felt for the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

‘As all are aware, the agreement and Alliance between Japan and Great Britain has for its object the consolidation and maintenance of general peace in Eastern Asia and the maintenance of the independence and integrity of China, as well as the principle of equal opportunities for commerce and industry for all nations in that country, and the maintenance and defence respectively of territorial rights and special interests of contracting parties in Eastern Asia. Therefore, inasmuch as we were asked by our Ally for assistance at a time when commerce in Eastern Asia, which Japan and Great Britain regard alike as one of their special interests, is subjected to a constant menace, Japan, who regards that Alliance as a guiding principle of her foreign policy, could not but comply to the request to do her part.

‘Germany’s possession of a base for powerful activities in one corner of the Far East was not only a serious obstacle to the maintenance of permanent peace, but also threatened the immediate interests of the Japanese Empire. The Japanese Government, therefore, resolved to comply with the British request, and, if necessary, to open hostilities against Germany. After the Imperial sanction had been obtained I communicated this resolution to the British Government, and a full and frank ex-

change of views between the two Governments followed, and it was finally agreed between them to take such measures as were necessary to protect the general interests contemplated in the agreement and the Alliance.

‘Japan had no desire or inclination to become involved in the present conflict, but she believed she owed it to herself to be faithful to the Alliance and to strengthen its foundation by ensuring permanent peace in the East and protecting the special interests of the two Allied Powers. Desiring, however, to solve the situation by pacific means the Imperial Government, on August 15, gave the following advice to the German Government. [Here the Minister quoted the text of the Japanese ultimatum.] Until the last moment of the time allowed—namely, until August 23—the Imperial Government received no answer, and in consequence the Imperial rescript declaring war was issued the next day.’

This statement was not only unobjectionable: it was distinctly useful. The chief objection of nervous minds in Britain to the admission of Japan to a fighting place beside European forces was the effect which it might have had upon American opinion. The United States, as well as Canada—and, of course, Australia—had been much troubled by the problem of Japanese immigration. It is undoubtedly a difficult question still, and those who for any reason are opposed to such immigration find their best argument in embittering the sentiments of white men against the ‘yellow races’. It is the Kaiser’s ‘Yellow Peril’ scare on a social and economic plane. If, therefore, it had appeared that Japan had rushed into this war, ‘of her own accord’, so to speak, it would have been difficult to persuade the United States or Canada or Australia that the aggrandisement of Japan at the expense of the white races was not her object. But the United States—and, of course, Canada

and Australia—have some confidence in the honesty of the British Government; and, therefore, the intervention of Japan seemed far less objectionable when Baron Kato was able to state—as, indeed, he emphatically stated three times in the passages which are italicized in the declaration quoted above—that the British Government expressly *asked* Japan to intervene. Of course, Baron Kato would not have laid such repeated emphasis on the fact that the request for assistance was made by the British Government if he had not been aware that the latter was agreeable to such disclosure of confidential correspondence. The whole incident, therefore, may be accepted as reflecting great credit upon the straightforwardness and the statesmanship of both parties concerned.

Thus it was that Japan entered, by special invitation, into the comity of the World-Powers; and, in deliberately taking her place by the side of Britain as a belligerent, she was wise, because she was acting in accordance with the true instincts of her people arising from the national character.

Whatever there may be of greatness in the future of a nation, it can only be achieved by the continuous development of the national instincts, and the psychology of Japan thus becomes at this time a most interesting political problem.

The innate character of a nation—for, of course, nations, like individuals, have characters of their own—is always most clearly shown in its old folk-sayings; because the proverbs of a country are, equally with its birds and beasts, the natural results of evolution, which is always governed by adaptation to local environment. Thus an interesting contrast has been drawn between the old sayings of Japan and those of China:

for while the latter are marked sometimes by lofty philosophy, their usual characteristic is a hard practicality tinged with cynicism and broad jesting. Of the old sayings of Japan, on the other hand, it has been well said that they bring to us whiffs of flower-laden breezes with glimpses of tenderness and pathos.

And from these old sayings of Japan we may select a few which perfectly illustrate and explain the part which Japan played in the great world-war. For we must remember that the Island Kingdom did not embark in the war from any temporary motives of aggrandisement. When the war came it found Japan in a state of absolute preparedness for the contingencies which it presented to her; not because Japanese statesmen had any prescience of the stormy course of events in Europe, but because they had realized from the first the responsibility which the British alliance entailed and had thoroughly studied the scope of the action which it might demand from them, and had loyally prepared to take such action if and when it might become necessary. Patience, perseverance, and loyalty are the characteristics of the foreign policy of Japan; and the student of literature might accurately have deduced this fact from the country's proverbs.

'Who is the great man? He who is strongest in the exercise of patience.'

'Practise the art of giving up.'

'All else will change, but the heart of the nation will not change.'

'He who relies on his own strength shall not conquer.'

In these four old sayings we have a complete summary of the secret of Japan's strength and Germany's weakness in the Far East. Although

written many centuries ago, they definitely stated the results of the struggle for Tsing-Tau. Japan had practised the art of giving up when she surrendered the spoils of war to superior force ; but she was strong in the exercise of patience, and the heart of the nation did not change. It was Germany who relied on her own strength, and therefore did not conquer.

And there are many other old sayings of Japan which express the whole spirit of civilization, although they may date from a time when civilization was almost unknown in the West. 'A gentleman never competes in anything that he does, save perhaps archery.' By substituting for 'archery' any of the various manly sports which have in different ages roused the ambitions of the best in Britain, could we ask for a better sporting definition of the British 'gentleman' than this old proverb of Japan provides us with?

Here, again, is a saying which sums up all that civilization has taught us: 'Among really educated men there is no caste or race distinction.'

The number of wise old saws could be indefinitely multiplied, but these few suffice to show that the national instinct of Japan in all circumstances can best be summed up in the single little-used English word 'correctitude'. Especially where the interests of their country and the service of their Emperor are concerned the Japanese sailor, soldier, and civilian seem by natural instinct to desire to do only that which may be worthy of the traditions of their country.

Thinkers in Japan, as in other countries, saw clearly that the war, and especially Japan's successful share so far therein, had raised new world-issues for her and the Far East. With her increased power and raised prestige came new responsibilities, embarrassments,

and jealousies. China had not failed to protest against almost every action of the Japanese. American suspicions were only partially allayed by the fact that Japan was acting solely as Britain's ally. So, although the characteristic correctitude of the attitude of Japan gave to jealousy neither in East or West any tangible ground for complaint, there was no doubt a temptation for Japanese statesmen to look far beyond the present and, having performed their duty to their allies, to consider only their duty to Japan—how best to protect her interests in the future against the recrudescence of anti-Japanese feeling in the United States and the British Empire when the Great War itself should pass into ancient history. Assuredly we cannot blame the Far East for regarding world-issues from the Far Eastern point of view, and for not wanting the West to always dominate the outlook.

The most effective way of guarding against such jealousy after the war would be by strengthening Japan's position so much that it might safely be ignored: and here again the trend of events brought temptations before Japan. After a war between two nations there is always a strong tendency towards friendship between them, if the victors have treated the vanquished with magnanimity. No such tendency was possible between France and Germany after 1871, because the peace which Germany thrust down the throat of France with the bayonet had been even more cruel than war. But after the war between Russia and Japan, every Russian knew that his country had been most considerately treated in the terms of peace; and ever since then there has been a tendency towards *rapprochement* between Russia and Japan. In this war they found themselves fighting on the same side and rejoicing in each other's victories. They found, too,

that their interests in Asia were largely identical, and—perhaps the most potent factor of all—that the dangers which menaced them were the same. No wonder, then, that the newspapers of all the world were busy, immediately after the fall of Tsing-Tau, in announcing the terms—often palpably absurd terms—of imaginary alliances between Russia and Japan. Such an alliance might, however, become desirable or even necessary to both Powers in the future; and the fact that they have a common meeting-ground of political and commercial interests in the vast Empire of China which lies between them introduces vast possibilities into the outlook. Interests extending almost across the unbroken width of continents from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea must constitute a dominant factor in the future of the world.

And here it will be wise for Britons to be perfectly frank with themselves in considering the effect which the Great War may be presumed to have upon the Japanese estimate of Great Britain as a World-Power.

Her unreadiness for war must have contrasted sharply with Germany's businesslike preparedness: and the creaking and groaning of the British political and social fabric when the Government set about the task of organization, after the war had already lasted a year, must have heightened the contrast. Even if Japan appreciates to the full the work done by the British Navy in the great struggle, what guarantee is there that the advent of the submarine may not shortly revolutionize the very basis of sea-power? Lastly, although Japan honestly fulfilled her Treaty obligations as regards Kiaochau, the British Empire includes dominions which have been intensely hostile to Japanese intercourse in the past and is also closely connected by many ties with the United States, which

Japan not unnaturally regards as the chief opponent to her expansion. Because, therefore, Japanese land and sea forces bore the chief brunt of reducing the German stronghold in the Far East, it would be folly for Britons to suppose that Japan must always be their ally. As a great World-Power Japan has world-interests: but they are not necessarily Great Britain's unless she makes them so. Meanwhile Japan will not be idle. The Great War has taught the world the value of two things, preparedness and alliance based upon common interest. Germany possessed the former and the Allies the latter: hence the grimness of the prolonged struggle. Victory in the next—if there be a next—great war would quickly declare itself on the side which had both these advantages. When therefore we hear rumours of Japanese alliances and reports of great naval and military additions to the strength of the Island Kingdom we must remember that the modern greatness of Japan rests upon her readiness in the past to take her lessons from the West.

And what must of necessity be the ultimate aim and object alike of Japan's negotiations for alliances and of her preparations for defence? Undoubtedly it is absolutely necessary for her to obtain a large outlet for commercial expansion somewhere. The frankness with which British statecraft may recognize this necessity, and the generosity of spirit in which the need may be met, will be the measure of Japan's friendship for the British Empire in the future. And there is every reason why frank generosity on one side and sincere friendship on the other should be the dominating chord of Anglo-Japanese relations in the future. The characters of the two nations are very similar and their vital interests in the East are identical. Inter-

national tangles may seem to pull them different ways at times: but the justice and freedom for which Britain stands and the 'faithfulness and righteousness' which Japan both proclaims and practises are ideals which must stand or fall together.

The average British critic, unenlightened by travel and looking only upon the surface of things, may fail to see the similarity of character which draws together the two naval peoples of the West and East, for on the surface no doubt Japan in social practice, literature, and art may seem as far in thought as in geography from Britain. The insular Briton likes to regard himself as a plain straightforward John Bull, while the Japanese character seems to him as full of unexpected turns and zigzags as Japan's marvellous art. But the insular Briton fails to notice that his own character has many kinks and gnarled angles which are unintelligible to all foreigners. These are evidence no doubt, like the crooked stubborn growth of his national oak-tree, of innate strength that has weathered many storms: and it is worth his consideration whether the 'zigzags' conspicuous alike in the art, the history, and the very trees of Japan may not similarly be symbolic of innate strength which achieves the highest ideals in spite of the greatest difficulties. Japan has long ago won British admiration. At Kiaochau she won British gratitude. Is it not time that she was given British friendship—with both hands?

CHAPTER I

THE PROGRESS OF JAPAN

JAPAN has become mistress in her own household. Japan The year 1911 commemorates her full recognition by ^{now} mistress the other powers and her final entrance into the ^{in her} comity of nations. She has assumed the privileges, ^{own} commercial as well as judicial, of an autonomous and ^{house-} self-controlling Power. The last of the old treaties binding her to irksome and humiliating policies has expired. The new treaties with foreign countries leave Japan free to deal as her statesmen may deem wise with the fiscal policy of the Empire, and to concede to the Imperial courts the right to treat with the stranger within her gates.

The object of this volume is to give a detailed account ^{The key-} of the recent economic progress of the Japanese Empire ^{note of} and a brief summary of the events which led to the ^{Japan's} renunciation of the old policy of seclusion. The key- ^{progress} note of the new policy is found in the two famous utterances of the Emperor when he assumed control of the Government, that knowledge would be sought for throughout the world, so that the 'welfare of the Empire may be promoted', and that the 'counsel of able men should be widely utilized'. These promises have been faithfully kept. The new policy has made of the Japanese a widely different people to those whom Commodore Perry left, on his first visit, investigating the mysteries of the telegraph and pondering over the models of a locomotive.

The story conveyed by these pages will, it is

believed, dispel two popular illusions, namely, that the Japanese are by temperament averse to foreigners, and that they are a mere nation of imitators. It was only when he threatened their religion that the foreigner was ejected. The modern codes of Japan are more liberal in their treatment of foreigners than the laws of many European nations. As a race the Japanese are broad-minded and receptive. From China they took their religion, their art, their printing, some of their crafts, and much besides. In modern times they have learned from England, from Germany, from France, and from the United States, how to modernize their laws, to organize a navy and an army, to improve their cities, and to establish and develop industries. In this they have not been mere imitators but have adapted to their needs, and have developed according to their own ideas, what they learned from others.

Japan absorbs, she does not copy. After the Restoration she set herself to enfold the whole new world of Western thought and activity. More than a thousand years before she had absorbed with the same thoroughness of receptivity the civilization, the religion, and the art of China. How thoroughly the creative arts of painting and sculpture were assimilated has only lately become known to European art connoisseurs, and, we might add, to the modern Japanese himself. Capable critics declare that painting in Japan has had a continuous and splendid existence for twelve centuries, and that no European nation can show anything like its parallel. With such a capacity for assimilating that which is fundamental and developing their own ideas in the creative arts, it is not a matter of surprise to find the Japanese displaying the same qualities in the industrial arts. Mere

copyists and imitators could never have handled the tremendous implements of modern warfare with the absolute mastery and precision displayed by the Japanese in the war with Russia. The successful organization and operation of modern fleets and armies are not less difficult achievements than the establishment and capable conduct of great industries. In modern shipbuilding, the manufacture of electrical and other machinery, the equipment and direction of large textile factories, the Japanese have done very well. In the building of railways, in Manchuria and in Chosen, where the work was not hampered by the existence of antiquated lines, as it is in parts of Japan proper, aptitude and dispatch have been developed. These undertakings and many others have been carried through by the Japanese themselves in their own way. They have accepted the new without wholly abandoning the old when it might still be useful, and have shown their wisdom by making the best of both the Eastern and the Western worlds. What Japan has set out to do has been to hammer and weld the civilizations of the two hemispheres, and to shape them into one harmonious whole. Given the necessary raw material of manufacture, whether iron, copper, wood, silk, cotton, wool, clay, or rubber, the Japanese will convert it by modern methods into an excellent finished article. At the present time the supply of labour thoroughly skilled in modern methods and in technical factory work is limited, but in another generation this difficulty must disappear, and the Japanese artisan will take his place, when judged by quality of workmanship and quickness of execution, with the most capable and expeditious of the world's workmen.

Regardless of obstacles, and without waiting for the

latest appliances, Japan has forged ahead with such implements as came to hand. Her early railways and bridges and tunnels will have to be rebuilt; many of her first factories must be entirely re-equipped, whilst her mining and other plants, having become obsolete, are already being supplied with new engines and machinery. Things have improved since the writer visited Japan in 1896. The mills and workshops are now much better equipped and the methods are greatly improved. In nothing does Japan show her genuine industrial advance more than in technical education. Beside a well balanced and carefully devised general school system, there have been established throughout the Empire technical schools for the teaching of engineering sciences, agriculture, and commerce, with a certain number of nautical and marine industrial schools. Great impetus was given to the movement for these schools after the Chinese and Russian wars. The result has been satisfactory, since they have supplied trained men in all departments of industry.

Thorough education and training which lay at the basis of Japanese progress, have not only made themselves felt in the industry and commerce of the country but also in the navy and the army. In a generation the navy of Japan has passed from a collection of junks to an array of formidable warships manned and officered by warriors who have shaped the destinies of their country, and who have created traditions of which the most valiant kingdom of the world might well be proud. Those who doubt the mechanical genius of the Japanese have but to learn what Japan has done within a comparatively short time in naval architecture. She has constructed what are known to be highly efficient fighting-ships of more than 20,000 tons, and, in addition, she has learned how to use

them, which is even more essential than to know how to build them. The Japanese army offers today a striking example of what can be achieved by an island race when the able-bodied youth is taught to devote himself to the defence of his country. The Russians had to face an army of valiant conscripts, and the world knows the results. The soul of the nation was in that army, as it was in the navy, when the Russian fleet was sunk. Behind both army and navy were splendid training, superb organization, and unbounded patriotism. The army is twice as strong as it was at the close of the Russian war, and Japan will not stop until both army and navy are three times as powerful as when she defeated Russia.

Japan is a poor country, it is said, and how can she stand the strain of a policy of the highest degree of readiness? The existing degree of efficiency, both in army and navy, has only been attained by a tremendous sacrifice, and this sacrifice the people are willing to make, though it must be admitted that those who have to bear the burden occasionally groan under its weight. But is Japan such a poor country? Judged by the standards by which we judge other countries Japan can point to a satisfactory advance in all that goes to make a progressive and prosperous modern nation. Nothing has remained stationary. Her domain now extends from Taiwan in the south to Karafuto in the north, and to Chosen on the continent of Asia. There are, as we shall show in this volume, many things in these vast areas, to be exploited and developed. The extent of her territory and her population have greatly increased, and with Chosen and Taiwan the total area of the Empire is nearly 260,000 square miles, and the population 70,000,000. The growth of her population has been steady and

satisfactory, and the people appear to be busy and fairly prosperous. Wages have increased, partly in consequence of the fluctuation of the currency, but after making due allowance for this, there has been an actual increment in wages during the period when the currency has remained unchanged. Employment in the modern industries, from the profits of which Japan expects to pay the expenses of its two fighting services, has increased, and the number so occupied has doubled within the last fifteen years, while the quantity of the product manufactured is twice what it was fifteen years ago.

The finance and currency of the country are on a strong foundation, and the credit of the nation stands high. Nothing has been more amazing in the progress of the Empire than the conversion of its finances and currency from the hopelessly chaotic state into which they had fallen soon after the Restoration to the soundest possible basis on which they stand to-day. The debt is large and the taxation heavy. The latter is partly due to the desire on the part of the late Government to wipe out the debt by payment, and to reduce the interest account by the conversion of the high interest bearing bonds into those bearing a reduced rate. The wisdom of a too rapid reduction of the debt may be questioned, and probably will be at the general election next year. The new Government will, it is believed, endeavour to lighten taxation. It is, however, better to err in paying debt too rapidly than to evince indifference as to whether the debt is paid or not. The wisdom of the policy of conversion is self-evident, but without sound credit it would not have been possible.

The war forced a debt of 110 million sterling upon Japan. The proceeds of these loans were lost in

carrying on the war, though the loss can be offset by the territory acquired and new spheres for industrial and commercial activities opened. The larger half of the total debt (of 260 million sterling) represents the purchase of productive undertakings, such as the Imperial Railway System with its allied industries, the establishment of important public works, the exploitation of Chosen and Taiwan together with other productive enterprises some of which earn sufficient to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the ultimate extinction of the loan. It is not probable that all these undertakings will prove profitable, but owing to the honesty and economy which pervades the administration of public affairs in Japan, some of them are already quite remunerative, and others have a fair prospect of paying their way.

Banking has been greatly strengthened in Japan. The Bank of Japan which may be said to represent the Government finance has the privilege of issuing currency which is on a gold basis. A former president of this institution, Mr. Yamamoto, is now Minister of Finance, indicating that the new Government will be strong in the department of Finance. The Yokohama Specie Bank, with its numerous connexions, has for its special object the facilitation of Japanese foreign commerce. The branches of the bank have followed the trade as persistently as the trade has followed the flag into Taiwan, Chosen, and along the South Manchurian Railway. The president of the Bank is Baron Takahashi, one of the able financiers of the Empire. In travelling through the Far East the writer had the pleasure of meeting at least half a score of the managers of the branch banks. Without exception they were men of education as well as of financial acumen, and uniformly obliging to foreigners. The

Yokohama Specie Bank has become the financial backbone of Japanese trade in the Far East—and elsewhere, the world round, for that matter. The improvement and development of agriculture and manufacture is undertaken by the Hypothec Bank which has recently doubled its capital and performs a useful function at home. The latest in the field is the Industrial Bank of Japan whose special sphere is to grant loans against bonds and shares and whose managers figure largely as negotiators or guarantors of Japanese foreign loans, national, municipal, and for private companies and undertakings. Whilst these banks have been invaluable in furnishing a sound currency, in assisting Japanese trade, in supplying capital for home industries and in floating foreign loans, they have also kept a firm and conservative hand on Japanese finance. Their influence acting jointly was strong enough to stop the speculation which impaired the credit of the country soon after the Russian War.

Agriculture is the foundation of the prosperity of Japan, and 60 per cent. of her population find employment in the cultivation of the soil. Unlike some manufacturing countries, Japan has not up to the present neglected her agriculture in order to stimulate other industries, and the future of agriculture would seem to be assured for many years. From the agricultural districts the best soldiers came during the Russian war, and since the war the farmers have been paying between eight and nine million sterling annually in taxes, a sum which is now happily to be reduced. The products of the farm, including rice, the staple crop, show a satisfactory increase, whether measured by quantity or value, during the last fifteen years. The average value of the farm products for the last five

years has been nearly 130 million, with an additional 25 million sterling for the farmer's home industries. Forests have, under careful management, increased their output 60 per cent., and the products are valued at 10 million sterling. Marine produce represents another 10 million, and the value of minerals extracted $11\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling. If these resources had remained stationary there might be reason for anxiety, but under improved methods of cultivation and mining there has been a healthy progress in all the basic industries.

Manufacturing industries and the trade and commerce of the Empire also show progress. The number of mills, factories, and plants, together with the capital invested in industrial enterprises, have doubled in the period under discussion. Japan is hoping to reach the 100 million sterling mark in her total foreign trade for 1911, and if she does she will score a threefold increase over her total trade of 1896 and a twentyfold increase within a generation. An analysis of the figures indicates a healthy development of trade in the Far East, Japan's strongest market, and where her natural commercial future may be found. Under the stimulus of liberal bounties the merchant marine has shown great progress, ranking sixth in the world's tonnage. To what extent the new tariff, which has just come into force, will modify either by stimulating or depressing the agriculture, the industry, or the trade of Japan cannot be predicted.

Municipal progress in Japan has been satisfactory, and the governments of cities have been efficiently and honestly administered. Old cities have taken new life and new cities have come into existence. Public works of great magnitude, such as waterworks, sewerage systems, harbours, opening of new streets,

the laying out of parks, and the erection of public buildings have been successfully inaugurated. Education, sanitation, surgical and medical treatment for the poorer classes, trade, industry, and commerce have not been neglected. Whilst the National Government has watched over and supervised these local enterprises it has not interfered to any undue extent. Local civic spirit is strong in many Japanese cities, and in this respect they compare favourably with the cities of Great Britain and of the United States.

Japan has done very well with her railways since they have been nationalized. The spirit of co-operation between the management and the employees is most commendable and has resulted in great economies (see chapter on Railways). The total earnings have more than quadrupled since 1896, which, of course, implies a largely increased mileage and traffic. The profits will be utilized to extend and improve the systems, and the financial plan described elsewhere proposes to do this out of the earnings, and not to seek either State aid or credit. The undertaking is a far-reaching one and is full of difficulties.

Closely allied to the railways are the other public works and services including the rebuilding and operation of the South Manchurian railway. Posts, telegraphs, telephones, bridges, road building, and improvements of rivers and harbours have been economically managed by the Government.

The prizes of victory may have come to Japan quickly, but it has needed and still needs the expenditure of both blood and money to retain and develop them. The railways in Manchuria which were relinquished by Russia had to be rebuilt at a cost of millions; the civilization of Formosa, the trophy of the Japan-China War, is not yet accomplished;

the reformation of Chosen now that China and Russia have been permanently ejected and it has been annexed involves changes of a radical nature ; the development of Saghalien presents yet another problem for Japanese administration.

The economic progress of Chosen and Taiwan under Japanese government forms one of the most fascinating stories in modern history, and will rank among the greatest achievements of the rulers of the Empire. Japan has given the benefit of her civilization as lavishly to these two countries as has Great Britain in the case of Egypt and as the United States has done in the case of the Philippines.

The story of the success she has thus far achieved, and of the obstacles which she has so skilfully overcome in dealing with the Korean-~~Formosan~~ Formosan peoples, is a page in Japanese history of which every Japanese and every true friend of Japan may justly feel proud. The detractors of Japan may urge that she has been at times unnecessarily harsh, and that the governments set up have been essentially military and arbitrary. The measures, however, when impartially examined, do not indicate this ; they point to the conclusion that only when all other methods have failed has Japan resorted to force, and then only in cases where it was necessary to prevent bloodshed and anarchy.

The triumphs of diplomacy in securing the peace of the Far East have been as complete and decisive as the triumphs of war at Tsushima and Mukden. The last of the remaining differences between Russia and Japan has been settled, and the two Powers now mutually understand each other. The friendship of the two Nations has been cemented by the gracious act on the part of the Emperor of Japan in ordering the *Angara* to be handed

over to the Russian Government as evidence of 'the unalterable friendship which His Majesty feels for Russia', and the Russian Emperor has recognized in this step 'a fresh proof and a most potent pledge' of the reciprocal friendship which unites them. With China important issues have been successfully adjusted, and the friends of China admit that her relations with Japan are improving. There are no serious questions left, though there are always numerous small ones which require patience and conciliation to adjust. The Japanese Convention with Russia of July 4, 1910, which engaged to maintain the *status quo* in Manchuria, and to 'lend to each other their friendly co-operation' in the operation of their respective railway lines in that territory, met with the approval of the Chinese Government. To the new Anglo-Japanese Agreement China has 'not the slightest objection' so long as the expression 'China and the Chinese Empire' is held to include Manchuria. On this point the Marquis Komura, before he relinquished the portfolio of foreign affairs, gave a definite assurance. The policy of Japan in Manchuria, he said, was directed towards the maintenance of the open door and equal opportunities. The Imperial Government had always followed and would invariably loyally adhere to this policy, in accordance with which Japan has decided to open Port Arthur in order to contribute to the development of Manchuria and to facilitate the commerce of all nations. He confidently hoped that this 'immutable policy would receive the recognition of the Powers'.

That statement would seem to be clear and final, and, so long as this policy is adhered to, other Powers, including the United States, can have no cause of complaint. An account of the present condition of Manchuria will be found in subsequent chapters.

This brings us to the relations of Japan with her 'oldest friend', the United States. They have been materially improved by the renewed Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. Those who have been haunted by the fear that the treaty in its old form might some day entangle Great Britain in a contest with the United States will, perhaps, be relieved to know that the Japanese themselves not only helped to include the new clause, providing that should either party make a Treaty of General Arbitration with a third Power, such party shall not be bound by the Treaty of Alliance to go to war with such third Power, but that they desire to effect an Arbitration Treaty with the United States. The friends of Japan in America, and she has many there, are equally desirous to contribute to the 'general stability and repose' of the nations. At a dinner given at the White House in Admiral Togo's honour, President Taft extended to the Admiral an invitation to Japan to join the United States, Great Britain, and France in the world movement for International Peace. The President said:—

'I gladly acknowledge the important part Japan has played in facilitating the Anglo-American and Franco-American Arbitration Treaties by her prompt and unreserved recognition in the recent Anglo-Japanese Agreement of the great moral principle of arbitration. I entertain the hope that the time is not far distant when Japan will see fit to join the movement now so auspiciously inaugurated.'

The above sentiment has met with a quick response in Japan, whose statesmen are anxious to see the bonds which unite the two great English-speaking nations strengthened, so that in the future political movements of the Far East Great Britain, the United States, and Japan will stand firmly together.

The first of the new Japanese commercial treaties to be signed last May was the one with the United States. The event was celebrated by a banquet, both in New York and Tokyo. To the former, President Taft sent a letter saying that the recently negotiated treaty between the United States and Japan showed that 'our friendship is so strong that we can well regard with complacency even mischievous and malicious rumours', which, the President added, utterly lacked foundation.

Baron Uchida, then Japanese Ambassador to the United States and now Minister of Foreign Affairs, said upon that occasion that Japan would never again go to war unless forced to do so. Japan's ambition was not to see the Japanese flag dominate the Pacific, but 'to see the ocean hung with the mingled splendours of the Stars and Stripes and the Sun-flag of Japan'.

The Tokyo celebration, under the auspices of America's Friends Association, was equally enthusiastic in the expression of peace and friendship by the distinguished Japanese and American speakers who were present. President Viscount Kaneko made a brilliant speech, which outdistanced Baron Uchida's in the warmth of its expression, and concluded:— 'The true grandeur of nations is not only in the glory of war, but in the enjoyment of peace! Let the Stars and Stripes act as guardian of the Pacific at night, and the Rising Sun watch its peace by day. Day and night, hand in hand, let America and Japan perform in harmony their magnanimous duty.'

Whilst to the Americans and Commodore Perry is due the credit of opening Japan to the trade and commerce of the world, Great Britain led the way in the revision of the treaties. She was the first country to surrender what the Japanese regarded

as the odious extra-territorial privileges, and by concluding an alliance upon terms of absolute equality, she took the first step towards the full recognition of Japan as a first-class Power, thereby giving her the complete control of her own household which she now enjoys.

The revision of the tariff and of fourteen commercial treaties will make the present a memorable year in the foreign trade of Japan. The new tariff has come into effect and many of the treaties have been ratified and they will probably all be in operation before the close of the year. The treaty with the United States was the first one concluded and the Senate of the United States, usually very dilatory in such matters, confirmed it within two days of its submission, a friendly act which was appreciated in Japan. The Agreements with Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, and Sweden have practically been concluded, and it is believed that the end of the year will find the commercial relations of Japan with the other powers of the world in a highly satisfactory condition. The promulgation of these new treaties means the complete recovery of her tariff autonomy. The amended treaties are reciprocal and the revised tariff, it is hoped, will create a strong foundation for the development of domestic industries.

As this volume goes to press a new Cabinet has been formed at Tokyo with the Marquis Saionji as Prime Minister. Party lines are not very tightly drawn in Japan. The aim of both parties so far has been to promote the general welfare of the country. The foreign policy of the new Cabinet will probably not differ greatly from that of the Government which has just concluded a long term of office, that will be remembered in the political history of Japan for its

many brilliant achievements. The Marquis Komura has greatly enhanced the diplomatic reputation of Japan, and his successor, Baron Uchida, who resigns the Washington Embassy to become Minister for Foreign Affairs, has distinguished himself in the diplomatic service of his country. In the first Saionji Cabinet, Baron Uchida occupied the post of Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, which has been for some time filled with so much fact and ability by Mr. (now Baron) Ishii. Prince Katsura's resignation was voluntary, and, as subsequent chapters in this volume will disclose, he has completed the tasks contemplated when he entered office, and he relinquishes the Government to his successors in a sound and fairly prosperous condition. To judge from the public services of the statesmen who are to take the work up where their predecessors laid it down, they will prove themselves eminently able to deal with any new problems that may arise.

The great strides which Japan has made in constitutional government and in her economic progress are due, first, to her liberal-minded Emperor and elder statesmen who laid the foundation; and second, to her new generation of statesmen who have made the national welfare their first concern, relegating party politics to the rear, at least for the present. To give a list of these statesmen we should have to include the names of the leaders of the existing, as well as those of the late Government. So long as these facts remain substantially true Japan will continue to be a well-governed country.

The above is a brief review of the economic conditions which prevail in Japan to-day. How she appeared to the Western world a generation ago forms the opening subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY

WHEN Gilbert and Sullivan produced *The Mikado* less than thirty years ago few of the thousands who took from it their impressions of Japan paused to wonder if the picture there presented was as exact as it was amusing. To the vast majority Japan was a conical mountain in an islet-dotted sea, a fairyland forlorn, devastated by tidal waves and convulsed by earthquakes; they knew that the men wore two swords and carried a fan and that the ladies were remarkable for faces of an elongated oval which it was a sign of culture to admire; among the flora they could have named the chrysanthemum and the cherry-tree, but they would have been sorely puzzled to mention any of the fauna; dragons, of course, and there the list would have ended.

One thing is certain; although *The Mikado* and the Herat question attracted public attention at about the same time, to none of those who discussed the opera did it occur that Japan, confronted with the same difficulty as threatened Great Britain, was to emerge from it unassisted and triumphant; that Japan, so dainty and so quaint, was to overcome in fair fight the empire which had broken the power of Napoleon, which had shown itself almost invulnerable in the Crimea, and which was regarded by Great Britain as a standing menace to her Indian dominions. Those who remembered what befell the legions of Varus, and the discomfiture before Jerusalem of 'the great King

the King of Assyria', would have recognized that physical obstacles might prove insurmountable to invaders, however numerous and however well equipped, but they would have thought it more fitting that the Japanese should have owed deliverance from Russia to divine interposition than to human foresight; to the Western mind there would have been nothing incongruous in a legend of Buddha turning defeat into victory by appearing to his worshippers on a battle elephant and hewing his way through their foes with a mace, but it would have seemed incredible that the 'languid Asiatic' should achieve the same result, not under the influence of some intoxicating illusion but by the intelligent use of modern weapons. As a matter of fact the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese was none the less a miracle in that the preparations for it took fifty years. The conception of Japan credited above to the average Englishman is hardly a travesty of the state of things existing in 1853: at that time the country was as helpless before a handful of Americans as were the Incas when Pizarro assailed them with two hundred men.

But Japan was accorded a breathing space denied to Peru, and it is the object of this volume to describe how she used it. Lovers of chivalry and high adventure may turn from a book on The Economic Progress of Japan, to read of Togo's long vigil outside Port Arthur and of Oyama's dauntless infantry, but the deeds that fire their imagination were rendered possible only by the grim tenacity which held the nation to the long, narrow and difficult road to safety. Regarded in this light tables of figures become unified by a single purpose, and every trivial commercial improvement appears a step towards freedom.

In the middle of the last century it broke in upon

the patriots of Japan that to the independence of their country a term was set : sooner or later it would suit some foreign power to subjugate her, and for all their long and heroic traditions what resistance could be made by her men in armour? Then and there it was decided to renounce the old policy of seclusion and to meet the coming foe with weapons of his own forging. The problem before the Japanese was to assimilate the commercialism, the methods and the enterprise of the West without weakening the courage, the loyalty and the self-restraint which were the heritage of the race; in the Russian war the problem was solved; at that period the currents of two widely different civilizations united to make the Japanese irresistible; how that union was brought about will be told in the short historical sketch which follows.

The name Japan is said to be derived from the 'Zipangu' of Marco Polo; it is applied to the line of islands that fringe the Eastern coast of Asia between the thirteenth parallel of North Latitude and the forty-fifth. Nothing definite can be affirmed of the racial origin of the Japanese people nor of the migrations which brought them to their present home. Anthropologists incline to hold that among the first inhabitants of Japan were the Ainu, a race with features rather European than Mongolian, still found in small numbers in the north. Possibly the Ainu entered Japan from North-Eastern Asia at some period when the islands were less definitely separated from the mainland than is the case at present; they are a dirty, drunken, backward people, unlikely to exercise further influence on the development of the Japanese.

The books of to-day lay such stress on the devotion of the Japanese to pure science that it is advisable to exhibit some other aspects of the national character.

The following passage taken from Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* throws light on the religious beliefs of the Ainu :—

‘The peculiarity which distinguishes this rude mythology is the “worship” of the bear, the Yezo bear being one of the finest of his species ; but it is impossible to understand the feelings by which it is prompted, for they worship it after their fashion, and set up its head in their villages, yet they trap it, kill it, eat it and sell its skin. There is no doubt that this wild beast inspires more of the feeling which prompts worship than the inanimate forces of nature, and the Ainos may be distinguished as bear-worshippers, and their greatest religious festival or Saturnalia is the Festival of the Bear. Gentle and peaceable as they are, they have a great admiration for fierceness and courage ; and the bear, which is the strongest, fiercest, and most courageous animal known to them, has probably in all ages inspired them with veneration. Some of their rude chants are in praise of the bear, and their highest eulogy on a man is to compare him to a bear.’

Miss Bird—writing in 1878—goes on to say that Ainu villages often possess a bear cub which has been suckled by one of the women. The animal was treated as a pet until a feast day when he was done to death in cruel fashion by his playmates. It was the object of each villager to inflict a wound on the bear, which was regarded much as the human being whom the Khonds of India used to offer up as a ‘Meriah’ sacrifice to the earth goddess, until the British Government intervened.

Two other quotations may be cited in illustration of the fierce customs of the nation in early times :—

‘It is said that when the Emperor’s younger brother died (2 B.C.) they buried along with him his living

retainers, placing them upright in a circle round him and leaving their heads uncovered.'

'Nomi-no-Sukane suggested that instead of burying the living retainers with their master clay-images be set up in a circle round the burying-place.'

The proposal of Nomi-no-Sukane and its acceptance are worth recording for they are typical of the somewhat casuistical mental attitude which has enabled the Japanese to acquiesce in the most radical alterations of their institutions without admitting that the institutions themselves should be abolished. To this accommodating spirit Buddhism owed its rapid advance, and it is again and again to be observed in the treatment accorded to occupants of the throne. The latter were often deprived of power, they were seldom denied homage.

'And you must understand that the deeds ascribed to these Idols are such a parcel of devilries as it is best not to tell. So let us have done with the Idols and speak of other things.

.....
'And I must tell you one thing still concerning that Island (and 'tis the same with the other Indian Islands), that if the natives take a prisoner who cannot pay a ransom, he who holds the prisoner summons all his friends and relations and they put the prisoner to death and then they cook him and eat him, and they say there is no meat in the world so good.' (Marco Polo, on Japan.)

Subsequent to the arrival in Japan of the Ainu came the Mongols, apparently in two distinct invasions separated by a considerable interval of time; at least so much is inferred from the higher degree of civilization attained by the second flood of immigrants. A parallel may be found in the case of England, which

was subjected to Latin influence first of all in the time of Julius Caesar, and secondly at the Norman Conquest. But the Mongols were not left in undisputed possession of their new territory; they in their turn were driven northwards by incursions of Malays from the Philippines.

Exactly how the latter established themselves in Japan, without dislodging the Mongols from the supremacy to which they were intellectually entitled, must be left to conjecture, for the three races had fused into a united nation some time before tradition can be accepted as history.

It could not be expected, however, that the Japanese themselves would be content to leave their birth in such humble obscurity—to face the nations of unimpeachable pedigree as mere foundlings. To quote Captain Brinkley—to whose works the student of Japanese history must refer continually:—

‘That the Japanese migrated from the adjacent continent is not doubtful, but from what part of it there are no conclusive evidences. Their own perception of the fact that an imperial people should have a recognized origin seems to have been inspired by the perusal of Chinese history. China taught them the art of reading and supplied them with their first literature—the only foreign literature they possessed during fourteen centuries. Therefore, since they were without any traditions as to their own *provenance*, and since Chinese annals showed them the need of such traditions, they naturally went to these annals for aid in their perplexity, and finding recorded therein a faith that islands inhabited by immortals lay somewhere in the eastern ocean and had been earnestly sought for by ancient sovereigns and philosophers of the Middle Kingdom, they seemed to have identified their country with these islands, ascribed to their primeval ancestors a divine origin, and called Japan “sacred”. A cluster

of picturesque myths gradually grew up to embellish this theory, and ultimately becoming the basis of the national religion—Shinto (the way of the deities)—continues to command reverence to-day, the lower orders not venturing to scrutinize them, the upper recognizing their political value.'

The ancestor of the present occupant of the throne of Japan is said to have been Jimmu Tenno ; human himself, he was descended from the Goddess of the Sun and that is perhaps all that need be said about him here, for it is long after 660 B.C.—the date ascribed to his accession—that the chronicles of Japan became trustworthy. Some reference must, however, be made to the Empress Jingo, for even if modern critics are right in rejecting the traditional version of her doings, the tradition affords some idea of the condition of Japan. This warrior queen crossed to the mainland with a great fleet and reduced Korea about A.D. 200. In the course of this enterprise—which was undertaken at the suggestion of a deity—she received assistance from sundry fishes, and thus the reader is prepared for the success which attended her. While we are obliged to reject the details of an invasion of the mainland of which no corroboration can be found in the records of China and Korea we may accept the inference—an inference supported by other evidence—that early in the Christian era the inhabitants of Japan were so far advanced in civilization as to be able to organize a naval expedition and to conduct it to a successful issue.

Here, as the mists of legend drift away, we may pause for a moment to examine the constitution of those Japanese battalions whose long march across the pages of history has just been crowned with such splendid success. By the year A.D. 500 the

Ainu, the Mongol, and the Malay elements in the population had become one nation by much the same process as took place in England after the Norman Conquest. To the national characteristics it may be inferred that the Ainu contributed the power of resistance, the Mongol the intellectual qualities, and the Malay that handiness and adaptability which are the heritage of sailor-men.

If we are to hold with Montesquieu that it is difficult to over-rate the influence upon national character of climate and physical environment, we must next glance at the conditions under which the race thus composed attained its present development.

Foreign critics, who weigh the Englishman in the balance and find him wanting, ascribe the material prosperity of Great Britain—

1. To its being an island and therefore difficult to attack.

2. To its being rich in minerals, and

3. To the facilities for transportation afforded by its long sea-board.

The first of these privileges is shared by Japan, which can boast of immunity from invasion in historical times, but the policy of seclusion long adopted by her rulers and the attitude of the nation towards commerce, have until recently prevented her from imitating England by profiting as she might have done from the other advantages mentioned.

In the matter of climate Japan is free from extremes while possessing a wide range of temperature; in the south warm currents from the equator make the summer oppressive at sea-level, but in so mountainous a country invigoration is easily obtainable at a slight altitude. In the north there are heavy snowfalls in the winter. The conditions were calculated to develop

the intellectual qualities of the inhabitants; they were not so relaxing as to preclude the necessity for effort—as is the case in those tropical islands where fish and fruit are to be had for the taking—nor were they of such severity as to deny all reward to the enterprising. Their very variety provided a course of instruction. A nation of agriculturists—as the Japanese were—could not but observe the effect of elevation and rainfall on their tea, rice, and other crops, and thus they were led on to investigate the processes of nature.

Living as they do among mountains the Japanese exhibit the love of freedom and the clannishness which are associated with hill-men. Cut off from their neighbours by high barriers, which made communication arduous, the different sections of the nation showed from early times a disinclination for centralized government; they preferred to attach themselves to local leaders to whom they showed the most chivalrous devotion; indeed, their mountains have influenced their whole history; these have afforded a refuge to fugitives, as in the case of the Emperor Go-Daigo and his descendants, and are thus answerable for the length of many of the family conflicts which would no doubt have been decisively settled in a few weeks in a flat country; on the other hand, the self-reliance which is developed where no assistance can be obtained, the self-sufficiency and self-esteem of people ignorant of the advantages of other modes of life, the frugality, the endurance and the stoicism of those bred under stern conditions have combined to make the Japanese the patriot he has shown himself to be. But if luxuries were hard to come by, the earth must have brought forth the necessities of life in sufficient abundance for the advent

of strangers to be regarded without misgiving. One reads in early history of organized Mongol and Malay incursions and of a constant trickle of settlers from the south, without finding it recorded that the inhabitants banded themselves together to resist the invader, as no doubt they would have done under the menace of starvation. Strangers were appraised on their merits; the Tokugawa policy of exclusion is an instance rather of the national will-power than of any idiosyncrasy of temperament; the prohibition was based not on emotional but on intellectual grounds; it was only when he became dangerous that the foreigner was ejected. As a race the Japanese are presented to us as singularly broad-minded and receptive; for all their national pride they acted on the *non olet* maxim; they examined what the outside world had to offer, and they adapted to their own ends just that portion of it which seemed to them valuable; many years ago they took from China their religion and their art and much beside; later on the Christian missionary tendered his doctrines; they were rejected, it is true, but his lethal weapons were imitated; in modern times they have learned from Germany and from England how to organize an army and a fleet. But the Japanese are not merely imitators; they have developed according to their own ideas what they have learned from others.

Their art for instance, whatever its ancestry, has taken on the impress of Japan. A country subject to earthquakes and deficient in building-stone does not raise Gothic steeples; its wooden temples and sepulchral monuments, in their elaborate and patiently wrought decoration, are the product of a truly national school of architecture. And the painters who transcribed so imaginatively the essential qualities of

flowering trees, of misty cataracts and of animals, furred or feathered, must have been long familiar with the mountain forests of their native land and with the wild denizens to which they gave shelter.

It is impossible to treat here at any length the religious beliefs of the Japanese. It must suffice to point out that in the sphere of religion, as in that of art, whatever has been taken from the foreigner has been transmuted into an expression of the national character. Reference has already been made (p. 23) to the origin of Shintoism, a mixture of ancestor-worship and nature-worship without any definite code of morals; in this indigenous faith no allusion is made to a future state of reward and punishment, to deliverance from evil or to assistance in the path of virtue. To avert the consequences of ill-doing and to propitiate the still powerful spirits of dead ancestors the faithful must purify themselves by washing with water and with the sacrifice of valuables. 'Purity and simplicity being essential characteristics of the cult, its shrines are built of white wood without decorative features of any kind, and fashioned as were the original huts of the first Japanese settlers.' Shintoism, inculcating as it does patriotism and reverence, fosters valuable civic qualities, and when Admiral Togo ascribed to the virtues of the Emperor the victory gained at Tsushima by his foreign-built battleships he summed up the attitude of his countrymen towards religious matters.

Although the moral teachings of Confucius, of Buddha, and of Christ have modified Japanese modes of thought, the old national faith has never been displaced. Buddhism, introduced from Korea in the middle of the sixth century of our era, is now indeed the dominant religion, but, chameleon-like, it had

adapted itself to its environment to such an extent that it has both assimilated the creed that preceded it and has become merged in it. A contest between the adherents of the two religions was averted by a compromise which gives almost a ludicrous expression to Japanese conservatism and to Japanese adaptability: when the new faith began to menace the old it was declared that all the members of the Shinto Pantheon were incarnations of Buddha!

‘Japan accepted Buddhism as the faith of civilized Asia; accepted it more for the sake of the converts it had won and the outward attractions it possessed than for the sake of her own conversion or the beauty of the foreign faith’s ethics. . . . In its transmission through the Japanese mind Buddhism took many bright colours. Death ceased to be a passage to mere non-existence and became an entrance to actual beatitude. The ascetic selfishness of the contemplative disciple was exchanged for a career of single charity. The endless chain of cause and effect was shortened to a single link. The conception of one supreme and all merciful being forced itself into prominence. The gulf of social and political distinctions that yawned so widely between the patrician and the plebeian and all the other unsightliness of the world, became subjective *cèdela* destined to disappear at the first touch of moral light.’—(Brinkley.)

To sum up: Buddhism made such headway among the Japanese—whose intellects Shintoism left unsatisfied—that within less than a century it had become an officially recognized creed.

Chinese influence in Japan was not confined to the sphere of religion; the intercourse between the two countries increased and the wisdom of the mainland was rapidly assimilated by the islanders.

But whatever may have been the influence of physical conditions in developing the institutions of

Japan, it is certain that from the dawn of the historical period until recent times the system of government has undergone little alteration.* Nominally, the Emperor was supreme; practically, first one great noble-man and then another stood between him and the exercise of authority. As the human descendant of a god—a sovereign too exalted to be occupied with the details of administration—he held a place half-way between the Dalai-lama—revered as the reincarnation of a saint—and the *fainéant* King of France kept in a forced seclusion by his Mayor of the Palace. Attention has already been directed to the Japanese attitude towards their Emperor: for centuries the nation treated him with all the forms of veneration which tradition dictated, while it acquiesced in the transference of power to those who could use it. During the period under notice the history of Japan is the history of the great families who forced themselves upon the country as interpreters of the Imperial will; of their quarrels; and of the spasmodic attempts which were made now and again to bridle them.

System of government.
Nominal authority of Emperor the prevailing feature.

A general idea of the controlling power in Japan at different epochs may be derived from the following table:—

- A. 660 B. C.—A. D. 670. The shadowy empire of Jimmu Tenno and his descendants.
- B. 670–1050. Government by civilian officials appointed by the Fujiwara family in the name of the Emperor.
- C. 1050–1600. Arbitrary government by victorious warriors.
- D. 1600–1868. Organized and centralized feudal government by the Tokugawa Shoguns in the name of the Emperor.
- E. 1868–present day. Direct imperial government.

A. *The Early Emperors*, 660 B.C.—A. D. 670.

The records of this period are so vague that it is unnecessary to amplify what has been stated in the introduction.

B. *The supremacy of the Fujiwara*, 670–1050.

The Fujiwara, the first of the great families to call for notice, belonged to the nobility connected by blood with the imperial house; when they rose to power Japan was governed upon a patriarchal system; the crown—in which the land was ultimately vested—parcelled it out to the great nobles who were heads of families rather than soldiers; and they, in their turn, governed it through their own dependants who were expected to remit money to their landlords in Kyoto, the capital. Thus was formed an aristocracy which administered its territory in its own interest—with the result first of all that the clans fought one another for what they considered desirable, and secondly that the lower classes were bitterly oppressed. About A.D. 650 there was an attempt on the part of the crown to resume its direct authority, but Japan—a mountainous country inhabited by warring clans—did not lend itself at this epoch to a form of government depending largely on facilities for communication. The policy of centralization was a failure. The land had to be allotted to some one, who would see that taxes were collected and rent paid; the nobility and the officials could not be overlooked in the new distribution, and thus they were soon in much the same position as before. However, there was one momentous change; it became customary, for reasons explained below, to give the civil governor a military coadjutor. The facts of the situation had to be faced,

and these included the stubborn determination of the Ainu, whom the Mongols and Malays had found in occupation of the soil, not to give it up except under compulsion. Near the capital the central authority met with little opposition, but further north the new officials would have had to content themselves with a barren title had they not organized local armies of their own to make it respected. To encourage them in this task it became the practice to confer upon successful soldiers the conquered land free of taxation; this land could therefore be offered on easy terms to the peasants of taxed districts, and they flocked to the support of a lord with such benefits to bestow. Here then was a situation full of danger for the Fujiwara, who remained at court acting as the mouthpiece of the sovereign and spending his revenues in aesthetic pleasures and luxurious living. In Kyoto literary proficiency met with special favour: 'A man estimated the conjugal qualities of a young lady by her skill in finding scholarly similes and by her perception of the cadence of words.'¹ The Fujiwara governed as agents of the Emperor, but they had so arranged matters that the latter, honoured though he was, had little control over their doings: they had established a custom that the Empress should be selected from among the ladies of their house, and that there might be no mistake as to the influence which was to mould her children, the latter were brought up under the tutelage of their maternal grandfather. 'To make assurance double sure' they often induced the reigning sovereign to abdicate on reaching man's estate; this arrangement suited both parties: the Fujiwara found it less troublesome to manage a child than an adult who had to be treated

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 259.

at least with the outward forms of respect, and the Emperor obtained in retirement a position of more freedom and less responsibility. His masters understood both how to weary the young prince with the endless ceremonies of a Japanese court and how to distract him from the affairs of state with sensual pleasures. If these facts are borne in mind it becomes less remarkable that an autocrat—not old and wearied like Charles V—should retire in the flush of his youth from an honored throne. It has also to be remembered that owing to his divine descent he occupied even in retirement a position of considerable influence. But though the well-laid plans of the Fujiwara enabled them to mould their heaven-born sovereign, they had to succumb to the natural law which ordains that in the long run every man must do his own fighting. They authorized a policy of conquest, but they did not lead their armies, and while they lived voluptuously in Kyoto, their rivals grew hard and strong on the marches of the Empire; and the Fujiwara were not only without soldiers but they were without the money to buy them; the imperial revenue which they controlled was derived from the crown-lands, and these became depopulated when the successful warriors in the remoter districts put on the market the tax-free territory from which they had driven out the aborigines. All through this period such of the latter as were not assimilated were gradually driven to the north, where their descendants now live.

C. Government by victorious soldiers, 1050–1600.

This period may be subdivided as follows:—

(1) Ascendancy of the Taira and Minamoto families, 1050–1200.

(2) Ascendancy of the Hojo family, 1200–1330.

(3) Ascendancy of the Ashikaga Shoguns, 1330-1565.

(4) Ascendancy of self-made chieftains, 1565-1600.

(1) *Ascendancy of the Taira and Minamoto families.*

Among the successful warriors mentioned above were the princely families of the Taira and the Minamoto, who had gathered together both men and money in the provinces; for some years the emperors and their impoverished kinsmen in Kyoto, the Fujiwara, played off the two houses against one another and found them nothing loth.

‘My regret is only that I am dying and that I have not yet seen the head of Yoritomo of the Minamoto. After my decease do not make offerings to Buddha on my behalf nor read sacred books; only cut off the head of Yoritomo of the Minamoto and hang it upon my tomb.’ (D. Murray’s *Japan*.)

This quotation illustrates the spirit which the effeminate Fujiwara had to contend against. By the time of the Norman Conquest (1066) their power had departed from them into the stronger hands of the two families mentioned—who eventually fought one another for supremacy. At first the Taira were victorious, but their leader spared the lives of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, the sons of his conquered rival; and these two led the Minamoto to victory thirty years later at the great sea fight of Dau-no-ura. At this battle, if tradition is to be believed, there were 700 junks engaged on behalf of the Minamoto and 500 for the Taira. The latter were exterminated, and it is said that to this day the descendants of the few that escaped to the Island of Kiushiu still think of strangers as pursuers and treat them with incivility.

For the next few years the ruler of Japan was the Minamoto chief Yoritomo, who established himself

at Kamakura with the title of Sei-i-tai Shogun (barbarian-subduing generalissimo) without arrogating to himself the imperial authority. Yoritomo thus obtained a commission from the Emperor to reorganize Japan. He showed himself both far-sighted and conciliatory; he was deferential to the Emperor, generous to the Buddhist priests (who had fallen on evil days), and friendly to the old nobility of Kyoto, whose rights to titles and land were confirmed. Having thus arrayed the conservatives on his side, he set to work to establish a new form of government. Hitherto Japan had been ruled by the civilian officials of the emperor in Kyoto; henceforward the centre of power was transferred to the north and to military governors. Moreover the title of Shogun became hereditary, thus emphasizing the practical independence of those who bore it.

Yoritomo aimed at the establishment of a military feudalism with the Shogun as over-lord: the old civilian officials were appointed to the provinces from Kyoto as before, but henceforward they were practically subordinate to their military councillors, who owed allegiance to the new power at Kamakura. The latter were empowered to levy taxes for military purposes, and the sum thus raised was at the disposition of the Shogun as general. Under these circumstances the civilians had to be content with a subordinate position, but the country at large seems to have enjoyed a short period of peace during which a strong ruler tolerated no exactions but his own.

(2) *Ascendancy of the Hojo, 1200-1330.*

With the death of Yoritomo in 1198 real power passed from the Minamoto to the allied family of the Hojo, who were to the Shoguns what the Fujiwara

had for so long been to the Emperors. The Hojo 'were only the regents of young and immature Shoguns who were the appointees of a court which had at its head an Emperor without power or influence and which was controlled by creatures of their own designation' (David Murray), but for a hundred years they seem to have governed Japan with energy and success. They were content to be Shikken (constables); with the curious scrupulousness of the Japanese in matters of form they forbore to grasp the higher title even upon the failure of the direct heirs of Yoritomo; when this happened the post of Shogun was conferred upon some child of the imperial or Fujiwara houses. The Hojo ruled these children as well as the country. 'Whenever it seemed best they relentlessly deposed them and set up others in their places.' There was at least one emergency during the supremacy of the Hojo which no child could have dealt with. Kublai Khan, when at the height of his power on the mainland, called upon the Japanese to recognize him as their suzerain; upon their refusal he took the island of Tsushima and repeated his demands; this time his ambassadors were executed; thereupon he sent a great army, which was destroyed (1281) on the coast of Kiushiu under circumstances recalling the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

But the seductions of a court and the Eastern desire to retire from active life sapped the vigour of the Hojo; the reins of power dropped from their hands as from those of their predecessors; in a season of indigence 'the people saw the constable in Kamakura affecting the pomp and extravagance of a sovereign, waited upon by 37 mistresses, supporting a band of 2,000 dancers and keeping a pack of 5,000 fighting dogs' (Brinkley).

(3) *Ascendancy of the Ashikaga Shoguns, 1330-1565.*

Eventually the Hojo succumbed to a rising made on behalf of the Emperor Go-Daigo (1334); the latter found himself with an opportunity of continuing in his own person the administrative work of Yoritomo, but so far from reasserting the direct authority of the Emperor he brought it into public contempt—a rare thing in Japan. He had to flee to the mountains of the South before the soldiers of Ashikaga Takauji, who became the first of the line of Ashikaga Shoguns. Go-Daigo had taken the insignia of royalty with him in his flight and—perhaps for that reason—he and his immediate descendants are regarded by the conservative Japanese as the legitimate Emperors of the period, although at the bidding of the Shoguns another branch of the Imperial family supplied sovereigns to Kyoto for fifty-six years.

Eventually the Shogun Yoshimitsu settled the unseemly quarrel by persuading the southern claimant to accept the dignified position of retired emperor—his pretensions being thus recognized—and to give up the regalia to the representative of the northern dynasty. The Ashikaga line held the Shogunate from 1338 to 1565, but over much of the country their authority was but nominal; and such as it was it was vested in the parasites—called at this period Kwanryo or wardens—who always batted on Japanese sovereigns. Certainly the wardens did little to justify their assumption of power; probably they were exhausted by the struggle to obtain it. The country was a prey to every form of contention; as has been stated, there were two claimants even for the post of emperor, and in the disorder that ensued the great territorial families concerned themselves with neither; they

were occupied with carving out kingdoms for themselves, and the peasant and the manufacturer suffered to such an extent from the incessant warfare that there was no revenue to be obtained from them; when the Emperor Go-Tsuchi died he lay for forty days unburied, because there was no money in the treasury to pay for his obsequies. From the Japanese standpoint the depth of degradation was reached when the Shogun Yoshimitsu accepted from China the title of King of Japan and paid an annual tribute of a thousand ounces of gold for it, but Yoshimitsu was a capable ruler who understood how to adapt means to ends; after his death—in 1394—for many years there was little check on the pirates and robbers who infested the seas and roads of Japan, and none at all upon the huge fortified monasteries from which the armed Buddhist monks took toll of the whole country.

(4) *Ascendancy of self-made chieftains, 1565–1600.* .

It will be gathered that at such a period as this a man was worth, so to speak, his fighting weight, and it fell to the lot of Oda Nobunaga, a small landholder, Hideyoshi his groom, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu, a warrior socially of the same class as the former, to become masters of the country and incidentally to reduce it to order—a task which had been beyond the capacity of the great nobles for whom their countrymen had such respect. Nobunaga, finding that local magnates were practically independent of the Emperor and the Shogun, organized his forces and gradually extended his domains at the expense of his neighbours; soon he made himself so powerful that Ashikaga Yoshiaki enrolled him as a supporter of his family; with his assistance Yoshiaki became Shogun, but soon after Nobunaga had thus made himself the most important

man in the Empire he fell a victim to treachery. Fortunately in Hideyoshi—first his servant, later his adviser—he left a man even more capable than himself of pacifying the country. Hideyoshi—ugly, low-born, and amazingly quick-witted—is the national hero of Japan; his deeds have inspired both artist and writer, and an impartial examination of his career suggests that his reputation was fully earned.

Japan was Hideyoshi's, for the taking; before dying, Nobunagâ had deprived Yoshiaki of the Shogunate and had beaten down the resistance of the Buddhist monks who had shown the traditional clerical attitude towards reforms. To become supreme Hideyoshi had only to conciliate Tokugawa Iyeyasu, whom many of Nobunaga's men would have followed. The two men showed their greatness by coming to an agreement, and between them the resistance of the recalcitrant daimyos (great lords) was overcome. Hideyoshi was appointed Kwambaku or regent, in which capacity he gave the country internal peace, improved its cities, and set its finances in order. The blot on his history is an unprovoked invasion of Korea; intoxicated by his unbroken success, and lacking—like most upstarts—all sense of proportion, he wasted the substance of Japan on an expedition which could have benefited her little even if he had led it in person. As it was, his generals quarrelled among themselves, proved unequal to their task, and accomplished little beyond the devastation of a peaceful and prosperous country. Upon his death the troops of Japan were at once recalled.

An instance of the astuteness of Hideyoshi may be cited—his action on the death of his patron Nobunaga. When the great nobles attended the funeral ceremony in response to his invitation they found that he had

reserved the chief place for himself, and that his soldiers had been marshalled in honour of the occasion. Under the circumstances they were compelled to accept a situation from which, as they well knew, a precedent would be deduced. Hideyoshi left a young son, but the loyalty of that period was as remarkable for its limitations as for its fanaticism. Tokugawa Iyeyasu treated Hideyoshi's family as Hideyoshi had treated the children of his own benefactor Nobunaga. And, no doubt, he had the support of his countrymen; suffering, as they had been, from the anarchy resulting from feeble government they were wise in insisting that the appearance and the reality of power should both be in the same hands. In this case they were strong hands. Iyeyasu had to fight hard for his position, but it was confirmed at the great battle of Sekigahara; shortly afterwards he exacted from Kyoto the title of Shogun, which had been in abeyance for some years, and thus was founded the line of Tokugawa Shoguns which lasted until 1868.

D. *The Tokugawa Shogunate*, 1600–1868.

In spite of his successes in the field it is as a statesman rather than as a soldier that Iyeyasu will be remembered; what Japan wanted was peace, and that he gave her. He used his victory with moderation; it left him with large quantities of land on his hands, and of this he disposed with much foresight. Where possible he used existing institutions in his work of reconstruction; he did not dispossess the old families, but to those he suspected of disaffection he gave adherents of his own as neighbours; and it was to the latter class that were allotted all positions of strategical importance.

Iyeyasu carried to their logical conclusion the feudal

principles practised by Yoritomo ; he set up his court, not in Kyoto—the poverty-stricken, pleasure-loving capital of the effeminate emperors—but in Yedo, and there he surrounded himself with soldiers and men of substance. Moreover he compelled the great lords to show their loyalty by appearing at certain intervals at Yedo, and in their absence their families resided there as hostages.

He also took the precaution of furnishing a strong guard of troops devoted to himself to ‘protect’ the Emperor, and thus guarded against any disposition to imperial self-assertion.

His laws and his administration were a great improvement on what had previously existed in Japan, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his proposals acquiesced in. The last action of his public life was typical of his sagacity ; he retired in the fullness of his power so that his son who succeeded him might have the benefit of his advice and assistance while establishing his authority. Founded in this fashion the Tokugawa Shogunate gave Japan peace and prosperity for two hundred and fifty years, and it was not until the reign of Queen Victoria that political disturbances again occurred. Other aspects of the Tokugawa administration will be dealt with in the next chapter, while the rest of this volume will treat of the direct imperial government which was re-established in 1868.

CHAPTER III

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

BEFORE treating of the characteristics of the Government established by Iyeyasu, and of the events which led to its fall, it is necessary to give some account of the intercourse of Japan with the nations of Europe ; for foreigners were responsible both for the policy which was adopted in the seventeenth century and for the abrupt fashion in which it was reversed.

Reference has already been made to the debt of Japan to China ; as to Korea, her history is so closely bound up with that of the island kingdom that it will be more convenient to consider it in its entirety when recent events come to be recounted.

When the Tokugawa family obtained dominion over Japan strangers from abroad were welcomed to the country ; two hundred and fifty years later when the dynasty fell there was again a tendency to prize all things foreign ; but in the interim the nation adopted a policy of exclusion which calls for explanation. Regular intercourse between Japanese and Europeans commenced in the middle of the sixteenth century. Some Portuguese travelling from Macao to Siam were driven to Japan by stress of weather, and their kindly reception resulted in the fitting out of commercial expeditions to take advantage of the interest manifested by the Japanese in the products of Europe.

Policy of
exclusion,
events
leading to
its
adoption.

If the foreigners whom the Japanese had to do with had all been merchants it is possible that the history of their country would have been altered ; there would

then have been no occasion to resort to the measures of which we shall now have to speak. But it so happened that Japan suggested itself to the Roman Catholics of the East as a field for missionary enterprise; the work was entrusted to the Jesuits—the privateers of the Church—and before many years had elapsed the Japanese found established in their midst a community recognizing a sovereign other than their emperor; foreigners were thereupon expelled from Japan, and forbidden to return on pain of death.

The work of proselytism was undertaken by Francis Xavier, who was well-received by the Daimyo of Satsuma. Xavier was accorded permission to preach his doctrine, but the value of the privilege was discounted by his ignorance of the Japanese language; he had, however, obtained the assistance of a native named Anjiro—who had adopted Christianity some years previously in the Portuguese colonies—and through his instrumentality he made several converts. Xavier's incompetency as a linguist is worth noting, for it illustrates the faith in which he ventured unprotected among barbarians, for such he must have expected to find the Japanese: stammering denunciations of the gods his hearers worshipped, he typified in its extremest form the courage and fanaticism of the Jesuit. And on the other side the figure of the Daimyo of Satsuma is no less suggestive. Subsequent events showed that his interest in the missionaries was not religious but commercial.

He countenanced the priests in order to attract the merchants; it was not only that he desired to take toll of the goods brought to his harbours; what he chiefly coveted were the weapons of Europe, the importance of which to a warrior chieftain could scarcely be over-estimated.

The Japanese, with thirty religious sects in their country, were too logical and too broad-minded to persecute a man for recommending a thirty-first: wealth and power were not to be declined because of the religious vehicle in which they were tendered.

The attitude towards the missionary of the Chinaman of twentieth-century Australia is thus summed up: 'You buy sugar, me go church; you buy tea, me b'leeve in hell-fire.' The sixteenth-century Japanese looked at things much as does this apocryphal grocer: when the business-like Daimyo of Satsuma saw the Portuguese vessels making for the ports of a rival, he lent an ear to the complaints of the Buddhist priests, and made it a capital offence for any of his vassals to embrace Christianity. There is this to be said for the Buddhists; they appear to have received the newcomers with warm hospitality and disinterested pleasure: they made ready for an enjoyable disputation on metaphysical problems, and they were assailed with dogmatic crudities. It was the aggressive intolerance of the Christians, not their doctrines, which led to their being denounced as agitators.

It is impossible to give the details of the progress of Christianity; by taking advantage of the feudal dissensions and by employing their ascendancy over the traders the Jesuits had soon enlisted a number of converts, especially in the south.

They had been fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Oda Nobunaga (see p. 38), who had found his work of centralization hindered by the Buddhists. The Buddhist monasteries of this period were fortresses from which the armed monks levied toll on the country-side; they opposed Nobunaga who would not tolerate their excesses, and he in turn supported their enemies, the Christians. Not that

Nobunaga was a Christian by conviction ; in 1579 he gave the Jesuits to understand that their religion would be suppressed unless they compelled a certain Christian vassal to betray his suzerain !

At first Hideyoshi who succeeded to the position of Nobunaga, showed himself no less favourable to the Christians ; then he suddenly changed his mind and issued this proclamation :—

‘ Having learned from our faithful councillors that foreign priests have come into our estates where they preach a law contrary to that of Japan, and that they even had the audacity to destroy temples dedicated to our Kami and Hotoke ; although the outrage merits the most extreme punishment, wishing nevertheless to show them mercy, we order them under pain of death to quit Japan within twenty days. During that space no harm or hurt will be done to them. But at the expiration of that term, we order that if any of them be found in our states, they should be seized and punished as the greatest criminals. As for the Portuguese merchants, we permit them to enter our ports, there to continue their accustomed trade, and to remain in our states provided our affairs need this. But we forbid them to bring any foreign priests into the country, under the penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods.’

The terms of this edict were not rigorously carried out ; Hideyoshi issued it upon discovering that the Jesuits had made themselves supreme in Kyushu, where they were obeying to the letter the scriptural injunction, ‘ Ye shall destroy their altars, break their images and cut down their groves.’ Christianity was being enforced upon ‘ the heathen ’ with a brutal violence which ignored the civil power. This Hideyoshi would not tolerate ; at the same time he valued the trade with Europe, and he was prepared to allow those who fostered it a certain amount of licence.

The Jesuits could take a hint and no further persecutions would have followed, but for the curious quality in the atmosphere of Japan which stimulates all human characteristics to their highest expression. The Pope had granted to the Jesuits alone the right of entering Japan as missionaries: it would seem then as if the Franciscans were prevented from competing with them. To overcome this difficulty the governor of Manila—grudging the Portuguese their influence in Japan—sent a party of Spanish Franciscans as ambassadors to Hideyoshi. Once there they engaged upon a rival propaganda. Franciscan propaganda.

To the protests of the Jesuits they replied that 'they had not entered the country as priests, and that the papal bull did not require them to leave'. This unedifying exhibition of casuistry was fatal to the Christian cause. In order to differentiate themselves from the Jesuits, the Franciscans imparted their teaching in the openest manner possible, thus flouting the official edict.

Soon afterwards the Dutch began to trade with Japan to the disgust of the Europeans previously installed there. The situation then was this: the Jesuits were quarrelling with the Franciscans, the Portuguese traders with the Spaniards, and the Dutch, who were Protestants, with all Europeans, lay and clerical. Moreover, to appreciate the impression made on the Japanese, it must be remembered that Dutch and Portuguese trade.

'the representatives of Europe who visited Japan in the sixteenth century had nothing to offer her in the way of a higher civilization. From her point of view they were rude, truculent and debauched men, essentially dirty in their habits, overbearing in their methods, greedy of gain, and deficient in most of the graces of life. Chinese civilization had been accepted

eight centuries previously for the sake of its manifest excellences. European civilization as represented by self-seeking tradesmên, rough mariners, and propagandists of a mercilessly fanatic religion deterred by its superficial inferiorities.' ¹

It may be imagined that when men of this type solemnly warned the Japanese against one another, their characters were not presented in a favourable light; rivals hurried to inform the authorities of speeches such as this :—

‘Our kings (the kings of Spain) begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer missionaries who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.’

The Japanese became seriously alarmed; they prohibited the profession of the Christian faith; they expelled first the Spaniards (1624), and then the Portuguese (1638); and they exterminated the native converts. Rather than recant many of these perished with their teachers under torture. The final holocaust took place at the castle of Hara, in which the Christians who had taken part in what is known as the Shimabara revolt made their last unavailing stand. At this siege the Dutch were enabled to ingratiate themselves with the Government at the expense of their rivals by lending heavy guns for the bombardment. Owing perhaps to this proof of anti-Christian sentiment the Dutch were excepted from the edicts of expulsion; they were allowed to reside in Deshiman Island, three acres in extent, near Nagasaki; there they were subjected to humiliating restrictions which they consented

¹ Brinkley.

to overlook in return for the monopoly of the trade between Europe and Japan. The Chinese were allowed to trade with Japan under somewhat similar limitations, but no general dealing with foreigners was permitted; indeed, the Government not only expelled aliens from the country, it forbade the Japanese to leave it. Moreover, facilities for so doing were taken from them, for the building of ocean-going ships was prohibited.

Count Okuma maintains that 'in expelling the Portuguese and Spaniards out of hatred for the intriguing Jesuits, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu were actuated by precisely the same motives as Queen Elizabeth when she placed the Catholics under a ban in England'. This contention is supported by the constant reference to foreigners at this period as 'Bateren' (padres), and by the general character of the Japanese who impressed Francis Xavier most favourably:—

'Autant que j'en puis juger, les Japonais surpassent en vertu et en probité toutes les nations découvertes jusqu'ici. Ils sont d'un caractère doux, opposé à la chicane, fort avides d'honneur, qu'ils préfèrent à tout le reste. La pauvreté est fréquente chez eux sans être en aucune façon déshonorante, bien qu'ils la supportent avec peine.'

The policy of Iyeyasu and the Shoguns who succeeded him was to reduce Japan to immobility. To men wearied with the incessant wars of the past centuries peace seemed a prize to be attained at all costs. They might have said with the Lotos-eaters:—

'We have had enough of action and of motion
Let us swear an oath and keep it with an equal mind
In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined
On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind.'

The Japanese, having decided to arrest their national development, set about their task with an energy and thoroughness that were curiously inappropriate to the object in view. Those who are struck with the contrast between the Japanese of to-day and their predecessors of the Tokugawa period will find that precisely the same qualities enabled them first of all to retire from the world, and subsequently to compete with it in commerce and on the field of battle. Japan, like some hibernating animal, entered upon the sleep of recuperation and arose from it to active existence identical in substance and unaltered in outlook.

The principles underlying the policy of the Tokugawa Shoguns may be gathered from a document entitled the testament of Iyeyasu, from which it appears that inspiration had been sought in China. Confucius had inculcated that the family was the basis of society; Iyeyasu accepted this tenet and built up from it a system of morality: 'He held that the basis of all legislation and administration should be the five relations of sovereign and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, brother and sister, and friend and friend.'

These relations were governed by custom rather than by positive enactments; on the other hand, 'what required minute exposition was criminal law, the relation of social classes, etiquette, rank, precedence, administration, and government.'¹

To etiquette, indeed, the Japanese attach an importance which appears surprising unless it is considered in connexion with ancestor worship. The habits of the head of a family grew to be the customs of his descendants, and as such they became invested

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 262.

with sanctity. Thus arose the respect for the letter of the law which has been referred to in the last chapter. This attitude of mind, though lending itself to the glorification of trifles, has contributed to the success of the nation, for it must be regarded in connexion with the habit of obedience which is so marked a characteristic of the Japanese. As subjects of a heaven-descended ruler their duty was implicit submission; therefore, they accepted the innovations of the nineteenth century and the hardships of the Russian War; all they demanded was that their instructions should be conveyed to them by the proper authority and in the proper form.

Iyeyasu found a community which lent itself to the adoption of the methods he devised. The practice of obedience was not introduced into Japan through his studies of Confucius; it was a natural growth in a country where law, as we understand it, was hardly known. The people, subjects of a deity, accepted the decisions of those set in authority over them, and thus the ground was prepared for the establishment of a formal feudal system. Not that feudalism was any new thing in Japan. Mention was made in the last chapter (page 30) of the practice of sending military advisers to the assistance of the civil governors of the provinces and of the gradual transference of power from the latter to the former. As time went on these usurped not only the substance of power but even the title of their civil colleagues. During the disturbed period which followed the death of Yoritomo, they became under the name of daimyos to all intents and purposes independent princes ruling their lands with the strong hand and adding to them whenever possible.

Rise of
the
Daimyos.

Each district was governed in practice as its feudal

lord desired. His writ ran wherever his arms would follow. The only check upon his exactions lay in this, that incompetent administration meant a low revenue and that without money he could not pay the fighting-men upon whom his authority rested. It was then to his own interest to bestow some attention on the maintenance of order, the upkeep of the means of communication and the observance of the customs which the people regarded as laws. Thus all through the long epoch of the petty wars the Japanese remained a civilized race; culture did not disappear as it disappeared upon the fall of Rome.

When Iyeyasu became supreme he reconstructed the administration upon the basis which was already existing, utilizing whatever was sound in the old system. Internal authority was not taken from the feudal lords, but any attempt to encroach upon the rights of the central power was restrained by an elaborate adjustment of checks and balances.

Iyeyasu divided the daimyos into fudai—his own vassals—and tozama, who were supporters of his régime, but not actually vassals. Above these were the Go-san-ke, three families descended from himself from which the Shogun was in future to be chosen; below them were two classes of lesser noblemen, the hatamoto and the go-ke-nin, and below these again came the samurai, of whom some account will be given later. It is only necessary to mention, in discussing social distinctions, that the dignity of the samurai is specially recognized by Iyeyasu: 'Farmers, artisans, and merchants may not behave in a rude manner towards samurai—and a samurai is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected.'

The order in which Iyeyasu refers to 'farmers,

artisans, and merchants' is worth noting, for it is of considerable significance.

Iyeyasu's elaborate classification is not to be passed over as an embellishment originating in the Japanese love of detail and etiquette and subtle patterns: it was part of the scheme by which its author sought to protect his dynasty. He secured it against the encroachments of foreigners by forbidding them the country; he reduced the daimyos to impotence by playing them off against one another and, with the same object, he split up the people into exclusive castes so that they were not only divided as it were vertically into feudal clans, but also horizontally into social classes. This is the secret of the privileges accorded to the samurai. All this was done by Iyeyasu without trenching upon the national traditions which served him as cloaks for the innovations he introduced. When the Shogun passed in great state through thousands of spectators on a visit of ceremony to his acknowledged lord, the Emperor, the significance of his armed retinue was overlooked. The Emperor accepted his homage as he would have accepted whatever else was thus forced upon him—for instance the respectful regulation that he could only be approached with infinite ceremony with its logical consequence that no undesirable adviser could obtain influence at court. The Emperor was surrounded by the effete, peace-loving Fujiwara nobles to whom, with rare perspicacity, the Shogun allowed pensions sufficient for the maintenance of their rank. Although they had no political power their social precedence over the daimyos was formally recognized, and in this way was secured the acquiescence of the court party who had no cause for discontent. By showing respect towards the Emperor and to the old families who

Shogun
Supre-
macy.

typified to the people their national history Iyeyasu ranged upon his side the forces of conservatism, with which he would have had to reckon had the import of his policy been less carefully concealed. Since the Emperor had long reigned without governing, the real change did not consist in the transference of authority from Kyoto to Yedo—but in its concentration in the hands of the Emperor's deputy. The great nobles who had dominated huge districts were now shorn of much that had made them formidable: they had found their Louis XI. Local government was left to the daimyos as before, but they were no longer independent princes who could make war or peace at their discretion. As time went on they became more and more subordinated to the central power. Iyeyasu beat down all who bore arms against him, but he judged it prudent not to proceed to extremities against the old families who did not actively oppose him. Provided they accepted the situation he had created, he was content to leave them the lands from which he could only have expelled them with difficulty.

But the Shoguns were always suspicious of these so-called 'Tozama' daimyos, who were bound to them by no ties of loyalty; they devised a variety of means for rendering them innocuous and they visited any insubordination with severe penalties. One device was so typically Japanese as to call for mention. The Shogun paid the daimyos the compliment of summoning them to Yedo to debate questions of internal administration; once there they were in his power. The next step was to make it compulsory for the daimyos to visit Yedo every two years.

The Shoguns did not even trust their own vassals; the history of Japan was a warning against allowing

any great family to pose as hereditary grand viziers, and the new aristocrats were careful to select their advisers from among the lesser daimyos. When the time comes to consider the fall of the Shogunate, this fact must be borne in mind: doubtless the system would have 'died harder' if the interests of the great clans had been bound up in its survival. The Japanese of to-day are little disposed to do justice to Iyeyasu; they consider that their relations with the outside world have been injuriously affected by his policy. Its defects are patent, but before discussing them it will be only fair to quote his own version of his intentions:—

'In my youth my sole aim was to conquer and subjugate inimical provinces and to take revenge on the enemies of my ancestors. Yugo teaches, however, that "to assist the people is to give peace to the empire" and since I have come to understand that the precept is founded upon sound principles, I have undeviatingly followed it. Let my posterity hold fast this principle. Any one turning his back upon it is no descendant of mine. The people are the foundation of the empire.' (D. Murray.)

Sentiments of this kind are no doubt part of the stock-in-trade of many potentates, but Iyeyasu acted upon them to the extent of befriending the commonalty, whose circumstances improved under the system introduced by him.

The well-being of the lower orders was, it is true, rather a by-product of the Tokugawa administration than the object of it: it followed on the establishment of peace, which could not but enable the farmers, artisans, and merchants to pursue their avocations to better advantage. The chief crop of the country was rice, which was regarded as the standard of value:

estates were assessed at so many bushels of rice, and taxes and salaries were calculated in the same medium of exchange. Under such circumstances the man who grew the rice became a person of some importance and his social consequence was recognized in his privilege of carrying one sword. (The samurai carried two.) The artisan shared in the general prosperity: with the cessation of the civil disturbances which had spread destruction over the land and with the improvements in organization there was more money to be dispensed in luxuries. And it was in the magnificence of their living and in the splendour of their accoutrements that the daimyos now indulged the competitive instincts which had formerly found an outlet in warfare. The artisans who enabled a nobleman to outshine his rivals obtained consideration and many of them secured permanent employment at a fixed salary. They thus gained the leisure to gratify their artistic impulses; one small but perfect work of art might be the result of years of toil, for the patron was a connoisseur who did not demand a large output but fine craftsmanship. This exquisite sensibility which can discern all the loveliness of the garden in a single blossom is still noticeable in Japan where what we call floral decoration often consists of a single flower. The arts thrived during this period of seclusion, and among the improvements of to-day is not to be reckoned the substitution of the curio-factory for the cultured methods of Old Japan. The merchant, as has been said, ranked below the artisan, for the Japanese despised trade and those engaged in it, much as the Christian nations before the Reformation kept aloof from usury which they left to the Jews.

This attitude has been attended with serious con-

sequences : the higher classes would not engage in an occupation which meant loss of caste, and the Japanese tradesman, finding himself an object of obloquy, made little attempt to deserve respect. For many years after the old system had been swept away, the progress of Japan was retarded by the narrow outlook and the untrustworthiness of her merchants and by the disinclination of her men of substance to being numbered amongst them. These categories do not include the whole population of Japan, for at the bottom of the social scale there remain to be mentioned the *eta*—those who were technically defiled by their occupations—and the *hinin*, who were mendicant outcasts. The subject of defilement cannot be dealt with here except to mention that there was some similarity between the views of the Japanese on this subject and those of the Jews of the Pentateuch. The *eta* were not of necessity paupers ; those among them who were engaged in tanning—a trade which ‘defiled’—made money like other tradesmen. The samurai who ranked above the civilians call for a few words of comment.

The samurai or warriors began to form an exclusive caste in the eighth century at the time when the representatives of the crown were encountering serious opposition from the Ainu (p. 31). The stronger men were required as soldiers and thus the other classes came to be considered inferior. With the growth of feudalism the great houses surrounded themselves with fighting-men whose sons adopted the profession of their fathers. Thus arose a warrior class which arrogated to itself the sole right of bearing arms. The samurai might be called ‘the gentry’ of Japan ; they were the social superiors

of the commonalty and they enjoyed the monopoly of administrative posts. In the time of Iyeyasu

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'the general body of the samurai received stipends and lived frugally. Their pay was not reckoned in money; it took the form of so many rations of rice delivered from their chief's granaries. A few had landed estates usually bestowed in recognition of conspicuous merit. They were probably the finest type of hereditary soldiers the world ever produced. Money and all devices for earning it they profoundly despised. The right of wearing a sword was to them the highest conceivable privilege. They counted themselves as the guardians of their fief's honour and of their country's welfare.¹ . . . Martial exercises occupied much of their attention, but book-learning also they esteemed highly. They were profoundly courteous towards each other, profoundly contemptuous towards the commoner whatever his wealth.'²

The samurai were always ready to give their blood to defend their lord or to maintain the old-fashioned code of ethics which stood to them for all that was honourable, but a time came when the observance of tradition was not enough for Japan.

A nation cannot thrive on a negative policy; its powers become atrophied by disuse. The energy of the Government of the Shogun was concentrated upon the maintenance and not upon the improvement of existing institutions. With this end in view it created an elaborate system of espionage which 'held every one in the community in dread and suspicion; not only the most powerful daimyo felt its invidious influence, but the meanest retainer was subject to its sway; and the ignoble quality of deception, developing

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 263.

² Brinkley.

rapidly to a large extent, became at this time a national characteristic'.¹

It was the special duty of the spies to inform the Government of any change that was in contemplation, for state control was so rigid that no man could take up a new pursuit without permission. Any form of social advancement was thus impossible; from the great daimyos who were especially excluded from administrative posts to the commoners who were shut out from the ranks of the gentry no man could look to gratify his ambition.

'The stimulus of foreign trade with its interchange of commodities had been withdrawn from the native industries, and internal commerce was strangled by innumerable monopolies, sumptuary laws and restrictions, the proscription of new inventions and the universal predominance of the military caste. The result was a national life crystallized in many of its aspects, a state of arrested development and stagnation.'²

By the commencement of the nineteenth century there were few grades of society in which this decadence was not apparent. The Shogun was no longer a warrior: the fate of Japanese sovereigns had overtaken him, and he too had become a puppet. As to his ministers, their attention was concentrated on maintaining their positions and on frustrating the machinations of those who coveted them; in public matters they were not statesmen but policemen. The aristocracy occupied itself with its old-fashioned pastimes, some of them manly enough, and the plebeians, isolated, but no longer poor and downtrodden, set about diverting themselves in their own way.

¹ L. Oliphant.

² C. V. Sale.

Herein lies the explanation of the existence of two different schools of art at one time, for the drama and the picture which delighted the people did not appeal to the upper classes.

Both gentle and simple sought amusement and spent much of their substance in dissipation. Places of entertainment multiplied and the dancing-girls prospered. The samurai were not exempt from the general demoralization. Their code had been evolved at a rougher period; they had devoted themselves to the sword at a time when honour was to be obtained by it, and they had lived abstemiously when luxuries were not obtainable. But conditions had now changed; the campaigning days were over and the idle soldiers felt even more than other classes the need of amusement; their income no longer sufficed them. 'They found difficulty in meeting the pecuniary engagements of every-day existence, so that money acquired new importance in their eyes and they gradually forfeited the respect which their traditional disinterestedness had won for them in the past.'¹

Long peace, if it had not dulled their courage, had at any rate left the samurai without experience of war; and they were no better prepared than the other classes to face the strain of a foreign invasion.

The daimyos had no love for the Shogun; they regarded him as an equal who had aggrandized himself at their expense; the soldiers desired the return of the civil wars with the excitement and the opportunities which accompanied them; and the business classes groaned at the restrictions placed upon their liberties and aspirations. It was evident that in time of stress there would be no enthusiastic support coming forward for the Government: there was little assistance to be

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 264.

expected from the sections of the community that have been mentioned and there was another class which was actively hostile. The men of learning resented a system of seclusion which baulked them in the pursuit of knowledge, and when the time came they put their erudition at the service of the malcontents.

It was they who made it known that the Shogun was usurping the authority of the Emperor, thus increasing the disaffection of a people naturally conservative. Curiously enough this weapon was forged by the House of Tokugawa itself. The doctrines of Confucius had been introduced into Japan early in the Christian era; they did not make extensive progress, but people in the position of Iyeyasu were, of course, familiar with them; he was struck with the manner in which the tenet of unquestioning obedience to rulers and parents accorded with the system he desired to establish, and his patronage gave an impetus to the study of Chinese lore and to the pursuit of general learning. In the face of these researches the principles of Buddhism which were favourable to feudalism gave way to the doctrine that the business of a sovereign was to consult the good of his people; and the theoretical claims of the Shogun came to be questioned in the light of the Chinese theory that legitimate rulers are appointed by heaven. Some years later, when the Ming dynasty fell in China, Mitsukuni of Mito, a relative of the Shogun, following in the steps of Iyeyasu, made a study of the principles of government with the assistance of a learned Chinese refugee to whom he gave shelter. He also gathered round him a circle of enlightened Japanese whom he encouraged to compile a history of Japan.

The records were then examined in accordance with Chinese precepts, and it was discovered that Japan

possessed a divinely appointed ruler of her own and that no authority existed for the usurpation of administrative authority by the Shogun. The revelations were flattering to the national pride; they resulted in a revival of Shintoism and in a desire for the abolition of the dual form of government.

But the existing Government possessed the machinery for curbing the expression of internal discontent and might long have survived academical objections to its origin. It was only when it showed itself incapable of enforcing the policy of isolation on which, as it asserted, the national safety depended, that the smouldering dissatisfaction broke into flame.

The people, for all their longings, could not stir without an impetus from without:—

‘When will the hundred summers die,
And thought and time be born again,
And newer knowledge drawing nigh,
Bring truth that sways the soul of men?
Here all things in their place remain,
As all were ordered, ages since,
Come, Care and Pleasure, Hope and Pain,
And bring the fated fairy Prince.’

Japan’s fairy prince was Commodore Perry of the United States navy, but before describing the result of his resolute kiss, a glance must be cast upon the progress of events in other parts of the world.

Japan could forbid any intrusion upon her own charmed slumbers, but she could not interfere with the restless development of the occidental peoples. A time came when the steady progress of the nations of the West brought them within sight of her retreat; and it was then only a question of time before the barriers were forced.

With the advent of machinery Europe and

America embarked upon a commercial policy. Production increased and it became a vital matter to gain possession of new markets; these were to be found in the East where there were no organized factories and where the people lived in the same villages and worked with their hands at the same trades as countless generations of their ancestors. But whether or no the West was superior to the East in its goods, it was undoubtedly superior in its weapons.

If the Japanese had been concerned with external politics they would have found food for thought in what is described in Chinese history as the Opium War of 1840. This is no place to discuss the morality of the opium trade, but it must have appeared to the Chinese that Great Britain was forcing upon them at the sword's point a drug which their statesmen pronounced deleterious in its effects. For Japan the important point was that an unknown people from beyond the seas had compelled her mighty neighbour to pay an indemnity, to cede territory, and to open her ports to foreigners. It should have dawned on Japan that she could no longer shelter herself behind the mainland of Asia. Europe was no longer terrified by the hordes from the East: the Turk, who at one time had chased the flying Christians to the walls of Vienna, had been humbled at Navarino; India was still a prey to the invader; but he came not through the Khyber, but across the ocean.

For a country which desired seclusion a position between the conservative Chinese and the Pacific Ocean was admirable; it was the remoteness of Japan from dangerous neighbours which made her policy practicable. An examination of a map will show that it would have been impossible for the Western nations to have invaded Japan in the days of sailing-ships.

But the problem was altered with the coming of the steamship: Rozhdestvenski arrived at Tsushima with his fleet intact.

A new power had arisen as a menace to Japan. In the time of Iyeyasu the American continent checked the intercourse between Europe and Japan ; it not only presented an obstacle to raiding fleets ; it served as a lightning-conductor by offering piratical adventurers like Pizarro and Drake a shorter passage to wealth.

Two centuries later the west coast of North America was no longer a distant barrier reef, deserted save for the incursions of wandering savages. The discovery of gold had peopled California with energetic and resolute money-makers who were little inclined to let scruples of delicacy stand between them and 'business': they resolved to force their acquaintance upon Japan. This decision was not arrived at in pure wantonness. A large whaling trade had grown up in the Pacific: American sailors were cast away from time to time in Japanese waters; and it was intolerable that their repatriation should be attended with complications. Moreover, the whaling trade was not alone in taking the Americans westwards. One consequence of the Opium War of 1840 was the opening of Chinese ports to foreign trade; cargo space was precious; and it at once became important to steamship owners to establish a coaling-station in Japan, for much of their profits went in conveying their fuel for the voyage.

As the ocean had failed Japan on the East so China had failed her on the West; the Russians gradually forced their way to the Pacific and then turned their attention to the islands. In 1792 Catherine II sent home some shipwrecked Japanese sailors in the charge of Lieutenant Laxmann; her envoy was treated with

courtesy, but the official encouragement he received was scanty:—

‘As to the Japanese brought back, the Government was much obliged to the Russians, who, however, were at liberty to leave them or take them away again, as they pleased, it being the law of Japan that such persons ceased to be Japanese, and became the subjects of that Government into whose hands destiny had cast them.’¹

A further rebuff provoked reprisals from the Russians who raided Saghalien and burned Japanese ships, thus impressing upon the Shogunate that there was good ground for the warnings which reached them through Deshima.

For Japan was still in a position to learn from the Dutch and the Chinese what was taking place elsewhere; the official class profited little from these facilities, and it was left to those who would now be called ‘the intellectuals’ to put two and two together. The result of this sum in simple addition surprised and appalled them, and in spite of stringent prohibitions and drastic penalties they resolved to investigate the full extent of the peril. It became obvious to them that what Japan lacked was not courage but knowledge; they realized that it was the white man’s science that made him formidable, and with Oriental patience they strove to become masters of his weapons. One instance of their methods may be cited: they first obtained from Deshima a Dutch textbook of medicine, and then acquired a knowledge of anatomy by comparing its plates with what was to be seen on the execution ground—at the risk of never leaving it. What they learned convinced them that Japan had made a terrible mistake in not keeping pace with

¹ Brinkley.

modern developments: in matters of morals, of manners, of religion and of the arts the foreigner had little to teach her; but through his slowly acquired knowledge of natural processes he could compel her to do his bidding. To meet him on equal terms, years of hard work would be needed, and the extirpation of much that the nation held dear.

But there was no other way to preserve their independence. As was stated above (page 60) its researches in history had led the intellectual class to regard the Shogun as a usurping tyrant.

‘The tyrant of the Chersonese
Was Freedom’s best and bravest friend:’

and if the same could have been said of the ruler at Yedo he would have had little to fear from his critics. Recent events have made it evident that the Japanese has none of the Westerner’s deference for liberty in the abstract: his Government may be arbitrary provided that it is efficient.

The Shogun’s offence was not his despotism but his incapacity: it had become clear that in the event of an invasion he would lead his people not to conquest but to defeat, and the Japanese were in no mood to tolerate an incapable despôtism.

Such was the state of things in Japan when the Government of the United States sent Commodore Perry in 1853 to open diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The Japanese had been warned by the Dutch of his intentions, and upon his appearance at Yedo they endeavoured to send him to Nagasaki, that being the only harbour where intercourse with foreigners took place. Perry, however, declined to recognize any such restrictions and insisted on delivering at Yedo

a formal letter from the President of the United States to the ruler of Japan. However, he made no attempt to coerce the Japanese into returning an immediate answer, but sailed away. The Japanese being made aware that he would return in a few months, busied themselves feverishly with the defences of the country: the law against the building of ocean-going ships was withdrawn, forts were constructed, troops were raised, and the Dutch were besought to import and to distribute scientific works from Europe. Knowing what we do of the fighting capacity of the Japanese nothing is more suggestive of their will-power than the determination they formed not to offer resistance: having realized that their preparations were not sufficient to repel Perry they decided to accede to his demands.

Consequently when the American squadron returned a treaty was concluded whereby Japan undertook 'To accord kind treatment to shipwrecked sailors; to permit foreign vessels to obtain stores and provisions within her territory, and to allow American ships to anchor in the ports at Shimoda and Hakodate'. Nothing was said about trade.

When his proposals had been accepted Perry showed his unwilling hosts some examples and models of scientific apparatus to illustrate, it is suggested, how the western nations could control the natural forces which the Japanese worshipped. A telegraph wire created a great impression. Here, then, let us leave the conquerors of Russia examining with amazement a model railway!

First
Ameri-
can-
Japanes
Treaty.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSITION

THE Tokugawa Shogunate survived by several years the acceptance of Perry's terms, but it had suffered a mortal injury. Its policy had failed under circumstances which made it no longer possible to silence criticism. The long hidden dissatisfaction now gained utterance, and the different classes discovered that they were at one in desiring a change of government. Strengthened by this solidarity they made no secret of their wishes. In his perplexity the Shogun had condescended to ask the advice of the daimyos who had for so long been denied any participation in the government. The opportunity was seized to remind the Shogun that his appointment as general did not entitle him to administer the country as he had done, and that he was not even next in rank to the Emperor whose powers he had arrogated to himself. In fact it was asserted that the treaty he had executed was not binding upon Japan.

As a class the daimyos resented the indignities that had been put upon the country, and were in favour of resisting the intruders by force; some, however, with a keener grasp of the situation recommended that the foreign demands should be acceded to until the nation was in a position to make good a refusal. The powerful Daimyo of Mito gave ten reasons for taking up arms; one of them is worth quoting as typifying a military attitude towards political economy which is by no means confined to Japan :—

‘What! trade our gold, silver, copper, iron and sundry useful materials for wool, glass and similar trashy little articles!’¹

The Shogun’s position was extremely difficult: if he refused to negotiate treaties with foreigners they would seize his harbours by force; and if he consented he exposed himself to unpopularity which also was likely to express itself by arms. Eventually he signed the treaty with Perry and similar treaties with England, Russia, and the Netherlands, while giving the daimyos to understand that he was only manœuvring to gain time. These treaties did not contain specific commercial stipulations, for Perry, who showed considerable shrewdness, wished to give the Japanese no excuse for rejecting his advances. He realized that it was a difficult matter for people as civilized as the Japanese to decline to repatriate shipwrecked sailors, and he foresaw that intercourse would increase, when once relations were entered into.

Partly, then, owing to Perry’s deliberate policy and partly owing to the political situation in Europe and America no great pressure was put upon Japan. She was allowed time to inform herself of the strength of the foreigners and to adjust herself to the inevitable. It was fortunate for her that the third quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by universal unrest. The United States drifted into a civil war that absorbed all the attention of the administration; Europe had hardly recovered from the revolutionary disturbances of 1848 before she was torn by the series of struggles which led up to the Union of Italy and the Union of Germany: Russia, occupied in the Crimea, could not display much enterprise on her eastern frontier: Asia was a prey to agitation: on the one side India was

European
and
American
politics
favour-
able to
Japanese
situation.

¹ D. Murray.

striving to rid herself of her British masters, on the other the Tai-pings were rebelling against the Government of China. Foreigners, especially the British, assisted to subdue the insurrection and thus supplied Japan at her own door with information about their methods and their irresistible power.

Meanwhile the Americans had been working hard to negotiate a commercial treaty which they at last obtained, in 1858, mainly through the clever diplomacy of their consul Townsend Harris. (An account of Mr. Harris's entry into Yedo and of his audience with the Shogun will be found in the chapter on Tokyo.) The arrangements were made with the Shogun's Government at Yedo—the claims of the Emperor not being realized by foreigners—and thus were sown the seeds of the complications of the ensuing years.

The Shogunate, when once satisfied of the strength of the intruders, determined not to court disaster by resisting them; it signed the commercial treaties without the sanction of the Imperial Government at Kyoto, which was the centre of the reactionary party. In so doing it did not exceed its traditional privileges; the Spanish and Portuguese had always treated with Yedo, and its power to negotiate with the Americans was only called in question because of its general weakness and unpopularity.

Mention has already been made of the forces arrayed against the Shogun. Among them now became prominent the chiefs of the great Satsuma and Choshu clans. Situated far from the stronghold of the Tokugawas—the two great Southern Houses had remained almost independent: they resented the pretensions of Yedo and seized with alacrity the opportunity of restoring the authority of the Emperor—an authority which they counted on exercising.

'Expel the foreigner' made a popular cry which was extremely embarrassing to the Shogun. He had been obliged to conclude treaties with Great Britain and other European powers on the lines of that drawn up in 1858 with the United States, and he now found himself confronted with an anti-foreign agitation which asserted itself in outrages and murders. These he was powerless to prevent; they were the work of opponents who wished either to discredit his administration or to embroil him with the intruders, and they succeeded in their object. The foreigners had no conception that there was a power in Japan above the Shogun, and he, for reasons that can be appreciated, shrank from disclosing himself as a servant to those who approached him as a master.

Apart from this not unpardonable deception the Shogun seems to have acted in good faith; his perplexity finds plaintive expression in a letter written by Townsend Harris who had fallen ill; the Shogun, he says, sent his own doctors, who 'received peremptory orders to cure me; if I died they would themselves be in peril'.¹ Nothing that the Shogun could do gave satisfaction; in order to protect his unwelcome guests from the attacks of the disaffected he had them followed by armed guards—only to find that the guests regarded the guards as spies!

The disorder took the most serious forms; the Daimyo of Hikone, Li-Kamom-no-Kami, a strong man who, as regent, wielded the power personified as 'the Shogun', was murdered by the retainers of the Daimyo of Mito whose reactionary agitation he had sternly repressed. A like fate befell Mr. Heusken, the interpreter of the American legation. The hatred of the

¹ D. Murray.

Government received whimsical expression in the decapitation of the statues of the Ashikaga shoguns. The British legation was attacked and a British subject named Richardson was cut down by the retainers of the Satsuma chieftain for whose passage he had declined to make way. About the same time the Daimyo of Choshu fired upon foreign vessels passing through the Straits of Shimonoseki. For this offence vengeance was taken by a combined British, French, Dutch, and American fleet, while Kagoshima, a city belonging to the Satsuma chieftain, whose followers had killed Richardson, was bombarded and destroyed by the British.

The Shogun was willing enough to make amends, but he lacked the means to pay the indemnity demanded: he still concealed the true cause of dissatisfaction, attributing the unruliness of the people not to his own unpopularity but to the derangements in the currency and in the price of provisions—derangements which were laid at the door of the foreigners. The punishment which the latter took upon themselves to inflict was extremely effective. It was the great houses of Satsuma and Choshu which had suffered from the bombardments and it was they who dictated the attitude of the Emperor of Kyoto. The expression 'the Emperor' like the expression 'the Shogun' was a convenient symbol for the authority exercised in his name; he was not personally responsible for the anti-foreign policy of his advisers, and there was no difficulty about modifying it when its futility had been brought home to Satsuma and Choshu by the guns of the ships of war. Henceforward Kyoto ceased to thwart the Shogun by involving him in complications with such powerful adversaries.

‘In the face of the Kagoshima bombardment and the Shimonoseki expedition no Japanese subject could retain any faith in his country’s ability to oppose Occidentals by force. Thus the year 1863 was memorable in Japan’s history. It saw the “barbarian expelling” agitation deprived of the Emperor’s sanction; it saw the two principal clans, Satsuma and Choshu, convinced of their country’s impotence to defy the Occident; it saw the nation almost fully roused to the disintegrating effects of the feudal system; and it saw the traditional antipathy to foreigners beginning to be exchanged for a desire to study their civilization and to adopt its best features.’¹

However, the Choshu men were unable or unwilling to pay the indemnity demanded of them, and the Government had to assume responsibility for it. Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister, then proposed to set off the balance of the indemnity against certain desirable concessions; these he was shrewd enough to see were of greater value, if obtained, from the rising instead of from the waning authority. He, therefore, addressed himself to the Emperor much as Perry had approached the Shogun. The Emperor was obliged to yield to the pressure put upon him, and the failure of the Shogunate to save him from this affront proclaimed its weakness and sealed its fate.

The officials whom the Shogun had appointed to carry out the negotiations were dismissed in disgrace by the Emperor, and the Shogun resigned. Resignation of Shogun.

Lord Redesdale gives a most entertaining account of the struggle between the foreign diplomatists for the post of chief councillor to the coming power.

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 239.

The protagonists were the representatives of England and of France :—

‘Our chief was the winner, for the French Minister, who never seemed to be able to take a clear view of the situation, characteristically blundered into backing the wrong horse. He was all for bolstering up the Shogun which was an absolute impossibility.’

‘I well remember how one day Sir Harry came into my room, his hair bristling with fury. What was the matter? “That fellow Roches (the French Minister) has stolen a march upon me; he is sending for a *mission militaire* to come and drill the Shogun’s troops. Never mind! I will have a *mission navale*”—and he did. In this way was the first instruction in modern military and naval methods started in Japan.’

The Shogun had been asked to resume his office as his rivals were not yet ready to replace him and the administration remained for a year or two as before. But in 1867 Tokugawa Yoshinobu, who had acceded to the title the previous year, tendered his resignation in response to a memorial pointing out that Japan must become a prey to the foreigners unless the system of divided government was put an end to. This time the resignation took effect. It is to be regretted that this unselfish renunciation of kingly power should not have been accepted in a like spirit by the enemies of the Shogun. Unfortunately they induced the Emperor to denounce him as an enemy of the nation and to dismiss the Tokugawa troops with ignominy from Kyoto. They resented the insult by force of arms, only to be defeated by the imperial troops; further resistance was made by the Daimyo of Aizu and by the Admiral of the Shogun’s fleet, but

neither of them achieved any success, and in a few weeks the new Government was firmly established and universally acknowledged. The loss of life must have been far greater if the Shogun had fought for his position; fortunately for Japan he submitted unconditionally to the Emperor, who left him unmolested. He is still alive, and last year was granted an audience by the Emperor. How many other countries can point to a similar instance of subject's patriotism and king's magnanimity?

The Emperor, who thus became supreme, was Mutsuhito, who still sits upon the throne of Japan. He inaugurated the new era in 1868 by receiving a number of foreign diplomatists—an event without parallel in the history of Japan. His next step was to abandon Kyoto with its traditions of voluptuous seclusion, and to set up his court in Yedo, long recognized as the centre of the administration.

Japan had now entered the family of nations; it remained for her to make good her position. She had been constrained by foreign powers to accept conditions the true irksomeness of which she did not at first appreciate, but this probably was a blessing in disguise; they were an outward and visible sign of inferiority; while they were in force the nation could not deem itself independent, and by pointing to them statesmen could induce the people to make sacrifices.

The sacrifices they called for were heavy indeed; the Emperor relinquished the dignified ease of Kyoto; the Shogun renounced the authority bequeathed to him by his ancestors for two hundred and fifty years. The daimyos now followed his example. It is not likely that they foresaw this consequence of their opposition to the Shogun. To all, except the small class of liberal thinkers to whom reference will have to be made later,

Restoration of
Imperial
authority

Daimyos' surrender
of their
fiefs.

the abolition of the twofold government was the end in view. They desired that the Emperor should take his true place at the head of the national polity, but they saw no necessity for any organic alteration in the polity itself. They anticipated that the feudal system would survive with the Emperor as overlord. The Shogunate was a fifth wheel adding to the weight, but not to the efficiency of the coach of state ; with its abolition the machinery of government would be simplified. Moreover, the daimyos were actuated by ambition as well as by public spirit ; they covertly expected to recover much of the authority which had been theirs before it was grasped by Iyeyasu. The Satsuma clan were aiming not merely at overthrowing the house of Tokugawa but at supplanting it ; it was only to be expected that the Emperor would testify his gratitude by choosing his advisers from among the chieftains to whom he owed his restoration. Hitherto, Japan had never dethroned Charles but to make James king, and that the Satsuma clan assigned to itself the rôle of James was evident to the other feudatories. They, on their side, had no desire to substitute a strong master for a weak one ; in all probability they would have offered armed resistance to the Satsuma pretensions but for the salutary convulsion that attended the intervention of the foreigners. The danger from without put an end to internal dissensions. A few years later the same thing happened in Europe : the German princes, whose domestic policy bade them thwart the King of Prussia, hailed him Emperor with acclamation in Versailles. The necessity for uniting the nation against foreign aggression had supplied the discontented daimyos with numerous arguments against the government of the Tokugawas ; the arguments were unanswerable, but they called forth the retort '*de te fabula*' ;

the Shogun had to admit the cogency of his own reasoning. By expatiating upon the evils of divided sovereignty he had come to realize them, and as an honest man he yielded up his own independent authority in the interest of the nation. This act of self-renunciation put an end to the Feudal System which had prevailed for so long. The credit for a reform without which Japan could never have ranked as a great power, has to be shared between the statesmen who induced the chieftains to make the necessary sacrifices and the chieftains themselves. Persuasion had to be employed and not coercion, for all the physical power in the country was controlled by the feudatories. The Emperor could dispose of but few men and but little money; the Shogun was discredited; and the statesmen themselves as a class were neither rich nor influential. Under these circumstances the latter could only proceed with the nicest tact. First of all they set about gaining over certain noblemen whose co-operation was indispensable. Fortunately these were men whose knowledge of affairs enabled them to grasp the situation put before them: they were made to realize that the Japanese—unskilled as they were in the commercial methods and military tactics which had been evolved while they were in seclusion—were impotent against the foreigner unless united. And union could only be brought about by bringing the whole nation under one system of laws; so long as each feudal chief was arbitrary in his own domain it was inevitable that the clans would be suspicious of one another, and that energy would be wasted in local rivalry; and while the taxes were collected and expended by a number of small potentates, the work of reorganization could not even commence. Japan, a poor country in comparison with foreign powers, was

Internal
condi-
tions at
Restora-
tion.

suddenly called upon to compete with them in annual expenditure; but whereas her rivals had to do little more than keep up already existing institutions she started with no such capital. The Japanese, islanders without a fleet, warriors without an army, had been induced by the Tokugawas to misuse their opportunities; it was only because the raw material was so good that it was possible to make up for previous miscalculations. But the work of reorganization did not admit of the slightest waste of power; large sums had to be sunk in purchasing naval and military equipment abroad, and the knowledge of how to use it had to be acquired by a corresponding expenditure of intellectual effort which also could be represented in hard cash. It cost money to send Japanese students abroad and to bring foreign professors to Japan. Moreover, the commercial and industrial machinery through which modern revenues are manufactured was absolutely lacking in Japan. There were no railways, no docks, no banking facilities.

It was obvious that every dollar that the people could spare must be paid to a central treasury to be laid out as the national interests demanded.

The situation comprised but two hopeful factors; in the first place it was so desperate as to drown the promptings of selfishness; in the second it was not complicated by the existence of vested interests; the field of modern enterprise was unencumbered. An unlighted town has one advantage; none of the residents oppose the introduction of the electric light merely because they hold shares in the gas company! The knowledge which other nations had acquired by the slow process of trial and error was at the service of Japan; she could enlighten her darkness by the best system known to the mind of man.

‘In short, the leaders of the movement found themselves pledged to a new theory of government without any machinery for carrying it into effect or any means of abolishing the old practice. An ingenious exit from this curious dilemma was devised by the young reformers. They induced the feudal chiefs of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen, the four most powerful clans in the South, publicly to surrender their fiefs to the Emperor, praying his majesty to reorganize them and to bring them all under the same system of law. In the case of Shimazu, chief of Satsuma, and Yodo, chief of Tosa, this act must stand to their credit as a noble sacrifice. To them the exercise of power had been a reality, and the effort of surrendering it must have been correspondingly costly.’¹

The procedure of the great princes referred to was imitated by practically all the other feudatories. Many of these were typical Japanese potentates; taken up with pleasures, artistic and sensual, they left the cares of government to ambitious and energetic retainers upon whose advice they acted. They were recommended to resign and they resigned. Their counsellors acted upon a variety of methods; some, no doubt, counted on obtaining greater influence under the new régime; others in their quality of samurai were swayed by loyalty to the throne and by love of country. The leaders of the movement proceeded by slow degrees :

Measures
taken to
abolish
feudal
system.

‘The feudatories were not required to surrender the sweets of power, nor were the samurai, their retainers, disturbed in their old homes. Each feudal chief remained as governor of the region where he had always ruled. He was merely transformed from a semi-independent potentate into an official of the

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 266.

Central Government, levying taxes as of yore, and paying to the Imperial treasury only such portion of the proceeds as remained after deducting ten per cent. for his own support, and after handing to the samurai their hereditary emoluments.’¹

The objections to this condition of things were obvious; the Central Government had little power. But all through the critical period now under consideration the Japanese nation showed a political sagacity difficult to parallel; they had been content in the first instance to start the machinery of reform, and they now were in a position to make changes which had previously been impossible.

By accepting appointments as governors the great feudatories admitted that such appointments were in the gift of a higher power. That power proceeded to avail itself of its rights.

‘On the 29th August, 1871, an Imperial decree announced the abolition of the system of local autonomy and the removal of the territorial nobles from their posts as governors. The taxes of the former fiefs were to be thenceforth paid into the central treasury; all officials were to be appointed by the Imperial Government, and the feudatories retaining permanently an income of one-tenth of their original revenues were to make Tokio their place of residence. As for the samurai, they remained for the moment in possession of their hereditary pensions.’²

A year or two later the Government offered to commute the pensions of the samurai on the singularly disadvantageous terms of six years’ purchase for an hereditary pension, and four years’ purchase for a life pension, and in 1876 two edicts were issued, one making the commutation of the pensions of the

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 181.

² *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 267.

ex-feudatories and samurai compulsory; the other forbidding the wearing of swords.

The significance of these changes consists less in their magnitude than in the spirit in which they were put forward and accepted. The ex-feudal chiefs offered to surrender their independence; and as for the samurai they resigned their substance at the bidding of their master in the spirit in which they would have obeyed orders to commit *hara-kiri*. What manner of people were these to whom a national peril could bring forgetfulness of their immediate personal interests! What would be the fate of a British ministry which taxed football matches to pay for a ship of war! And it must be remembered that it was the national army which was called upon for this sacrifice; no power existed to coerce this body of fighting-men. The Japanese had yet to become a nation in arms.

It is almost with a feeling of relief that one reads of the Satsuma rebellion. Saigo Takamori, one of the leaders of the Satsuma clan, partly out of personal ambition, and partly from disgust that Japan (to whom peace while she was reorganizing her forces, was essential) should have allowed an affront from Korea, rose against the Government at the head of the samurai of Satsuma, who stood for conservative Japan. The war lasted six months and cost some thirty thousand lives before the rebels were defeated; had they succeeded, the honour of fighting for Japan would have been reserved for the samurai alone, and the assimilation of Western ideas would have been less complete. That is to say, that when the time came to face the crisis with Russia, Japan would have possessed a comparatively small body of fine soldiers, but no national army; and she would have placed her trust in the methods of science with little comprehension of the

The Sat-
suma Re-
bellion.

principles underlying them. It is obvious how she would have fared.

But this sanguinary war was a blessing in disguise ; to convince the hereditary soldiery that a change was indispensable nothing would have sufficed so completely as their defeat by peasants trained under the foreign system. Henceforward they accepted the situation.

To sum up, the Satsuma and Choshu chiefs who led the movement against the Shogunate had been content to use for their own purposes the court party, and those who favoured the restoration of old Japanese usages, and in 1867 the legislative and executive power was given back to the Emperor. The leaders then developed their policy ; so far from re-establishing the Japan of the pre-Shogun era, the next few years were spent in introducing the practices and institutions of Europe and America, and in adapting Japan for the struggle to come.

A central bureaucracy replaced the feudal form of government ; the daimyates became prefectures ; the daimyo and the kuge (the court aristocracy) lost their titles and were merged into one class called kwazoku—a title which distinguished them from the heimin or commoners. (In 1884 the kwazoku were subdivided into barons, viscounts, and so forth in the European fashion.) An analogous reform consisted in the removal of the social disabilities of the pariah classes. The samurai were replaced by a conscript army drawn from the whole nation ; the Buddhist church was 'disestablished', and these democratic measures culminated in an undertaking given by the Emperor in 1869, that he would consult representative men before issuing his edicts. In this connexion the Satsuma rebellion must again be referred to : it had emphasized the fear

that Japan might once again as formerly be governed by one clan to the exclusion of all others. 'The authors of the restoration, therefore, agreed that when the Emperor assumed the reins of power, he should solemnly pledge himself to convene a deliberative assembly, to appoint to administrative posts men of intellect and erudition wherever they might be found, and to decide all measures in accordance with public opinion. This promise referred to frequently in later times as the Imperial oath at the Restoration, came to be accounted the basis of representative institutions, though in reality it was intended solely as a guarantee against the political ascendancy of any one clan.'¹

During the period of transition the reformers were able to spur on the people to make the necessary sacrifices by pointing to the humiliations imposed on Japan by the treaties which foreign nations had extorted from her. It was evident that a nation which had to accept some of the conditions contained in these treaties was not really autonomous. For instance, the Japanese were not allowed to impose more than a small tax upon imports—a limitation which deprived them of the control of their own fiscal system, and affected the building up of industries. Moreover, the treaties 'exempted foreigners residing in Japan from the operation of her criminal laws, and secured to them the privilege of being arraigned solely before tribunals of their own nationality.'² These provisos were disliked, not only because it sometimes happened that a foreigner was judge in a suit in which he was personally concerned, but because of the implication that 'Japan was unfit to exercise one of the fundamental attributes of every sovereign state—judicial autonomy'.

Japan's
claim to
Judicial
Auto-
nomy.

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 266.

² *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 240.

Japan spared no pains to have her disabilities removed, and at last it was agreed, 'that from July 1899 Japanese tribunals should assume jurisdiction over every person of whatever nationality within the confines of Japan, and the whole country should be thrown open to foreigners, all limitations upon trade, travel, and residence being removed.'¹ But Japan did not, of course, obtain this recognition during the progress of the events with which this chapter is mainly concerned.

It was fitting that the statesmen who abolished time-honoured customs should be of a type as new to the Japanese as the institutions which they introduced. Japan, the land of caste and of *patria potestas*, gave herself over to the guidance of men who, as a class, had neither birth nor experience to recommend them.

'Though essentially imperialistic in its prime purposes, the revolution which involved the fall of the Shogunate and ultimately of feudalism may be called democratic with regard to the personnel of those who planned and directed it. They were for the most part men without either official rank or social standing. . . . Fifty-five individuals may be said to have planned and carried out the overthrow of the Yedo administration, and only five of them were territorial nobles.'²

For the most part the authors of these great changes were young samurai—the class which monopolized the energy and learning of the community. It is true that they did not belong to what we should call the democracy, for they were the social superiors of some nine-tenths of the population. Hitherto, however, the samurai had figured in history as symbols, not of authority, but of allegiance, and in this sense the revolution was made from below.

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 241.

² *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 265.

It was not given to all the fifty-five to exert an equal influence in the work of regeneration: the van is the post of danger, and of those who led the attack, many went down before it had succeeded. Some fell to the assassin; some to the executioner; others succumbed to over-exertion and anxiety. Twelve of them are specially honoured by their countrymen with the title of the 'Elder Statesmen'.

Their careers are too full of incident to be recounted in this place. It must suffice to mention their names: Saigo Takamori, Okubo, Kido, Matsukata, Ito, Inouye, Yamagata, Oyama, Itagaki, Soyejima, Sanjo and Iwakura; and to append Lord Redesdale's eloquent tribute to the Japanese statesman whose name is most familiar to English readers:—

'Prince Ito's tragic end is still fresh in our memories, he was perhaps *felix opportunitate mortis*. His life's work was done—the last years which he spent in Korea bore good fruit, and it would have been sad if so great a servant of his country had faded into senile decay. Like Julius Caesar and President Lincoln, he died by the murderer's hand in the fullness of his powers, in the ripe vigour of his genius. His countrymen will not soon forget him. When I knew him first, nearly half a century ago, he was a *ronin* of the Choshiu clan—as wild as a hawk—full of spirits—ready for any adventure—up to any fun—as merry a companion as a man could wish for: but, like Prince Hal, when there was a man's work to be done, the true metal rang out clear and bright, and the energy which found an outlet in his boyish pranks, in his journey to Europe with Inouye, travelling at the risk of life, and in many a hazardous venture, was spent upon serious work, and upon the solution of the serious problem of statecraft.'

A new era began for Japan from the moment when her heaven-descended ruler surrendered his celestial

repose in the interests of his country and came among men to share their burdens. The Emperor has had his reward for assenting to the sacrifice of the picturesque mediaeval Japan with which were bound up all the traditions of his long line of ancestors.

‘Though thou love her as thyself,
As a self of purer clay,
Though her parting dim the day,
Stealing grace from all alive,
Heartily know
When half gods go
The gods arrive.’

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

THE period with which we are now concerned is known to the Japanese as the Meiji era. Since the failure of the Satsuma rebellion the nation has put its past behind it and has looked steadily forward; the eclectic instinct through which it assimilated the developments of Chinese civilization that were suitable to its needs has enabled it to take from Europe and America such institutions as could with most advantage be grafted on to the national life. Probably Europe and America in their turn have something to learn from Japan in examining her reasons for taking different countries as her tutors in different departments of knowledge. In all probability she has made a wise selection, for many of the statesmen who moulded her new institutions had completed their education abroad, and were thus in a position to pass judgment.

The Meiji
Era.

Reforms
based
upon
Western
methods.

‘Englishmen were employed to superintend the building of railways, the erection of telegraphs, the construction of light-houses, and the organization of a navy. To Frenchmen was entrusted the task of recasting the laws and training the army in strategy and tactics. Educational affairs, the organization of a postal service, the improvement of agriculture and the work of colonization were supervised by Americans. The teaching of medical science, the compilation of a commercial code, the elaboration of a system of local government, and ultimately the training of

military officers were assigned to Germans. For instruction in sculpture and painting Italians were engaged.'¹

It will be gathered that the Japanese were extremely thorough in their reforms; indeed, for a long time there was no surer way of annoying them than to select as a subject for compliment the love of the picturesque and the dignified simplicity of Old Japan. Such a device was taken to imply contempt for the organizing power and 'push' on which the new generation prided itself.

Mr. Basil Chamberlain gives an amusing instance of the childish seriousness with which the Japanese regarded their scientific acquirements:—

'A Japanese pamphleteer refused to argue out a point of philosophy with a learned German resident at Tokyo on the score that Europeans, owing to their antiquated Christian prejudices, were not capable of discussing such matters impartially!'

Such being the attitude of the Japanese people it will be understood that the 'Yellow Peril' argument is to them both offensive and unintelligible. Their object is to rank with the United States and the great nations of Europe; they have been busy for fifty years disorientalizing themselves at a cost which must be appreciated by every foreign diplomatist; and the suggestion that they propose to lead the Eastern nations against the West seems to them the result of wilful misconstruction.

Indeed, they have given their proofs; and their establishment of so Western an institution as Parliamentary Government is sufficient to indicate the lines of their future progress.

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 269.

The Constitutional History of the Meiji era repays study; it discloses how statesmen, whose ability is proved by the present standing of their country, faced the problem of combining national efficiency with individual freedom—a problem often considered insoluble; with the recollection of the strike riots and the *sabotage* by which the proletariat of the West still shows its displeasure, one must judge them by their successes and not by their failures; the radical who is dissatisfied with the status of the lower classes should refer to the social progress made in England or France during any period of fifty years. ‘The Elder Statesmen’ enjoyed the advantage of being unhampered by precedents and of having to deal with a people accustomed to autocracy; otherwise their task would have been impossible. In a country where the populace had no rights any innovation was of necessity liberal.

Constitutional
Reform.

When the present Emperor emerged from seclusion he promised, as we have seen, that the counsels of able men should be widely utilized; this stipulation may be regarded as admitting the germ of representative institutions, but as a matter of historical fact it was dictated not by the desire to give the masses a share in the government, but by the fear lest administrative power should once more be monopolized by some one clan to the exclusion of the rest.

‘Not until six years later did a vague conception of representative government present itself to a group of politicians—headed by Itagaki, now a Count, who, finding their advocacy of war with Korea defeated by the majority vote of a cabinet council, naturally longed for some tribunal to which they might appeal against a decision fatal in their opinion to the country’s interests.’¹

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 178.

The situation to which Itagaki took exception was the natural outcome of the circumstances that had preceded it. The men who had combined to depose the Shogun now combined to exercise the power which had been his.

It was only when they had accomplished this object—an object which they were at one in desiring—that their real difficulties began. First of all, they had to devise a national system of administration and to substitute it for the various local customs which prevailed in the different principalities; secondly, they had to educate themselves to understand the alien institutions which they were compelling their countrymen to adopt; and thirdly, they had to shape their foreign policy so as not to compromise the future development of Japan. Perhaps for men inexperienced in diplomacy the last was the hardest task of all. For instance, the true significance of foreign settlements and of the limitation of customs duties was not at once apparent to a people who only desired that the intruders should keep out of harm's way, and who did not contemplate manufacturing on a Western scale. It was inevitable that differences of opinion should now manifest themselves, but for several years no machinery existed for referring them to the public. Indeed, the first tentative steps to that end were far from successful. Soon after the Restoration two national assemblies were summoned, but this title is misleading, for, in the first place, they consisted solely of samurai—the gentry; in the second, they were entrusted with no legislative power. Their aimless debating served such little purpose that no third assembly was convoked. The elder statesmen grappled unassisted with problems, the difficulty of which their critics were not advanced enough to realize.

They declined to win cheap popularity by inviting men of no experience to participate in the government, and they hesitated to adopt the Anglo-Saxon practice of giving the vote first and educating the voter afterwards—although it should have recommended itself to a country where houses are built from the roof downwards. On the other hand, Itagaki and his followers regarded inconsistencies of this kind as essential to the new polity—inconsistencies which had been forced upon the models they studied; they desired to imitate the West, defects and all—just as presumably in setting up a copy of the Campanile of Venice they would have expressly sought for marshy foundations like those with which the Venetians had to content themselves.

It may be said in passing that for the Japanese it was not a question of raising their political edifice on a marsh or on nothing; they would be well repaid for time spent on allowing foundations to 'set', for with every year the nation was acquiring more political knowledge.

The Japanese were not an unlettered people: the details of their educational history are given in other chapters; it will suffice here to quote two references to education under the Tokugawa period from Count Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan*:—

'Under the various fiefs, great and small, Han or clan schools had for a long while previously been established for the education of the fief's retainers, and the number of these schools gradually increased. . . . No school fees were exacted from students.'

'The subjects taught in the *Terakoya* to the children of the common people were reading, letter-writing, arithmetic, etiquette and calligraphy, which was the

principal course. . . . The lessons differed according to the different callings of the children, with a view to practical application in daily life. . . . The school age of children was from seven or eight years to twelve or thirteen.'

After the restoration the Tokugawa system of education was improved and organized, while with the introduction of universal military service the masses became imbued with the ideas of the samurai. To a country of Japan's financial weakness it was of cardinal importance that democratic proposals—for instance a non-contributory pensions bill—should not be submitted to an electorate which could not count the cost; and it became the unpopular duty of the Elder Statesmen to defer the ultra-radical measures which would make unavailing the radical reforms which they themselves had instituted with so much labour.

However, by 1880, Itagaki had preached Rousseau doctrines with such success

'that a petition for the immediate establishment of a national parliament was addressed to the throne and thereafter quickly followed an edict creating provincial assemblies to which was entrusted the control of local affairs, notably of finance. Forty-six assemblies comprising over 1,500 legislators elected by some two millions of franchise holders, represented a more substantial concession to the rights of the subject than even the opening of a parliament. A promise of the latter was however given formally by the Emperor in 1881, and on February 11th, 1889, the Constitution was at last promulgated.'¹

Some historians are apt to regard the grant of representative government as the end of all difficulties—

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 178.

much as the novelist regards the marriage of his characters—and with as little reason. In point of fact the tribulations of Japan did not cease; they merely changed their character.

The Constitution was the work of the late Prince Ito, who had given much time to the study of foreign parliaments; it is perhaps the greatest of his many contributions to his country's welfare. As might be supposed the first debates of the Diet filled patriotic Japanese with apprehension.

‘Very little evidence could be detected of a wide national outlook. Even the government’s proposal to appropriate a sum for building two battleships was met by a resolute negative and the Emperor himself had to intervene at last’.¹

The framers of the Constitution, compelled as they were to allow votes to men of no experience, had availed themselves of the peculiar esteem in which the Japanese hold their royal house. Recognizing doubtless that party government was a logical consequence of the steps already taken, they nevertheless determined to prolong as long as possible the rule of ministers of proved competence.

By the Constitution the executive power is vested in the Emperor who exercises it through ministers appointed by—and responsible to—himself. The Cabinet’s tenure of office depends solely upon the will and pleasure of the Emperor; it cannot be dismissed by parliament. There is also a Privy Council which is consulted by the Emperor on important matters.

In practice the Emperor—with his advisers—is responsible also for legislation, for the laws passed by

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 178.

the Diet must be sanctioned by him and he can both convoke the Diet and put an end to its deliberations.

‘The Diet is comprised of two houses—a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The former consists partially of non-elected and partially of elected members. The non-elective section includes Princes and Marquises—some fifty-five in all—sitting by hereditary right, and imperial nominees—about 120—selected by the sovereign from among men of conspicuous erudition or public services, who sit for life.

To the elective section belong Counts, Viscounts, and Barons, elected in a certain proportion by their respective orders; and representatives of the highest taxpayers elected by their class.’¹

The House of Representatives consists of 379 members elected in the proportion of one to about every 127,000 of the population. The electors are male Japanese subjects who have attained the age of twenty-five years and who pay taxes to the extent of ten yen per annum.

‘During the first four years of the Diet’s existence the House of Representatives was dissolved three times; during the next four once, and during the next seven once. The descending scale tells its own tale, the political parties were learning discretion. But the Cabinet on its side, did not escape unscathed. If there were seven dissolutions in the Lower House in nineteen years, there were also eleven changes of Ministry. By these transferences of portfolios the advisers of the Crown acknowledged to the nation their sense of partial responsibility for the situation. The statistics teach another lesson also. Only twice during those nineteen years did a Cabinet enjoy any considerable lease of life; and on each occasion the country was fighting a foreign foe. An Ito Ministry remained in

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 179.

office during the war with China and a Katsura Cabinet sat in the seat of power for four years during the conflict with Russia. No other group of statesmen endured the struggle with the Diet for more than two years. Thus the honours may be said to have been divided, and if the political parties showed that they sometimes preferred tumult to legislation they showed also that patriotism effaced politics from their vision.¹

In practice the Government of Japan is a bureaucracy, the leaders of which cannot be dismissed by the people, for they are responsible only to the Emperor. It is a system which lends itself to abuses, but it is difficult to imagine any other that would have tided Japan over the recent crisis in her history. The 'clan statesmen' who were entrusted with the Government seldom commanded a majority in the Lower House, but no alternative ministry would have been more popular.

Encouraged by the Emperor, and supported by the House of Peers, they have made their country what she is. *Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice.*

It remains to give a short account of the fighting services of Japan.

Under the feudal system it was the exclusive ^{The} privilege of the samurai to bear arms and to defend ^{Army.} their country in time of need. With the advent of Perry came the necessity for a new policy. For a few years Japan experimented with Western ideas, and then in 1873 an Imperial decree was promulgated substituting national conscription for the hereditary army of the past. The soldiers of the new type were soon subjected to a severe test:—in 1877 they were called upon to meet the Satsuma samurai, who had risen primarily to demonstrate their superiority over

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 179.

such civilian warriors. The conscripts were victorious ; but this is not all. . To fill their depleted ranks, the Imperial leaders had to have recourse to volunteers.

‘But as these were for the most part samurai, the expectation was that their hereditary instinct of fighting would compensate for lack of training. That expectation was not fulfilled. Serving side by side in the field, the samurai volunteer and the *heimin* regular were found to differ by precisely the degree of their respective training. The fact was then finally established that the fighting qualities of the farmer and artisan reached as high a standard as those of the *bushi*.’¹

The history of the Japanese army during the last thirty years is of vast importance to military men, but it is of too technical a character to be given here. The work of organization and training was entrusted first to French and afterwards to German instructors ; subsequently the services of foreigners were dispensed with, and the plan was adopted of sending promising Japanese officers to study in Europe.

The success of this selective method is a proof of the discernment of the War Office, and of the national capacity to adapt foreign methods to local conditions.

To instance one point of difference between the Japanese and the foreign soldier ; the latter wants meat, the former can easily carry with him three days’ rations in the form of dried rice.

The Japanese navy has developed on much the same lines as the army. The Tokugawa policy of seclusion deprived the nation of a fleet—its birthright as an island—but it left it its breed of sailors. The Japanese had access to nothing in the matter of naval equipment which was concealed from the Russians

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 210.

and Chinese whom they defeated at sea, and the inference seems irresistible that they were superior in 'the man behind the gun'.

'Japan owes to Europeans, and largely to British naval officers, a debt which her own writers have sometimes been a little slow to acknowledge. The services of the late Admiral Tracey to the infant navy have already been mentioned. In 1873, the present Admiral Douglas, then a commander, was selected, by the British Admiralty to head a naval mission sent to instruct the Japanese navy. At a later date the present Rear-Admiral John Ingles served as naval adviser to the Japanese Government.

In her two great wars Japan has relied mainly upon herself, but it is not to be forgotten that in earlier days the young officers of her infant navy were allowed free access to British ships, and that many of them including Togo himself studied their profession in England.'¹

By the early nineties, the pains bestowed on the army and the navy had borne fruit, and nothing but active service was required to polish them into efficient machines. And the situation in Korea suggested that their services would soon be requisitioned.

To the question—why do the Japanese take such interest in Korea? one would answer, why did the Germans desire Heligoland? why do the Spaniards covet Gibraltar?

The importance of all three is relative rather than absolute; it lies in their strategic position.

If the situation of Korea be examined on the map, ^{The} little imagination will be required to regard her as a ^{Korean} question. knife pointed at the throat of Japan? With what object? murder or tracheotomy? The simile is less hyperbolic than one might suppose. The interest of Japan

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 189.

in Korea is not merely sentimental and historical, although, no doubt, the close connexion of the two countries in the past and the legendary triumphs of the Empress Jingo supply motives for resisting foreign intervention. The ownership of Korea is a vital matter. Japan went to war with China to put an end to the confusion in Korea; it was essential to her to resist any obstruction of this commercial windpipe; thousands of her subjects were engaged in trade in Korea and she looked to them for large markets on the mainland—markets on which her revenue and, therefore, her independence would largely depend. Disorder and turbulence affected her commercial development, but Russian occupation would put an end to it. Russia would maintain 'the open door' for just the time necessary to kick Japan through it. And the evil would not end even there. Increased possessions would mean an increased Russian Navy; the indented Korean coast would supply harbours for its base; and Japan would find a gigantic, unscrupulous, and aggressive power established within a few hours' steam of her coasts.

In 1894 the Government of Korea—faced with an insurrection—asked for Chinese assistance. China sent an armed force, and Japan perceived that she must do likewise if she was to preserve her influence.

China and Japan were both entitled by treaty to send troops to Korea on giving notice to each other, but it was obvious that a dangerous situation would be created if the two powers exercised their rights without coming to an agreement beforehand. However, no understanding was arrived at; indeed, China persisted in referring to Korea as a tributary State, whereas Japan had dealt with her as an equal in a treaty concluded in 1876.

The breach between China and Japan widened. The latter proposed 'that the two empires should unite their efforts for the suppression of disturbance in Korea and for the subsequent improvement of the kingdom's administration, the latter purpose to be pursued by a joint commission of investigation'. China refused on the ground that Japan was not entitled to interfere in the internal administration of a country at the very time she insisted on its independence.

China was not interested in the reform of Korea ; on the contrary, proud of her own venerable civilization, she looked with aversion and contempt upon Japan's acceptance of foreign institutions.

China desired that the countries on her frontier should retain for her the respect which would vanish if the Occident replaced her as the source of their customs. Oriental and unorganized they were a protection against more distant invaders ; agitated by the discontent of the West and armed with its weapons they became in themselves a menace. Her policy is easily intelligible ; she has always endeavoured to surround herself with buffer States whose course of action she could dictate while leaving them fully responsible for it if international complications arose. The Western powers are familiar with this aspect of Chinese statesmanship, of which the latest example occurred in connexion with the recent expedition to Lhasa ; and Japan, taught by her experiences in the Riukiu affair, knew exactly what value to attach to diplomatic protestations. Japan eventually decided to use the troops that she had sent to Korea, with the negative object of putting down the insurrection, for the positive work of reform. The insurrection itself had come to nothing, but China did not withdraw her forces ; on the contrary, she set about sending reinforcements, and

The
China-
Japanese
War.

then war broke out between the two great Asiatic powers.

There is no reason to suppose that either of them greatly coveted Korea, but to both it was vital that a country so dominantly situated should not fall under the control of Russia. China held that Japan would make a path for the common enemy by introducing Western reforms; Japan was convinced from her own experience that these and these alone would enable Korea to withstand aggression. She was, at any rate, able to demonstrate that there was much to be said for the new methods from the military point of view: the war began with the sinking of a Chinese transport, and from that time onwards the Japanese successes were unchecked.

The first serious engagement took place at Phyongyang, where the Chinese were routed in spite of enjoying every advantage of position; and a similar result attended a naval battle off the mouth of the Yalu river, although on paper the prospects were favourable to China. Niu-chang and Port Arthur were taken with little loss, and it was only in a naval engagement off Wei-hai-wei that serious resistance was encountered. However, this battle also ended in the complete defeat of the Chinese, whose ships were either taken or sunk; their commander, Admiral Ting, committed suicide. The Chinese Government eventually recognized that their enemy was too strong to be overcome, and Li Hung Chang was sent to discuss terms of peace, which were embodied in the treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895.

This treaty 'declared the absolute independence of Korea; ceded to Japan the part of Manchuria lying south of a line drawn from the mouth of the river Auping to the mouth of the Liao through Feng-hwang, Hai-cheng, and Ying-tse-kow, as well as the islands of

Formosa and the Pescadores; pledged China to pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; provided for the occupation of Wei-hai-wei by Japan pending payment of the indemnity; secured some additional commercial privileges such as the opening of four new places to foreign trade and the rights of foreigners to engage in manufacturing enterprises in China, and provided for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and amity between the two powers based on the lines of China's treaties with Occidental powers'.¹

Her victory had cost Japan some twenty thousand lives and some twenty million pounds—no high price for a successful war, but one which placed so heavy a strain upon her scanty resources that she was in no condition to engage in further military operations. She, therefore, had to forgo much of the fruit of her victory. It was represented to her by Russia, France, and Germany that she should restore to China 'in the interests of peace' the territory on the mainland that had been ceded to her; and the risk to peace involved in the occupation of Port Arthur by Japan was specially emphasized.

Japan showed that immediate perception of her own weakness which is one of the sources of her strength. She gave way; and by giving way at once she preserved her dignity; she took the advice of the three powers and adopted their suggestion.

The action of Russia was of course dictated by her own material interests; she did not desire to see Japan ensconced on territory she had marked out for herself. France as the ally of Russia associated herself with the latter's action, but the intervention of Germany is harder to account for. Either she wished to ingratiate herself with Russia or else—obsessed

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* xv, p. 247.

with the 'Yellow Peril'—she was actuated by a vision of millions of Japan-led Mongolians tramping steadily across Russia towards her own Eastern frontier.

Japan received a slightly larger indemnity than that which she originally demanded, and restored to China Port Arthur and the Liao-tung Peninsula.

To those who recognize that the occupation of this territory by a strong and hostile power could not but be a menace to the independence of Japan, it seems curious that the treaty contained no provision protecting her from an obvious danger. It would have been difficult, one would have thought, for the intervening nations to object to the inclusion in the revised treaty of a clause neutralizing the danger zone, or giving the Japanese a right of pre-emption over it; but Japan received a hint not to press for any guarantee, and perhaps she felt that the existence of any such clause might compel her to fight on the day it was torn up instead of at her own time. For it was obvious that Japan would have to fight for Korea or see Russia in occupation of it. All Russia's maritime neighbours have suffered from her sea hunger; and for years she had been pushing eastwards into Asia with the same policy that directed her to the north and to the south in Europe. Finally she reached the Pacific at Nicholayevsk, and then she turned south towards the warm water. It was not likely that she would be content with Vladivostock, commanded as it is by Japan, or that aught but the strong hand would keep her from Port Arthur. That the Japanese were under no illusions is clear; they remembered Iyeyasu's maxim: 'in the moment of victory tighten the strings of your helmet': they settled down grimly and quietly to prepare for the inevitable struggle.

CHAPTER VI

THE RECOGNITION OF JAPAN

THE last phase of the history of Japan is so intimately connected with that of Russia that it is best prefaced with some account of the earlier relations of the two countries.

The experiences of Lieutenant Laxmann in Japan have been already referred to (p. 62). Undaunted by the rebuff administered to him Russia made further overtures, but they were received so coldly that nothing came of them. However, when the Russians reached the Pacific they could no longer remain passive; the island of Saghalien commanded the estuary of the Amur, and it became necessary for them to possess themselves at any rate of its northern portion. Situated in a cold and foggy region Saghalien was not in itself desirable; for many years it had been visited by fishermen from Russia and Japan, but it had not been effectively occupied by the Government of either country. It was only on account of its strategic position that it was coveted by the former Power, which proposed in 1857 that the whole island should be recognized as a Russian possession. The Shogun's ministers made a counter-proposal that the fiftieth parallel of north latitude should be regarded as the boundary between Russia and Japan. Negotiations were protracted over several years, and in 1875 'Japan agreed to recognize Russia's title to the whole island on condition that Russia similarly recognized Japan's title to the Kuriles. It was a singular compact.

Relations
with
Russia.

The
Saghalien
question.

Russia purchased a Japanese property and paid for it with a part of Japan's belongings.¹

Count Okuma gives a most entertaining account of the attempts made by the Russian diplomatist Ignatieff to outwit Matsudaira, the envoy sent to Europe by Japan in 1861 to discuss the Saghalien question. It seems that a Russian warship had carried a map in which Saghalien was divided between Japan and Russia along the fiftieth parallel, and to this Matsudaira called attention. Ignatieff replied that this was an English map and that he could produce Russian maps in which the whole island was assigned to Russia; and sure enough in a few days' time he did! Shortly afterwards Matsudaira was taken to the Government observatory, and there he was able to point to a globe on which the 'English' partition was repeated!

About this time the Russians boldly seized Tshushima, but were compelled to withdraw in response to the representations of Great Britain. Yet Russia was far from abandoning her policy; in 1884 she entered into commercial relations with Korea, and in 1888 she concluded with that country the famous Overland Commercial Treaty which laid the foundation for the encroachments dealt with in the last chapter.

The open cynicism of the methods of Russia saved Japan from one danger; that of being lulled into false security. Japan accepted the situation; and for the next few years she was too feverishly occupied in internal preparations to waste energy in advertising herself. She showed no alacrity to invade China when the Boxer Rising of 1900 gave her an opportunity; but finding that her co-operation was desired by

¹ Okuma.

Europe and America she sent a division which acquitted itself favourably under critical eyes.

It will be remembered that the foreign legations in Peking were besieged by the insurgent Boxers and that the force sent to relieve them consisted of the troops of all nations. By associating herself with the great powers in this expedition Japan emphasized her claims to be regarded as one of them. With this she was content; she made no attempt to maintain her troops in China longer than was necessary, nor did she use her position to extort concessions for herself.

Russia was not content with the set-back she had given to Japan in insisting on the retrocession of the latter's acquisition on the mainland; she obtained from China as a reward for her support the right to build the Trans-Asiatic railway through Manchuria and so to Vladivostok; and thus she avoided the large bend to the north which the railway would have had to follow if it had remained in Russian territory. Three years later Russia demanded and obtained a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan; and with them a concession to link them up by railway to her main-line in the north.

Russian influence thus became powerful in Manchuria, and the Boxer rising gave an opportunity of increasing it. All the resources of diplomacy were required to prevent Russia from exacting an agreement making it virtually a Russian province, but finally she consented to withdraw her troops in three instalments. When the time came to act upon these stipulations Russia ignored them; Japan's protests were treated with almost open contumely. Japan had either to make war or to see herself permanently excluded from the mainland. For with the Russians in permanent occupation of the territory west of

Korea, the harbours of the latter—the only adequate harbours on that part of the coast—would be required for the development of their new acquisition.

Japan decided for war, and on the fourth of February, 1904, her destroyers attacked Port Arthur, and did considerable damage to the Russian squadron lying there. The problem before Japan was to establish herself securely in the territory she coveted before reinforcements could strengthen the Russian army of some 80,000 men. To this she could oppose about half a million trained soldiers when her reserves were called up. For Russia it was hardly a question of reserves: she could, so to speak, pump men along the trans-Siberian railway. Thus, the success of Japan was contingent upon her obtaining immediate victories; and for these her hope lay in the transport difficulties of the Russians. Those who regarded the chances of Japan as hopeless probably overlooked the limitations of a single line of railway. The Russian giant would have made light of his burden if he could have shouldered it as he pleased; but this he could not do; he had to support it at the full stretch of his arm. We are concerned here not so much with the military history of the campaign as with the qualities of courage, foresight, judgment, and enterprise which it proved Japan to possess. Her victories might be attributable to the incompetence of her foes—as was the case in the Chinese war, but the manner in which they were won revealed such a capacity for progress in a people who had relied on two swords fifty years earlier that it would be difficult to over-estimate its prospects in the future.

And it must be remembered that Japan was not borne along upon the tide of success.

Her first sea raid upon Port Arthur was less success-

ful than she no doubt anticipated : early in the war she was deprived of two of her biggest ships, the *Hatsuse* and the *Yashima* ; the first land attack upon Port Arthur was a costly failure. And the Russian infantrymen never belied their reputation : their achievement in returning again to the Shaho, after being beaten back for seven consecutive days, indicates a morale for which one is at a loss for a parallel.

A short account of the war must be given in order to bring out the difficulties with which the Japanese were faced and the resolution they displayed in overcoming them.

Their first object was to keep the two halves of the Russian fleet sealed up in Port Arthur and Vladivostok respectively while they hurried their troops over to the mainland. But the Korean roads, always bad, were at their worst under the spring thaws, and it was three months before the Japanese were ready to cross the Yalu. From the Russian standpoint the battle that resulted should have been an affair of outposts, but the Russian commander was loth to retreat before Asiatics, and it was impossible for him, with his inferior forces, to make a stand. His lack of perspicacity gave to the inevitable victory of the Japanese a lustre it would otherwise have lacked. They were enabled to start the war by storming entrenchments and hunting the defenders out of them.

The Russians would naturally have mobilized at their leisure in the north but for the necessity of saving the fleet in Port Arthur ; the fleet was the dominant factor ; victorious, it could convoy innumerable Russians to Japan : destroyed, it took with it to the bottom the hope of invading the island kingdom. It so happened that it would have been better for Russia if every ship of the Pacific fleet had been

torpedoed on the night the war began ; the army would not then have hurried into false positions for the sake of relieving Port Arthur ; and Rozhestvenski would never have started on his tragic voyage to Tsushima.

But the fleet was badly handled ; Admiral Makarof went down with his ship, the *Petropavlovsk*, in the early days of the war, and in him Russia lost her only energetic commander. If his methods had been pursued Russia might still have been deprived of her Pacific fleet, but not through the battering of siege guns ; and Rozhestvenski would have found fewer ships to give him battle when he made for Vladivostock.

What General Kuroki did on the Yalu towards making the reputation of the Japanese infantrymen, his colleague, General Oku, did at Nanshan close to Port Arthur. The capture of this strong position by a frontal attack was followed by the defeat of General Stakelberg who was hurrying south to relieve Port Arthur, and the way was then clear for a Japanese advance to the north. The first great battle of the war was fought at Liao Yang ; as it ended in the Japanese with slightly inferior forces driving the Russians out of an entrenched position, it made it clear that the latter had no advantage in leadership or in soldierly qualities. But there was much that was ominous in the failure of the Japanese to concentrate sufficient men on the battlefield to make the victory decisive ; it suggested that a time would come when they would be outnumbered. Their constancy was further tried by the news from Port Arthur. The investing army under General Nogi had tried to storm the fortress and had completely failed ; this disastrous attack had been ordered partly under misconception of

the strength of the place, partly under the necessity of destroying the Russian fleet before it could be reinforced from Europe. The besiegers' losses continued to be heavy, and their assistance was becoming more and more necessary in the north, where the Russians were gathering strength. Again and again the Japanese attacked the fortress, but they made little headway. Finally they spent ten thousand men in taking the key of the position, 203 Metre Hill, from which a view of the harbour could be obtained by officers in telephonic communication with howitzers in the rear. Thus they were enabled to sink the Russian warships as they lay in the harbour. A month later on January 2, 1905, Port Arthur surrendered; it had cost the Japanese 58,000 casualties, and left them with 32,000 sick men.

Meanwhile, there had been heavy fighting with little practical result on the Shaho in the autumn, the Japanese being now outnumbered. In the spring of the following year, 1905, the Japanese, putting their full strength into the field, endeavoured to envelop the enemy near Mukden; after several days hard fighting, their wings succeeded in effecting a junction to the north of the Russian position. But the Russians had withdrawn from it; they had, however, suffered nearly a hundred thousand casualties and some loss of prestige in being driven from Mukden, the historic capital of Manchuria. The battle had cost the victorious Japanese between forty and fifty thousand men and it was obvious that the financial strain could not be endured indefinitely. Indeed, the war was not decided on the great battlefields of Manchuria; if the Russians could have used their resources they might well have been ultimately victorious in spite of the length of their communi-

cations. But the Japanese had found a powerful ally in the Russian radical party; so many civil disturbances occurred in Russia that the Government was constrained to agree to President Roosevelt's suggestion that the time had come to discuss terms of peace. The war was closed by a treaty signed in August, 1905, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Russia was 'to cede the half of Saghalien annexed in 1875, to surrender her lease of the Liao-tung peninsula and Port Arthur, to evacuate Manchuria and to recognize Japan's sphere of influence in Korea'. Japan was victorious not because she could command better fighting-material than the enemy, but because her subjects shrank from no personal sacrifice in the national cause; Russia was defeated because her politicians regarded the war as an opportunity for creating difficulties at home. No further moral can be drawn, as the two Governments are equally autocratic. But as democratic England suffered in the South African war from embarrassments similar to those of Russia, it would appear that the yellow man has something to teach the white in the matter of patriotism.

Blinded by the splendour of the recent achievements of Japan, we run some risk of overlooking the difficulties which still beset her path. She is not necessarily the stronger for the acquisition of foreign dependencies.

An island people such as the Japanese—numerous, homogeneous, self-supporting, governed in a manner to deserve and to command respect—enjoy such an enviable position that possessions beyond the seas must be of the greatest value to compensate for the responsibilities they bring with them. How heavy the latter are may be learned in the history

of Great Britain. Extensive land frontiers call for large garrisons—especially when they lie open to the attack of powerful and ambitious neighbours; a colonial army is costly to maintain if only because of the objection against forcing conscripts to serve away from home; and the mother country cannot afford to be cut off from her dependencies; she must spend far more on her fleet than if she were only concerned with coastal defence.

The administration of Chosen will probably involve Chosen. the Japanese in many complications; the adjacent countries, China and Russia, will be very ready to intervene if occasion offers; and powers otherwise disinterested will unite to exact commercial privileges. But Japan has established herself in the mainland with her eyes open, for she is not without experience of colonial administration. In 1895 she took over the Island of Formosa which was ceded to her by Formosa. China in the treaty of Shimonoseki. Here her embarrassments began at once; her officials possessed no colonial experience and the best of them were reluctant to leave the positions they had made for themselves in Japan.

Fortunately there were exceptions, and constructive work of the greatest excellence has been accomplished by Baron Shimpei Goto, whose capacity to produce the best results at the least expenditure has resulted in his being transferred to Japan, where his development of the railway system has excited universal admiration.

‘Only thirteen years have elapsed since Formosa was placed under the Imperial Government. But there are already sufficient resources to maintain financial independence, there are industrial monopolies successfully carried out in accordance with the needs

of the time, and there are no more dohi disturbances (insurrections) except occasional menaces by some aboriginal tribes. In short, the influence of the Japanese administration now extends throughout the island.’¹

But colonial problems are material in character; they will probably yield to patience, resolution, and watchfulness. It remains to be seen if the Japanese will continue to display these qualities. Indeed, there is only one cause for apprehension—the nation may weary in well-doing. Under the stimulus of a great danger it has made a corresponding effort; it has performed prodigies; will it give way to a feeling of lassitude now that dull and unostentatious toil must be substituted for the heroic achievements of the last few years? To succeed in competition with her new rivals, Japan must persist in displaying the restless energy which is instinctive in the Western races; will the nation now resume her Eastern customs as the individual is said to resume his kimono when his day’s work is done? Much money will be needed for what remains to be accomplished; taxation will of necessity be heavy, and no doubt it will breed labour troubles. To quote Count Okuma in his introductory article to the *Times*, Japanese edition:—

‘In the early days of national reform, countries advance bravely and enthusiastically on their course, but midway they are apt to falter; their pulse grows sluggish and their energies flag. During the past half century the Japanese have freely and incessantly spent themselves in the working out of their national destiny and not least in the two great foreign wars they have had to wage. There have been signs in some quarters of a certain exhaustion of mental activity, a certain relaxation of moral fibre, a certain

¹ Okuma.

tendency towards scepticism which, it may be feared may react injuriously on social morality.'

In his own book Count Okuma is more explicit: he deplores 'the primitive conceptions of the greater part of the people as to their legal rights and duties'.

With the collapse of the feudal system there has been a breakdown of the sense of duty to ancestors, rulers, and superiors, and nothing has taken its place. The new system of law and administration is excellent but the theories upon which it is based are not understood by the masses and thus it is not 'broad based upon the people's will'.

In art, in literature and in matters of social custom the old has been swept away, and at present the nation is like a questing hound uncertain which of several tracks to follow. Commercial morality is not what it should be—a state of things attributed by some critics to the 'free thinking' attitude of the Japanese towards religious questions; by others, to their not having been long enough in business to know that a good reputation is worth more than a single profitable transaction.

Some of the criticisms of the Japanese trader must be taken, it is to be remembered, in connexion with the anxiety which his entry into commerce inspires among those already engaged therein. The latter fear that they will find behind each individual Japanese the organized resources of his strenuous Government. In a sense, however, this state support is a source of weakness for it does away with the need for private enterprise. Mr. C. V. Sale said in a paper on Japan recently read before the Royal Statistical Society:—

'Men look to the Government for aid and having received it strive to stifle competition. Success depends more on manœuvring for privileges than on a steady

persevering struggle against obstacles. As a natural sequence the supply of active, resourceful, self-reliant men of affairs does not keep pace with the demand; hence the timidity of capital and the cry for more and still more Government assistance.'

Count Okuma observes the same characteristic in other walks of life; he mentions with regret that 'scholars and students are not expected so much to invent as to supply'.

Some reference had to be made to blemishes referred to by so great an authority, although to a foreigner they seem symptomatic merely of transition, and of little account in comparison with the merits which the national character has recently shown itself to possess—merits which Great Britain may claim to have been the first of the Great Powers to recognize. Indeed, without a summary of the relations between Japan and the British Empire, an English account of Japan would be incomplete.

As far as is known the first Englishman to reach Japan was a certain Will Adams who was pilot of a Dutch ship which arrived there in 1600. Adams was never allowed to return home, but he secured the confidence and patronage of Iyeyasu, from whom he obtained a comfortable livelihood as a shipbuilder.

The Dutch soon developed the trade of which they were destined to obtain a monopoly, and their success excited the cupidity of the English, who resented, moreover, the high prices that they had to pay for Japanese merchandise. The English East India Company set about trading with Japan, and their advances were received at first with great cordiality. But the Company misused its opportunities; it was ill-advised in its choice of head-quarters in Japan; it had much to contend against in the hostility of

the Dutch; money was lost and eventually the trade was abandoned. For many years Great Britain was content to follow in the wake of other Powers; as, for instance, when as a sequel to the commercial compact made with the United States, Lord Elgin negotiated in 1858 a similar agreement known as the Treaty of Yedo. The British share in the bombardment of Shimonoseki has been already referred to (p. 70), and for some time to come 'Great Britain was the chief defender of the principles of extra territorial jurisdiction and of the compulsory limitation of tariffs which the Japanese regarded with so much resentment'.¹ Indeed, 'Great Britain, which had greater interests at stake than any other power, was most resolute in refusing any concessions that might jeopardize them; the foreign newspapers of Japan were British, and it was in them that what may be called the anti-Japanese views received expression; by the light of subsequent events we can see that Great Britain was running the risk—and we now know what it implied—of being regarded as the national enemy. Fortunately for her relations with the Japanese, when more liberal views prevailed, it was again Great Britain which took the lead. 'A treaty signed in London in 1894 gave back to Japan after a due interval the judicial autonomy and the tariff autonomy which she had lost in the first convention. It will always be a source of satisfaction that this treaty was signed some days before the outbreak of war with China, when the coming greatness of Japan was still almost unperceived.'¹

It was the outcome of this war which proved to

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 170.

Japan and Great Britain that they had much in common. The latter refused to join the confederation which compelled Japan to renounce her conquests in Manchuria, and the logical consequence of this abstention was reached in 1902, when the two Powers entered into a formal alliance for the maintenance of the independence of China and Korea. It was provided that if either nation were involved in war with more than one other Power in defending this principle her ally would come to her assistance; and at the same time the two contracting powers expressly disavowed for their own part any aggressive intentions towards the region referred to. Just previously Japan had consented to the occupation of Wei-hai-wei by Great Britain, but, nevertheless, it was the former to which the agreement promised the greater benefit. To Japan it was vital that Korea should not pass into hostile hands: to Great Britain it was not. There is then no cause for surprise that the scope of the treaty should have been extended two years later to embrace India and Asia generally. 'The principal changes in the terms of the alliance were the inclusion of India in the specified regions, and the vital decision that hostilities with only one power in the circumstances noted involved both allies.'¹

The terms of the new agreement were arranged towards the end of the Russo-Japanese war, and were announced upon its conclusion. They enabled Japan to ease the almost intolerable strain which had been placed upon her finances, and to develop undisturbed the industries upon which her revenue depends. The treaty was concluded with the object of maintaining peace in the Far East, and in this it has been suc-

¹ *Times*, Jap. edit., p. 173.

cessful beyond the hopes of the contracting parties. In 1907 both France and Russia came to an understanding with Japan.

They agreed to recognize the independence of China; to support one another in maintaining order there, and to accept the principle of equality of opportunity for the traders of all nations. The tension in the past was at once relaxed, and with it went the previous grouping of the Great Powers; this, in turn, reacted on the East, for the improvement in the relations between Russia and Great Britain removed one source of danger from Japan. On the other hand, it is possible that the recent unrest in India has been partially due to the success of the Japanese in their conflict with a white race. Indeed, the guns of Tsushima, of Port Arthur, and of Mukden have reverberated throughout the British Empire. Australia, conscious of her huge and unpeopled territories, has been brought by a dread of an Asiatic invasion to recognize her own helplessness, and to take some steps for her own defence. In Canada the victors were feared not as warriors but as labourers, and the situation created by the anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver in 1907 would have been dangerous but for the calmness of the authorities at Tokyo. The commercial treaty of 1894 between Great Britain and Japan confers upon the subjects of either nation the right to enter, travel, or reside in the dominions of the other; the Japanese availed themselves of these rights to settle in British Columbia to the real or fancied detriment of the white men who had to compete with them. Disturbances followed, and British Columbia passed an anti-immigration act which conflicted with the privileges conceded by treaty to Japan.

Anti-Japanese agitation in Columbia.

The Japanese Government preserved its dignity by

insisting on the formal recognition of its rights, but it quelled the agitation by consenting not to exercise them in a way to cause friction; the difficulty was solved by restricting the number of emigrants allowed to leave Japan for Canada. This is only one instance out of many of the ready tact with which the Japanese make matters easy for those who have to deal with them. At the same time, in order that the querulous white races may not be involved in disparaging comparisons, it should be pointed out that the returned emigrants would form an undesirable element in the population; their descriptions of the material prosperity of the Canadian labourer would give rise to discontent; and the autocracy of Japan would find itself contrasted to its disadvantage with the democratic Governments of North America.

It will be gathered that when the first Anglo-Japanese treaty was concluded, it was looked upon with some misgiving in the British Colonies. But since then much has happened; Japan has acquired outlets for her population which should satisfy her needs for some time to come; she is no longer credited with aggressive designs, and she has proved herself the equal in civilization of any of the other great Powers. It may be inferred that considerations of this kind have had their effect in Great Britain; otherwise, the Imperial Conference would not have been immediately followed by the renewal for ten years of the Alliance between Great Britain and Japan. In substance the agreement is unchanged, but it has been modified by the addition of the following clause:—

‘Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to

war with the Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.'

In a leader commenting on the reception generally given to the renewal of the treaty of alliance the *Times* of July 18, 1911, said :

'America shares our gratification at the removal of an obstacle to our General Arbitration Treaty with her, and at the fact that Japan has actively helped to remove it, while, after some doubts and hesitations before the real character of the changes was understood, the Japanese Press is recognizing more and more the advantages it confers on both signatories alike. Of the European Powers France is naturally gratified by a step which strengthens the hands of her British friends, and which tends to make those Asiatic conflicts impossible, from which her interests in Europe have often suffered and have seldom derived advantage. An article in the *Novoe Vremya* takes credit to M. Isvolsky's action in negotiating the Russian Agreement with Japan, for facilitating the amendment of our alliance with her by the omission of the article referring to the countries adjacent to the Indian frontier. That omission is indeed one of the most welcome features in the new Agreement, as the changes in the situation which have led to it are one of the most welcome features in the present position of world-politics.'

It has been by the hardest of fighting that Japan has won her high position among nations, and it is of happy augury that she is now maintaining it by her concessions to the cause of peace.

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE Japanese Empire consists geographically of a long chain of islands, with six large and innumerable smaller units, lying in the Pacific Ocean between $156^{\circ} 32'$ east and $119^{\circ} 18'$ west longitude, and $21^{\circ} 45'$ south and $50^{\circ} 56'$ north latitude. In a shorter sentence than this, giving merely the longitudinal and latitudinal position, the compilers of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768) disposed of 'Japan, or the islands of Japan'. No more significant way of emphasizing how, during the succeeding century, Japan emerged from the nebulous state implied by that short paragraph to her present position can be found than by pointing to the contrast between the amounts of space afforded her in the first and eleventh editions of the *Encyclopaedia*—and this book is but one of innumerable tributes to the development of little more than half a century.

In the north Japanese territory commences, at a short distance from the coast of Russian Siberia, in the island of Saghalien, the southern half of which, i.e. from 50° north, was ceded to Japan by Russia in 1905, and is called Karafuto by the Japanese. Due south of this fish-shaped strip of land is the roughly quadrangular Hokkaido, and south of Hokkaido is the largest link of the island chain, Honshiu, the mainland, curving like a bow from southwards to westwards, and having close under its western portion the island of Shikoku. West of Shikoku is Kiushiu; south and west of this, and

connected by a string of islets known as Riukiu, are Taiwan, the one-time Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands. From east of Hokkaido the 'Myriad isles' (Chishima), also known as the Kurile Islands, straggle like stepping-stones north and east to the peninsula of Kamchatka. In all, there are more than 3,000 islands, large and small.

Karafuto has an area of 13,154 square miles; Hokkaido, without Chishima, covers 30,275 square miles; of Honshiu, or the mainland, the area with its adjacent islands is 86,770 square miles, a very little less than half of the total of the Empire. The superficial extent of Shikoku, with its adjacent islands, is 7,032 square miles; of Kiushiu, 15,584, and of Taiwan alone, 13,839 square miles. The total area of the Empire, ^{Area.} excluding the recently annexed Korea (Chosen), and disregarding islands with a coast-line of less than one *ri* (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles), is 174,690 square miles. Chosen has an area of 84,102 square miles.

The sea of Japan, broadest where the northern half ^{Seas.} of Honshiu faces the centre of Chosen, and narrowing sharply into the Korea Strait in the south and the Maniya Strait in the north, separates Japan from the Asiatic Continent, and is connected with the Pacific Ocean by the straits which part the various islands of Japan. The coast which it washes is comparatively little indented, and affords few harbours or safe roadsteads, and this circumstance accounts for the gravitation of trade to the east coast, which the Pacific has eroded into many bays and inlets, especially in the south. At a little distance from the north-east coast of Honshiu <sup>Moun-
tains and
volcanic
ranges.</sup> is the deepest sea-bed in the world, where soundings have shown 4,655 fathoms. It is presumed that such a depth indicates a submarine crater of extraordinary dimensions, the origin, probably, of many of the earth-

quakes which at varying intervals devastate parts of the Pacific coast of Japan.

The celebrated Inland Sea, separating Shikoku from Kiushiu and both from Honshiu, is connected with the Sea of Japan by one channel, and with the Pacific by three narrow channels. It is sown with numerous islands of great and diversified scenic beauty, and, almost land-locked as it is, suffers little from storms. It is popularly supposed to feed Lake Biwa, fifty miles from its north-eastern extremity, by means of an underground canal.

Mountain and valley together constitute about seven-eighths of the area of Japan, though there are some broad plains in Hokkaido, Honshiu, and Kiushiu. The Kwantō plain, wherein are situated Tokyo and Yokohama, is the largest, and the cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe are all contained within the Kinai plain. Again, the chief coal-field of Japan is the Tsukushi plain. A large and well-defined range of mountains traverses Karafuto and Hokkaido from north to south, and continues through the centre of Honshiu, sending out many lateral branches. A range called the Kouron Mountains, originating in China and crossing the China Sea, runs north-east from Formosa, and from this main chain spring two branch ranges, one running south through Kiushiu, Shikoku and the Kii peninsula, and the other north past Lake Biwa, finally joining the Karafuto range. There are few volcanoes in the part of the country which faces the Pacific, but the western side abounds in them. One volcanic chain, the Fuji range, follows a line which divides the country into North and South, that is, from the Mariana Islands across the Bonin and Izu islands and Honshiu. Another, the Kurile range, runs along Chishima and through Hokkaido to Honshiu, and a third, the Kiri-

shima range, begins in Formosa and enters Kiushiu by way of the Riukiu Islands. There is also the Midland range, which connects the Kurile and the Kirishima ranges. Hardly any of the mountains of Japan proper reach the perpetual-snow line. The highest peak, Niitakayama (14,270 feet) and the second highest, Mount Sylvia, are both in Formosa, the former in the centre of the island and the latter in the north. They are summits of the chief range which traverses the island from north to south, leaving the eastern side hilly and the western half a gentle slope seawards.

The most famous of all Japanese mountains is of course Fuji-yama (*yama* or *san* = mountain) in the Fuji range, which rises in almost perfect symmetry to a height of 12,395 feet, with eight lakes at its feet formed of rivers dammed by comparatively recent outbursts of ashes and lava. The Fuji range runs in a north-westerly direction through the Seven Islands of Izu into the Izu peninsula, Mount Fuji being a short distance west of Yokohama. Other chief peaks in this range are Jakengatake (9,612 feet), Myokosen (8,050 feet), and Jakeyame (7,905 feet). East of Mount Fuji are the Kanto mountains, and westwards are three smaller ranges, the Akashi Mountains (containing Akashiyama and Shianesan, each over 10,000 feet), the Kiso Mountains (Komagatake, 7,800 feet), Enoyama (7,874 feet), and the Hida Mountains, an imposing group known as the Alps of Japan, which contain Tateyama (9,186 feet), and Hakusan, the Snow Mountain (7,797 feet). Other peaks in this group are Jarigtake, Norikuragate and Ontake, all over 10,000 feet, the last-named the highest in Japan proper after Fuji.

In the west of Honshiu the Chugoku range stretches from the northern shores of the Inland Sea to Lake Biwa. The chief range in Shikoku is the Shikoku

mountains, which are a continuation of the Kiushiu-Nambu range in Kiushiu. The highest peaks in the Shikoku range are Ishizachiyama (7,743 feet) and Tsurugisan (7,355 feet).

Generally speaking, the mountain scenery of Japan lacks the quality of ruggedness, climatic processes having effected a smoothing and softening of outlines which makes for a kind of gentle beauty rather than for impressive grandeur. Most of the high peaks are volcanic cones superimposed on mountains of more ancient origin; indeed, Japan stands over the most extensive system of volcanic veins in the world, and has many still active volcanoes which erupt disastrously from time to time. Asama, in Ise, on the eastern coast of Honshiu, is the largest, and has a crater of about 700 feet in depth, with absolutely perpendicular walls. Its eruption in 1783 destroyed several villages. Komagatake, in Hokkaido, became active in 1856 after a period of quiescence, and wrought havoc in the neighbourhood of its south-eastern flank. Asumayama, in Fukushima, erupted in 1900 for the fourth time since 1893, killing many sulphur-workers and throwing ashes to a distance of five miles. The Nikko district, at one time highly volcanic, now contains only one active volcano, Shirane, which erupted in 1889, and in the Kuni of Kai (east coast of Honshiu) a mountain of the same name was active in 1905. The main crater of this latter is walled off into three parts, each holding a lake. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they contain free sulphuric acid, mixed with iron and alum. Agatsuma, in Iwaki, burst out in 1903, killing two geologists; Aso-take, in Higo (Saikaido), whose 10 m. \times 15 m. crater is the largest in the world, has been eruptive since a remote period, and there was an outbreak in 1894. Unfortu-

nately for Japan the foregoing do not exhaust the list, for, according to the famous seismologist Professor Milne, there are at least fifty-one 'active' volcanoes, including sixteen in the Kurile Islands. However, the word 'active' is capable of a very wide interpretation, and may be used indifferently to describe Asama-Yama, one of the most violent of Japanese volcanoes, and Tarumai, which only exhales a little steam from some of its minor cones, so that an estimate based merely upon Professor Milne's figures would be extreme.

Then, to compensate Japan for the peril which ^{Hot} attends their restless presence, volcanoes have, in the ^{springs} words of Mr. Bruce-Mitford, bequeathed her a priceless legacy in the form of her numberless hot springs. 'Of these there are more than a hundred—known and reputed for their medicinal value—acid, saline, sulphurous, chalybeate, or carbonic, as the case may be.' In Hokkaido there are, for instance, Shimoyukawa, Ashiyamadani, and Totetsu; in Honshiu the spas at Kasatsu, Shiobara, Ikao, Stami, Shuzenji, and other places are held in high esteem for their curative properties, and the Dogo in Shikoku and the Beppu in Kiushiu are other valuable products of volcanic energy.

'When one reflects upon the celebrity to which certain European spas have attained, the social influence with which their natural virtues have endowed them, and the source of attraction they prove to health-seekers from all parts of the world, it may with reason be expected that the future has much in store for the hot-spring resorts of Japan, associated, as they invariably are, with the contrasted charms of volcanic phenomena and delightful scenery. Indeed, in view of the increasing importance now attached to natural aids in the preservation of health, and the continued annihilation of distance by improved means of travel,

it requires no prophetic vision to see that Japan, with the unrivalled natural advantages she possesses, will eventually enjoy a unique position among the health-resorts of the world.'

Geologically, Japan consists largely of igneous rocks in the Kurile Islands, Kiushiu, and the northern half of Honshiu. In Dr. Rein's valuable work, *Japan*, it is shown that the mountain system consists of three main lines, and that the rocks fall also into three groups, (a) plutonic rocks, particularly granite; (b) volcanic rocks, chiefly trachyte and dolerite; (c) palaeozoic schists.

'The basis of the islands consists of granite, syenite, diorite, diabase and related kinds of rock, porphyry appearing comparatively seldom. Now the granite, continuing for long distances, forms the prevailing rock; then again, it forms the foundation for thick strata of schist and sandstone, itself only appearing in valleys of erosion and river boulders, in rocky projections on the coasts or in the ridges of the mountains. . . . In the composition of many mountains in the main island granite plays a prominent part. . . . It appears to form the central mass which crops up in hundreds of places towards the coast and in the interior. Old schists, free from fossils and rich in quartz, overlie it in parallel chains through the whole length of the peninsula, especially in the central and highest ridges, and bear the ores of Chu-goku (the central provinces), principally copper pyrites and magnetic pyrites. These schist ridges rich in quartz show, to a depth of 20 metres, considerable disintegration. The resulting pebble and quartz-sand is very unproductive, and supports chiefly a poor underwood and crippled pines with widely spreading roots which seek their nourishment afar. In the province of Settsu granite everywhere predominates, which may be observed also in the railway cuttings between Hiogo and Osaka, as well as in the temples and walls of these towns. The water-

falls near Kobe descend over granite walls, and the *mikageishi* (stone of Mikage) famous throughout Japan, is granite from Settsu. . . . In the hill country on the borders of Ise, Owari, Mikawa, and Totomi, on the one side, and Omi, Mino, and Shinano, on the other, granite frequently forms dark-grey and much disintegrated rock-projections above schist and diluvial quartz pebbles. The feldspar of a splendid pegmatite and its products of disintegration on the borders of Owari, Mino, and Mikawa form the raw material of the very extensive ceramic industry of this district, with its chief place, Seto. Of granite are chiefly formed the meridional mountains of Shinano. Granite, diorite, and other plutonic rocks hem in the winding upper valleys of the Kisogawa, the Saigawa (Shinano river) and many other rivers of this province, their clear water running over granite. Also in the hills bordering on the plains of Kwanto these old crystalline rocks are widely spread. Farther northwards they give way again, as in the south, to schists and eruptive rocks. Yet even here granite may be traced in many places. Of course it is not always a pure granite; even *hablit* and granite-porphyry are found here and there. Thus, for instance, near Nikko in the upper valley of the Daiya-Gawa and in several other places in the neighbouring mountains, a granite-porphyry appears with large pale, flesh-coloured crystals of orthoclase, dull triclinic feldspar, quartz, and hornblende.

The soil, generally speaking, is moderately prolific, Soil. the tertiary and alluvial deposits forming a deep and friable mould, easily worked. This is the chief agricultural soil. The Quaternary argillaceous alluvial soils which occur along the banks of rivers and on the coasts are still more fertile. Lying low, they are well adapted to irrigation, and are in consequence chiefly used for rice culture.

The climate of Japan varies considerably, not only Climate. from north to south, which, from the length of the

territory in this direction, might be expected, but also from east to west. Equatorial currents wash the Pacific shores of the islands, and mountain ranges intercept the cold winds, whereas the land facing the Japan Sea lies open to the north-west winds which blow over the cold Siberian plains. The cold is severe throughout the winter, and especially in January, in Saghalien, Hokkaido, and the northern part of the mainland. The yearly mean temperature noted at the meteorological station at Sapporo in Hokkaido is 44° F. On the other hand, the winter lasts but two months in the southern half of the mainland and in Shikoku and Kiushiu, January and February alone being recognized months of frost and snow, though these phenomena may occur also in the beginning of March. Tokyo and Kyoto have a mean annual temperature of 57° F.; Nagoya, Sakai, and Okayama, also in Honshiu, 58° F.; Osaka and Kobe, 59° F., and Nagasaki, 60° F.; but further north in the main island the yearly average is lower, being 52° F. at Ishinomaki, and 50° F. at Aomori. Formosa, of course, with its southern half in the torrid zone, is much warmer, and Taihoku has a mean annual temperature of 71° F.

Of Japan in general it may be said that there are two wet seasons, each lasting about a month, the first commencing in June or July, and the second in late August or September. The latter is the special period of the typhoon (from *tai-fu*, great wind), though on an average at least one of these occurs per month.

Probably only half of them do any serious damage, but the more violent typhoons wreck shipping, destroy roads and buildings, flood many thousands of acres of land, do great injury to the rice plants which bloom in September, and are attended by much loss of life. The typhoon that, on the 25th of July of this year, swept

the plain of Kwantô, on which are situated Tokyo and Yokohama, killed over 100 persons, and is an example of the more disastrous type.

Japan also suffers frequently from earthquakes, usually accompanied, when they visit the Pacific coast, by tidal waves in which thousands perish. Mild shocks, passing unnoticed except by the seismograph, occur two or three times daily, but of really serious disturbances there are all too many. The most calamitous of recent years was the Sanriku earthquake in 1896, which destroyed over 13,000 houses and killed more than 27,000 people, while the casualties from the seismic outburst in Formosa in 1906 amounted to 1,228.

When in Japan the writer had the pleasure of meeting Professor Omori, the Japanese seismologist, whose fame is not confined to the land of his birth, and whose invaluable contributions to the science of seismology are universally acknowledged. He is a pupil of Professor Milne, and a pupil of whom even so distinguished a man as Professor Milne has every reason to be proud. His studies have enabled him on more than one occasion to predict the course and duration of earthquakes, and he anticipated the Valparaiso shock in 1906.

According to Professor Omori, the number of earthquakes which occurred in various parts of Japan during the twenty-five years 1885 to 1909 was 37,642, an average of 1,506 per annum, or about four shocks a day. In Tokyo alone a perceptible shock occurs once a week, but during the thirty-four years 1876 to 1909 the seismograph registered 3,385 earthquakes, an annual average of nearly 100, the most serious of which was that of June 20, 1894, when twenty-four lives were lost. In 1880 the Seismological Society of Japan was formed, many prominent English and

Seismo-
logical
Society.

American scientists being amongst its members. The head-quarters of the Society is the Tokyo Imperial University, and two visits under the guidance of Professor Omori enabled the writer to obtain some idea of the extent and thoroughness of the observations made, and of the untiring energy and enthusiasm with which they are conducted. Properly to appreciate such work, of course, one must live or have lived in a country where earthquakes are frequent phenomena; in England and other parts of the world where the earth's crust is rarely perceptibly disturbed, seismology can only arouse a mild and impersonal interest. Again, one is occasionally reminded of the smallness of the world by the wonders of the telegraph and the telephone, and, more recently, by the feats of flying machines, but the study of seismic disturbances stimulates and enlarges this sense. In Tokyo University, with its charts and delicate instruments, the vibrations of the whole world are registered (or, more properly, record themselves) much as the 'tickers' register the movements of the world's markets on the never-ending rolls of paper tape.

In addition to the Tokyo Observatory there are seventy-five local meteorological stations, and some 1,600 reporters in all parts of the country, and communications are received at head-quarters respecting earthquake vibrations and effects. The Shinzai Yobo Chosakai, generally known as the Earthquake Investigation Committee, is doing splendid work with the object of ascertaining whether there are any means of predicting earthquakes, and what can be done by the choice of sites, materials and methods of construction, to reduce the extent of disasters consequent upon seismic disturbances. One result of the precautions taken upon their recommendations is illustrated by

a comparison between the Reggio earthquake of December 28, 1908, and the Mino, Owari, earthquake of 1891. In the former disaster the victims numbered over 100,000 ; in the latter only 190 people of the city of Nagoya perished in the earthquake, out of a total population of 165,339, yet the seismic intensity of the latter was the greater. The difference, says Professor Omori, was due entirely to the seismologically superior construction of the buildings in Nagoya. •

Most of Japan's rivers are short and rapid, characteristics imposed upon them by the fact that the islands are narrow and heaped towards the centre with mountain ranges. Their beds are wide in comparison to their length, but it is only in the summer rainy season and in spring when the snows are melting that they carry any great volume of water. At these seasons, indeed, they overflow their banks, causing heavy floods, but at other times of the year only a small portion of the bed is covered. Thus, the rivers of Japan are poor from the standpoint of navigability, though such as are practicable are utilized to the full for transport purposes ; but a number of them, such as the Kino, Katsura, Tone, Oiga, and others near Tokyo, are made to furnish electric energy for lighting, traction, and other purposes, and power stations are numerous. Many mines are worked entirely by hydro-electric power, and it is only lack of capital that limits the application of this force. The biggest plant is that owned by the Tokyo Electric Light Company, and upon the completion of an additional plant which will utilize the waters of the Uji to supply Osaka and Kyoto, the aggregate of their installations will amount to 48,600 horse-power. In all, about 200 plants are in operation, mostly, however, developing small power.

The rivers of Honshiu include, in the north, the Abukumagawa (*gawa* = river) and Kitakamigawa, each about 150 miles in length, and flowing into the Pacific through fertile plains. The harbour of Ishinowaki, at the mouth of the latter, is perhaps the best in the north-east of Japan. Westwards flow the Noshiogawa, 60 miles in length, the Omono (the suffix *gawa* is henceforth omitted), 173 miles, and the Mogami, 140 miles long.

Since the central portion of Honshiu is the widest part of Japan, it is natural that most of the larger rivers should be found there. Chief amongst these is the Shinano, 215 miles in length, which waters the Echigo plain, and empties into the Japan Sea. Small steamers can navigate it for some 90 miles. The Tone flows eastward into the Pacific after a course of about 170 miles, and waters the large Kwanto plain. The Sumida is navigable for most of its 73 miles, but the Jiuzu, Imizu, and Kuzurin, each about 80 miles in length, are extremely rapid. The Fuji rises in Kai and flows past Fuji-yama to Suruga Bay. The Kiso, in its course of 112 miles, flows first among the foothills of the mountain range of the same name, but after receiving the waters of the Hida and Nagara, takes a westerly direction and empties into Ise Bay. The scenery of its upper reaches is remarkably beautiful. The Jodo has its source in Lake Biwa, and, flowing to the south of Kyoto, enters the Bay of Osaka, the town of Osaka lying at its mouth.

In Hokkaido the two principal mountain ranges cross each other roughly at right angles, forming four distinct watersheds. These are the sources of many large and small streams which, in their course, fertilize plains of some magnitude. The largest river in Japan,

the Ishikari, 224 miles in length, and navigable by small vessels for about 100 miles, flows south and west, and enters the Japan Sea at Otaru. The Teshio, 192 miles, flows northwards into the Sea of Japan, and the Tokachi, after a south-easterly course of 120 miles, empties into the bay of the same name. The next largest river in Hokkaido, the Kujiro, is some 80 miles in length, and flows into the Pacific.

Shikoku has but one river of importance, the Yoshino or Joshino, which, after a course of 149 miles through a fertile plain, flows into the sea near Kinokawa, in the north-east of the island.

The largest river in Kiushiu is the Kawauchi, in the south, 112 miles in length. The swift Kuma, which passes through some very fine scenery, is also in the south. In the north the Chikugo, with a length of 85 miles, waters the Tsukushi Plain, and the three western rivers, Shira, Kirachi, and Midori, flow through the exceptionally fertile Higo Plain. The Oyodo and the Ikuse flow eastward to the Pacific. In general the rivers of Kiushiu are tortuous in the extreme, their course being determined by the numerous mountains and hills.

In Formosa the largest river is the Dakusuikei, 96 miles in length, and flowing westward. Few of the rivers of Formosa are navigable, their channels being as a rule extremely narrow. The Tansuikei, in the south, has its source in Mount Morrison (Mitakazona), and is about 90 miles long. The Tanmiga river rises in the Sylvia mountains and, flowing northwards, has Tansui harbour at its mouth.

Many, in fact most, of the lakes of Japan are noted ^{Lakes.} for their extraordinary beauty. The largest is Lake Biwa, in the Omi province in the centre of Honshiu, which has a circumference of about 180 miles, and

other moderately extensive lakes are Towadu, in Mutsu (37 miles), and Inawshiro, in Inashiro (33 miles). The eight lakes of Fuji are popular resorts, both of foreign tourists and of the Japanese, and Lake Ashi at Hakone, Lake Chuzenji at Uikko, and Lake Suwa at Shinano, are celebrated beauty spots. In Hokkaido the largest lake is Saruma, with a circumference of nearly 50 miles, and there are two other large lakes, Doya and Onuma, whose scenery is equally charming.

CHAPTER VIII

POPULATION—OCCUPATIONS—AND EMIGRATION

It is unfortunate that for the analysis of the population and the discussion of the occupations of the people we have no later exact statistics than those of 1908 when the last census of the Empire was taken. There are more recent figures showing the population of the cities of Japan and of Taiwan and even of Chosen, but the taking of the regular census has been postponed until October 1, 1915, when an enumeration will be made, and for the first time we shall have a synchronous census of the whole Empire which will include in its scope all the recently acquired territory, and probably show a population of nearly 70,000,000. The data to be included in the census are sex, age, condition, and occupation, which, if ascertained with the accuracy usually displayed in such inquiries by the Japanese, will furnish exact information in relation to the condition of the population which now has to be supplied in a less trustworthy manner. The new census should also throw important light upon the industrial progress of the Empire. So far as the population is concerned, the growth of Japan has been fairly regular during a sufficiently long period of years to make it possible to form a reasonably accurate estimate, especially when we have the actual reckoning of 1908 as a guide. The following table

may be regarded, therefore, as representing the movement of population since 1903 :—

THE MOVEMENT OF POPULATION IN JAPAN PROPER.

At end of	Males	Females	Total	Increase	100 pop.
1903	23,601,640	23,131,236	46,732,876	716,400	1.54
1904	23,834,398	23,381,232	47,215,630	482,754	1.03
1905	24,048,142	23,626,518	47,674,660	459,030	0.96
1906	24,312,779	23,848,062	48,160,841	486,181	1.01
1907	24,643,017	24,172,677	48,815,694	654,853	1.36
1908	25,045,359	24,541,884	49,587,243	771,549	1.58
1909	25,388,480	24,878,108	50,266,588	679,345	1.37
1910	25,736,302	25,218,938	50,955,240	688,652	1.37

The average rate of increase of population during the ten years ended 1908 was 1.37 per cent. per annum, and it is upon this basis that the increase for the two following years has been estimated. The increase of population results entirely from the natural increment and is not supplemented by immigration. It is steady and satisfactory. Japanese children are as numerous and apparently as healthy, happy, and contented as ever. Ex-President Roosevelt's remarks upon 'the crime of sterility' cannot be applied to the Japanese. In spite of the more strenuous demands due to the introduction of occidental civilization, children in Japan occupy the same important place in the family and absorb the same amount of attention from their parents as they did in those days when European and American travellers in Japan wrote volumes about 'The Paradise of Children' and the joyousness of child life in Japan.

The density of the various important divisions of Japan is indicated in the following table :—

	1910 *	Population per family	1908	
	Population per sq. ri †		Population per sq. ri	Population per family
Honshiu (Middle)	2,961	5.26	3,815	5.56
„ (North)	1,343	6.44	1,430	6.62
„ (West)	2,995	4.91	3,347	5.14
Shikiku	2,547	5.17	2,692	5.40
Kiushiu	2,536	5.54	2,782	5.80
Okinawa	2,004	5.03	2,201	5.17
Hokkaido	163	4.93	3,284	5.18

* Estimated.

† 1 sq. ri = 5 9552 sq. miles.

The average density per square ri of the entire area is 1,809. The density of the population of Japan proper is little less than that of Great Britain, and it exceeds that of Italy, Germany, and France. Of European countries Belgium alone in this respect exceeds Japan.

The Japanese people consist of four classes — Social
classes.
Kozoku, Kwazoku, Shizoku, and Heimin. 'Kozoku' is the family of the Japanese Emperor, which is worshipped by the Japanese people; the 'Kwazoku' are subdivided under the following heads: (1) the Kuge, those having performed official duties for the Japanese Imperial Court from generation to generation; (2) Lords in the Feudal times; and (3) Shin Kwazoku (new peers) having recently been elevated to Kwazoku, owing to their great merit. This last class of Kwazoku has also ranks or degrees of nobility which are divided into the five classes of Prince, Marquis, Count, Viscount, and Baron. Any person of one of these ranks has always some privilege in political or social affairs. The 'Shizoku', which consisted of knights in feudal times, are also called 'samurai', but at present this class is only a remnant of the Feudal system, so that it is not different from the 'Heimin' in political and social affairs. 'Heimin' is an additional class beyond the three classes mentioned

above, and represents the majority of the general nation in Japan.

The population of the three classes, as far as this is supplied by the household classification, except 'Kozoku', is shown as follows:—¹

Class	Heads of Houses	Family	Population per Head of House on average
Kwazoku	887	4,755	6.36
Shizoku *	428,826	1,789,797	5.17
Heimin	8,811,322	38,551,655	5.38
	9,241,035	* 40,346,207	5.37

The distribution of population in rural and urban districts shows the same tendency as is found in both the United States and Great Britain. Farmers and other inhabitants of the country districts are moving into the cities and towns as the result of general commercial progress. In fact, the attraction of the cities and towns is proving as alluring to the Japanese rustics as to the dwellers in our own rural districts. That there is a strong desire to seek the life of the cities and a willingness to abandon the dull life of the village is clearly shown below:—

	In cities of over 10,000 population	Ratio	In centres of under 10,000 pop.	Ratio	Total pop.
1894	6,571,463	15.6	35,553,299	84.4	42,124,762
1896	6,917,451	16.1	36,046,521	83.9	42,963,972
1898	7,690,956	17.6	36,007,660	82.4	43,698,616
1903	9,673,705	20.7	37,059,171	79.3	46,732,876
1908	12,198,462	24.6	37,388,781	75.4	49,587,243

In 1896 about 16 per cent. of the population resided in cities and towns of over 10,000 inhabitants. Now

¹ These are official returns. The figures relating to heads of houses are not included in the figures relating to families.

over 25 per cent. of the population is urban and less than 75 per cent. rural. The exact figures will not be known till 1915, when probably it will be found that 30 per cent. of the people are in the urban districts. The birthrate is increasing, the average rate for a series of years exceeding three to the hundred of population, and the death-rate remains fairly stationary at two and a fraction over per hundred of population (in 1906 a fraction under two).

Much has been written about the increase of divorce ^{Marriage and divorce.} in Japan, and one of the latest books by an American author criticizes the laxity of the marriage ties in the Empire. The fairness of this criticism may, however, be questioned, because the author does not notice that divorces have decreased by over one-half in the last ten years for which we have official figures. That there was room for improvement, however, is indicated by the following details :—

	Married	Divorced	Married per 1,000	Divorced per 1,000
1897	365,207	124,075	8.45	2.87
1898	471,298	90,465	10.77	2.27
1899	297,428	66,626	6.72	1.51
1900	346,590	63,926	7.70	1.42
1901	378,637	63,593	8.33	1.41
1902	394,378	64,311	8.57	1.40
1903	371,187	65,571	7.97	1.40
1904	399,218	64,016	8.46	1.36
1905	351,260	60,179	7.37	1.26
1906	353,274	65,510	7.34	1.36
1908	433,257	61,193	8.88	1.25

For Tokyo alone the figures are :—

1898	8,448	2,024	9.40	2.50
1909	15,965	2,065	14.02	1.81

The above figures show that there has been a decided diminution in divorces in Japan since 1896. The fre-

quency of divorce in Japan is due to the fact that before the enactment of the civil code divorce took place on the slightest pretext. It was, moreover, easy to effect: it needed nothing more than the re-transfer of the divorced wife's domicile from her husband's home to her father's. The wife was simply given what was known on account of its shortness as 'the three lines and a half'. There was no official inquiry, no publicity, and no court scene. A re-marriage could take place at any time. The new civil code which came into force in 1898 has had the effect of reducing the number of divorces, and is probably responsible for the decrease of divorces as shown in the above table. Judicial divorces in Japan are, however, as easy to procure as they are in some of the Western States of America. Divorce in what a Japanese writer calls 'its simplest form' does not require the intervention of courts, that is, if both parties agree to separate. A declaration by two reputable witnesses at the local office testifying that the divorce takes place by mutual consent is all that is necessary. The majority of divorces now are arranged in this way and judicial divorces are comparatively rare. The wife under the new code may be divorced for adultery, but not the husband, unless he be convicted of adultery with a married woman, in which case both the guilty parties are liable to a term of imprisonment. These criminal suits are extremely rare. Although the new law provides for civil action against the destroyers of domestic happiness, the injured party rarely resorts to such a method. Pecuniary considerations enter as little into actions for breach of promise of marriage, and since the civil code came into operation up to last year only one such case had been tried in the Courts of Japan.

From 1890 down to 1897 the official returns show

about one divorce to every three marriages. The effect of these divorces must have been demoralizing to family life. From 1898, however, an improvement began, the ratio soon falling to about one divorce in six marriages, and in 1908 (the latest figures available) to only one in seven, which is a decided change for the better.

Although the growth of cities and towns in Japan of late years has been phenomenal, the bulk of the population, as we have seen, reside in the rural districts, and Japan is essentially an agricultural country—that is to say, agriculture is her paramount industry and the industry which gives employment to the largest proportion of her population. Considering her resources and bearing in mind the fact that less than 16 per cent. of her area (147,655 square miles ¹) is arable, it is not a matter of surprise to find Japan looking to sources and lands outside her own boundaries to supplement her own resources and furnish employment for her constantly increasing population. More than 80 per cent. of the whole area of Japan proper still remains unutilized for purposes of tillage. Though the Japanese have always shown great ingenuity in the arts and crafts, and during the last twenty-five years have made satisfactory progress in several important branches of manufacturing, they are essentially an agricultural nation. There has been little change in the agricultural districts, and hand cultivation still predominates. Nevertheless, by intensive farming, the Japanese succeed, as will be shown in the chapter on agriculture, in producing astonishingly large crops on small areas of arable land. Excluding Formosa and Saghalien, the gross area of agricultural land in Japan proper is 75,000,000 acres, and of this about 17,000,000 acres, or, as we

¹ Japan proper.

have seen, less than 16 per cent., is arable. With the increase of population the necessity for bringing additional tracts of the land under cultivation becomes more urgent, and every effort is being made by the Government to extend cultivation. It is estimated that the farmers of Japan now expend annually £12,000,000 sterling (some estimates put the sum at £14,000,000) in fertilizers. If to this is added the value of the seed the margin of profit in farming must be small, and it is only by the most incessant toil, and by the practice of thrift such as few European agriculturists would be able to comprehend, that these industrious men and women are able to make a living. Yet they do earn a living, and actually save money. The largest portion of the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks of Japan belongs to farmers. The greatest burden of increased taxation during the late war fell upon the farmers of the country who seem to have met these additional responsibilities without a murmur. Whilst stock farming, dairying, and meat-preserving form insignificant branches of Japanese farming, sericulture and the cultivation of the tea plant give additional and profitable occupations to hundreds and thousands, nearly all of whom are drawn from the agricultural population, and many of whom carry on the combined occupations of farming, with the preparation of tea for the market, or the filature industry in connexion with the manufacture of silk. In short, more than sixty per cent. of the population of the Empire are engaged in the pursuit of agriculture. The conditions under which these agriculturists work will be treated more in detail in the chapter on Agriculture, as the present chapter deals more particularly with the progress of the population and the several occupations of the people.

There are no complete returns of occupations for Japan, but an estimate may be arrived at by combining the special reports of specific industries. These figures may overlap, but after making allowance for such errors it is possible to obtain an idea of the relative importance of the different industries. A total of something over $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions are engaged exclusively in farming, whilst nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions combine farming with some other industry. Nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ million households pursue sericulture, but of course this work only occupies a part of the time of some of the members of the family. There are 890,000 manufacturers of tea, but it is not probable that this number of people give their entire time to the occupation. It is quite possible that an accurate enumeration would report that nearly all of these persons are engaged in agriculture and allied industries. In mining of all kinds, including coal, copper, and non-metallic mines, the numbers employed can be ascertained with a greater degree of accuracy, and probably this year will reach a total of 250,000. Fishing is an important occupation in Japan, and 1,000,000 are exclusively engaged in the fisheries, whilst $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions combine fishing with some other occupation. The forests cover, as already stated, 70 per cent. of the area of Japan, and as the value of the annual yield in timber and faggots is about seven millions sterling, a good many persons must find employment during a part of the year as wood-cutters, but apparently there are no returns from which estimates can be framed.

Turning to manufacturing industries conducted in factories and workshops, the latest returns give 307,139 men employed, 493,498 women, totalling 800,637, or nearly double the number returned as employed in factories in 1896.

Industrial
employ-
ment.

These include textile industries, machinery, chemical factories, the manufacture of food and beverages, miscellaneous trades, and special workshops, such as those for electricity and metallurgy, but do not, however, include weaving carried on outside the factories. This work is still largely conducted as a home industry, distributed throughout the towns and villages in nearly 500,000 'weaving-houses', with approximately 800,000 looms, only 30,000 of which are worked as power-looms. There are over three-quarters of a million operatives.

Paper-making is also carried on in a similar way, and there are 60,000 small establishments and households with about three times as many operatives employed in producing Japanese paper. At the same time, a foreign paper industry has been started, and in ten years has doubled in importance, employing 15,000 hands.

The matting industry has remained stationary, and employs something over 100,000 hands. This is largely a family trade, the factories as a rule being nothing more than additions to the operatives' houses. Even more so is the straw and chip braid industry, in which the Government reports 250,000 persons or more as being employed in producing articles which barely reach £500,000 in value. These occupations are therefore largely in the nature of home industries, carried on by women at times when they are free from household duties. For this reason it is extremely difficult to tabulate occupations in Japan, and to give complete returns such as those published by the British Census or by the Census of the United States.

Everybody works in Japan, including the children, whose tiny fingers paste match-boxes, put on labels,

help in sericulture, tea picking, and in a variety of other ways. In the aggregate these minor industries bring in a steady, though in many cases a slight revenue. Small as it is, however, it helps to swell the household purse, and aids in defraying the family expenses. It will be seen in the chapter on manufactures that whilst Japan has made a good start in manufacturing operations, in factories and workshops, some of her leading industries are still conducted in the household, and in small shops and houses, scattered throughout the agricultural districts, oftentimes far away from the large manufacturing centres.

For example, a brush manufacturer of Osaka, whose factory the writer visited, said that the total number of hands employed in his works was 600, but that the brushes were sent to a thousand homes in country districts, in order that the bristles might be fastened into them. This operation, which is performed by childish hands, practically involves the manipulation and straightening of each bristle in a tooth or hair brush. The most nimble of these industrious little workers can only earn a penny or two a day, but it all adds to the family budget.

Such then, briefly, are the occupations of the people. In the chapters on specific industries the conditions under which the wage-earner works, the wages he receives, and his future prospects when compared with his fellow-labourer in other lands will be more fully brought out. The above facts, however, indicate that with the steady increase in population, and the increased efficiency of labour brought about by the adoption of modern methods, new fields must be found for Japanese activities. The period, too, must before long come, if it has not already arrived, when the Japanese farmer will find it impossible to make

a living on the small acreage which he now cultivates, and at the same time meet the increased expense of fertilizers, the heavy burden of taxes, and the higher cost of living. Undoubtedly there is hope in the broader fields of Hokkaido, though the settlement of the northern division has not come up to expectations; the rigours of the cold climate may possibly stand in the way. Taiwan should furnish an increasing field for energetic Japanese farmers, and as the savages recede from the control of large tracts of land there should be opportunities there for agricultural operations. Chosen, now that it has become part of the Empire, will also provide fresh areas for enterprise. In the chapters on Chosen an attempt has been made to show what these opportunities are, and to indicate how they can most effectively be utilized. Dairen will afford another field for Japanese industry and settlement, whilst the important railway interest which Japan controls in Manchuria will facilitate a constantly increasing stream of immigration in that direction. The activities of the Japanese must find an outlet, first, by the way of immigration to territory which has either been acquired or is controlled by Japan; secondly, by increasing the output of her manufactures, and subsequently by augmenting the exports of manufactured goods to foreign countries, and to countries administered by Japan, or where Japanese influence is paramount.

This idea of concentrating the activities of the Japanese in the region of the Far East, so as to secure their united efforts in the development of these acquired territories, was repeatedly emphasized by Marquis Komura, when Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Statistical information with regard to emigration from Japan is worthy of study, not on account of

any appreciable problem to which it points, but because it illustrates the policy of the Government in this direction. The necessity for concentrating her people within the regions of her own administration is one upon which Japan's new international position is based, while, on the other hand, she sees clearly that a policy that might attain this first end by entire restriction of emigration would be detrimental to the development of her international commerce, the sources of which are naturally extended by the intercourse of the industrial units of her population with foreign countries.

The Memorandum exchanged between the Japanese and Canadian authorities with reference to Japanese labour emigrants to British Columbia on the occasion of the outbreak of anti-Japanese agitation in that State in 1907, shows the firm yet conciliatory spirit in which Japan approached any suggestion to hamper the foreign liberties of Japanese subjects by imposing prohibitory restrictions—and the subsequent measures limiting emigration to Canada and the United States of America that were taken by the Japanese Government embody the view expressed in the letter of Marquis Komura prefixed to that Memorandum that 'it is not the wish of the Imperial Government to insist upon the complete enjoyment of the rights and privileges secured by the Treaty between Canada and Japan when special circumstances arise in Canada to interfere with the assertion of the same'.

According to statistics supplied by the Japanese Foreign Office, the total number of Japanese living abroad at the end of 1908 was 235,124. As, since 1902, a special emigration law has applied to China and Chosen, whereby the necessity of a passport is practically rescinded, the emigration figures for these

countries are not included in this total, which, in view of Japanese enterprise in her newly annexed territory, may be assumed to be considerably less than the actual numbers. The number settled in Chosen is hard to estimate, but it probably exceeds 200,000.

Apart from Chosen, the countries in which the Japanese are most numerous are the Philippines, Hawaii, and Continental Asia. From Hawaii, where the Japanese outnumber the white population by ten to one, came the first stimulus to Japanese emigration when the last King of Hawaii called for emigrants to his country in 1885, and it was the successful results of this movement that urged the Government in 1890 to adopt a definite emigration policy and to direct the attention of prospective emigrants to the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

At this time were founded the first Japanese Emigration Societies, whose efforts, under Government direction, have been so largely responsible for the spread of Japanese emigrants over the whole world, from the coasts of North and South America, over the South Sea islands to Java and to the Transvaal. Without this central organization, Japan could never have succeeded in fulfilling the assurances that the anti-Japanese agitation in parts of Canada drew from her, in the consequent dignified and orderly retreat from the hostile districts, and in the recent concentration of her efforts in Chosen and Manchuria. The control of Japanese emigration has never, except in the case of China and Chosen, passed from the hands of the Foreign Minister who grants the passports, and, by closely specified regulations, exercises supervision over the various companies who are responsible for the organization of emigration. That this responsibility is no mere figure of speech is shown by the fact

that when, after the Vancouver outbreak of hostility to Japanese emigrants, a ministerial regulation raised the minimum security demanded of an Emigration Company from 10,000 yen to 50,000 yen, several of the twenty-eight companies then existing were forced into liquidation, while others were reduced to a temporary suspension of their business.

One of the largest companies, with an assured capital of 10 million yen and receiving a yearly subsidy from the Government, is the Takushoku Kaisha. Its chief aim has been to promote the 'peaceful penetration' of Chosen, and in its direction the Marquis Katsura took a prominent part. Other companies are active in Manchuria and work in line with the colonizing efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the organization of the Railway Bureau.

Emigration constitutes in all countries far more complex channels of influence than appears at first sight. Although it is primarily an economic influence it cannot be dismissed with that single classification. A country that commits itself to a policy of emigration must not look merely for economic results, but for results that come from the practical contact of its emigrants with the infinite number of aspects of life in other countries than its own. Indeed, in so far as emigration is relied upon as an outlet for the undesirable members of the community, these strictly uneconomic results may be said to be not only recognized by a country, but even aimed at by its responsible promoters.

In a country so long impervious to outside influences as was Japan the more immediate results of emigration are sooner detected than in our own, where the rights of departure and of entry have been so long unconditioned that it is difficult to trace the beginnings of

the assimilative processes and still more difficult to determine the original national type.

The careful organization and control of emigration that have prevailed in Japan since emigration first started not only make possible a fairly accurate enumeration and classification of those who have left the country, but also provide material whereby some estimate can be made of the nature of the influences these exercise in the sphere of foreign politics.

To speak first of direct monetary results : it is estimated that the total sum sent or brought back annually by emigrants reaches from 10 or 12 million yen, and the tendency is to invest this money in Japan, mostly in real estate, after due provision has been made for the support of the several families of absent emigrants. Japanese emigrants, on the whole, do not make other countries their abiding cities—75 per cent. at least return home, the instinct that moves them to leave Japan being essentially commercial. The families in most cases are left behind.

Yet a survey of the internal economic situation of Japan does not make it easy to account for such a constant emigration from her shores. Over-population cannot be assigned as the cause ; the majority of her emigrants do not come either from the poorest or from the most crowded districts of the country. Japan has not yet reached the limits of her capacity for producing rice and vegetables, and the increasing development of her resources makes her well able to support an increasing population, while the rise in wages shows that the supply of labour is still overbalanced by demand. Improved social conditions and the tolerance in religious matters that prevail nullify two possible suggestions as to reasons prompting emigration and it certainly cannot be traced to any keen

nomadic tendency among the Japanese people. Moreover, the several serious collisions that have occurred with white populations abroad would hardly encourage the desire to emigrate. In fairness to those places that have protested against Japanese immigration it must be admitted that the bulk of the Japanese exported to Chosen, Manchuria, and the ports of the Pacific have not been altogether favourable specimens of their race, nor does the very large part in Japanese emigration to the Chinese, Indian, and Arabian coasts played by women of the geisha class command respect, though these meaner instruments are a resource not to be under-estimated in the Japanese spy system, which for range and unscrupulousness is unsurpassed and, since the Russian-Japanese War, well recognized. Still, as a proof of the national discipline, in Manchuria there is very little ground of complaint against Japanese settlers where before complaint was frequent, and the Government's alteration in policy following upon the various anti-Japanese revolts in Canada, as well as her careful avoidance of exciting tension in China, where the antagonism to Japanese immigrants is not at all diminishing, show a statesmanlike grasp of the intricate considerations upon which her commercial intercourse with these countries is based.

The annual average number of immigrants from Japan is about 20,000. Roughly, half go to China and the United States of America; the Sandwich Islands, the Philippines, the South Sea Islands, and South America take the other half. During recent years there has been a small regular emigration to Peru, and the Japanese population in that country amounts to about 5,000. Since 1907 two batches of Japanese emigrants, under 2,000 in all, have gone to Brazil, the majority of which have been under con-

tract with the São Paulo Government to work in the coffee plantations.

To Mexico, until the recent restrictions came into force, Japan has been sending emigrants, though not continuously, since 1897, and the Japanese population there, including Koreans who are now part of the Japanese people, is over 3,000. The coal, copper, and other mines in Mexico employ the greater number of these.

Owing to the policy of restricting Japanese emigration to the United States, entered upon in view of the United States Government's request in connexion with this matter, Japan has lately placed restrictions upon emigration to Mexico on account of that country being used as a stepping-stone to the United States by a certain number of emigrants. These restrictions, however, will probably be withdrawn when the United States immigration measures are a sufficient guard in themselves against unlawful entrances.

In the United States the Japanese population is about 155,000. Emigrants for many years have made this their destination, though many of such emigrants require to be differentiated from the ordinary labour emigrants. Since 1907, on account of a new Japanese-United States agreement, Japanese labour emigration has been restricted, and each year shows a diminution of those who go to the United States and, in consequence of the yearly return of emigrants, a decrease in the Japanese population in that country.

The same restrictive policy has affected the emigration figures to Canada, and there are not more than 2,000 Japanese in Canada at the present time. With Hawaii Japan has had longer connexion, as far as emigration is concerned, than with any other place. The first

band of emigrants went there about twenty-six years ago under the terms of a treaty made between Japan and the Hawaiian Government, which treaty was in force until within the last few years. After it expired, Japanese emigration companies continued to send emigrants there, and now the Japanese population in Hawaii reaches nearly 70,000—indeed little less than half the whole Hawaiian population is Japanese. Since the annexation of Hawaii by the United States the measures that have restricted Japanese emigration to the United States have been applied there, and in the case of Hawaii the Japanese who return home to Japan exceed those who go out by about 2,000 every year, and the population, most of whom work in the sugar plantations, is decreasing steadily.

In Australia legislative restrictions have practically closed that country to Japanese labour. There are not more than 1,000 Japanese in Australia altogether.

The Ocean Islands, belonging to Great Britain, contain about 300 Japanese workmen doing work in the phosphate industry under contract for a certain number of years, and in New Caledonia there are 1,500 Japanese employed in nickel mines, while Tahiti, belonging to France, offers employment to a few hundred Japanese in the phosphate industry. Good labourers in phosphate work can save about 400 yen a year, so there is never any difficulty in replacing them when the contract period runs out.

In China there are 39,226 Japanese; in India, the Straits Settlements, Siam, and French Cochin China, the Japanese population now reaches 3,000. If Manchuria be included in China the figures are, of course, very much larger, and the total might amount to well over 100,000—in fact the only way in which

the figures supplied by the Japanese Bureau of Emigration can be reconciled with those obtained from other sources is to assume that the various compilers have not been at one with regard to territorial denominations, and that the larger figures imputed to China and the United States cover the figures for Manchuria and American islands, such as Hawaii and the Philippines, respectively.

The number of emigrants in Europe and Siberia is, for a variety of reasons, difficult to estimate, but it is probably under 5,000.

The number of foreigners in Japan is about 17,900, two-thirds of whom are Chinese. The British (2,401) slightly outnumber the Americans. Germans, Frenchmen, Russians, Portuguese, and Swiss between them do not make up more than 2,000. As far as rights and privileges are concerned, the foreigners have the same status as native subjects, with certain exceptions relating to mining concessions which are granted only to native subjects or to companies formed according to Japanese laws. Though generally there is nothing to prevent a foreigner from becoming a shareholder of such a company, there are certain companies bearing special relations to the Government which are not allowed to take foreigners as shareholders.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

IN attempting to give a brief description of the educational system of Japan, it seems necessary in the first instance to glance at the position of the schools under the Shogunate, in order to explain more clearly the changes brought about in the early days of the Meiji period by the Emperor and his advisers. There was nothing in the shape of an organized system of education in the time of the Shoguns, and although the Government had itself established various types of schools and encouraged the local daimyos to follow its example, there was no department in charge of the education of the country. Almost everywhere throughout Japan, however, wherever a sufficient population existed, there were private elementary schools, in which instruction in the three R's could be obtained. It was necessary to acquire some knowledge of the Chinese characters, in general use as ideographs, and lessons in the methods of writing them formed an important part of the teaching in the schools which were intended for the common people in three out of the four classes in which the population was then divided. These classes included the farmers and peasants; the artisans and labourers; and the merchants and tradespeople, the fourth class being the samurai or military retainers of the feudal chiefs, who alone obtained a superior education. It was not, however, until about the middle of the eighteenth century, during the time of the eighth Shogun, Yoshimune, who

encouraged the teaching of foreign languages, and who was an enlightened ruler, that this improvement took place in the education of the masses.

Coming now to the Meiji era and the accession to power of the present Emperor, a marvellous transformation in the attitude of the State towards education at once became apparent; there is, indeed, no more significant fact in the mighty awakening under the new régime than the idea so well expressed in the last of the famous five articles of the Imperial Oath, sworn on April 6, 1868, in the presence of the Imperial princes and high officials in the palace at Kyoto. This article runs as follows :—

‘ Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.’

Here we have the keynote of the great educational changes that speedily followed, and gave to Japan a well-balanced and carefully devised school system. The old schools, closed during the fighting between the Imperial forces and the followers of Tokugawa, were reopened, foreign teachers were engaged, promising youths were sent abroad to be trained, and a Department of Education was established as early as 1871, followed a year later by the promulgation of an Education Code.

The guiding principle of this code has been well defined as one of ‘ Educational equality ’; there was, henceforth, no monopoly of education for a privileged class, but all Japanese men and women were to be afforded equal opportunities according to their capacities, and in taking a comprehensive view of what has been accomplished in the forty years since that date it is impossible to avoid being impressed by

the thoroughness with which this task has been accomplished.

More than this, the new system was in every sense utilitarian ; no distinct line was drawn between moral and intellectual training ; girls were to share in the literary advantages afforded, and the educational ladder reached from the primary school to the University.

In the original scheme there were three grades of schools, the Elementary, the Middle, and the University, all cared for by the State, and each leading in turn to the one above it, until the finished career ended with the University degree. It is true that this somewhat ambitious programme could not be fully realized, but the European expert can only marvel that Japan has been enabled to effect so much within a limited period. School-buildings had to be provided, teachers trained, textbooks supplied, and the cost of this splendid system had to be raised by a country in the making, for in giving up the feudal system, and all that it implied, a new country was virtually created. Another point that we must also greatly admire in this education was what may be called its suppleness and elasticity, as also the manner in which the instruction given could be adapted to the requirements of the locality. As the scheme developed even technical training found a place in it, and in the absence of the religious question, which has raised so many controversies in Europe, the school system of Japan has gradually been modified to suit the needs of the different classes of the community.

At the time of the inception of the new scheme the entire country, exclusive of Hokkaido and the Loochoo Islands, was to be divided into eight University districts, with a University in each. Every district

was to include 32 Middle School areas, making 256 in all, and these last were each again partitioned into 210 Elementary School districts, which would have entailed the provision of a total of 53,760 Elementary Schools. This was a grand conception of the educational requirements of the country, and though it could not be carried out on the scale laid down, it marked the thoroughness with which the problem was grappled. We shall now proceed to discuss the characteristics of the various grades of schools, and show in what way the above proposals have been realized.

In the excellent course of lectures delivered before the University of London in 1907, subsequently published in book-form, Baron D. Kikuchi began by the reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued on October 30, 1890. This important document, which is really the basis on which the entire fabric of education in Japan is founded, has a much deeper moral significance than would appear possible to the European reader from the mere perusal of its contents. Indeed, as Baron Kikuchi tells us, 'However we may translate it, the translation will scarcely convey the same message that the original does to a Japanese; in fact, it may be said that our whole moral and civil education consists in so imbuing our children with the spirit of the Rescript that it forms a part of our national life.' As in the present chapter we have availed ourselves repeatedly of the Baron's work, we cannot do better than quote his version of this document, which is an original translation, and may be regarded as official in character. It runs thus :—

‘ Know ye, Our Subjects :

Our Imperial ancestors have founded Our Empire

on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our Subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends, true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful Subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and their Subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you Our Subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.'

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

(The 30th of October, 1890.)

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

A copy of this Rescript is distributed from the Department of Education to the schools of all grades in the Empire, whether they be governmental, public, or private. In the case of the Government schools this document is actually signed by the Emperor. Moreover, the photographic portraits of the Emperor and of the Empress are sent from the Imperial Household to every Government and public school and to all Colleges

above higher elementary rank. They are brought out on all public occasions, and are displayed in the hall or room in which any school ceremony is taking place. A special receptacle is provided for them in each building, in which they are carefully guarded, and when any function is being held these portraits with the Rescript are deemed to represent the presence of Their Majesties in person. Cases are recorded in which the director or the teacher of a school has saved them at the risk of his life from the flames, when the school building was being burnt down, and such an evidence of the great respect in which they are held cannot fail to make a deep impression on the hearts of children. The virtue they are mainly designed to implant firmly in the minds of the young is loyalty to the Emperor, with which are identified the duties of patriotism and filial piety ; these are the supreme aims inculcated by them.

Education is considered one of the most important functions of the State and is, therefore, entirely under Government control. The department charged with these duties is that of the Minister of Education who directly or indirectly supervises the whole educational system of the Empire. A special feature of the administration is that it is not determined by laws which have to be passed by the Diet, but depends upon Imperial Ordinances, issued by the Emperor, on the recommendation of the Cabinet, after being submitted to the Privy Council. Though this is the fact generally, it may be stated that certain minor matters connected with education have to be sanctioned by laws. Thus the law entitled 'The General Regulations for Local Educational Matters' contains provisions for the formation and grouping of school districts, and there are other laws relating to school finances and the pensions of teachers, but with these exceptions all the main

enactments are Imperial Ordinances. Among them are those relating to Elementary Schools, Normal Education, Middle Schools, Girls' High Schools, Special Colleges, Technical Schools and Colleges, Higher Schools preparatory to the Imperial University, as also on Imperial Universities and Private Schools.

It is scarcely necessary here to follow the various steps by means of which the present system of Education in Japan has been reached, but radical changes took place in the earlier days of the Meiji period, and after many experiments, some of which were failures, but all of which were of advantage owing to the experience gained by them, it gradually became possible to advance to a clear perception of the educational needs of the country.

The various schools and colleges belonging to the Government are, with a few exceptions, placed under the Minister of Education. In the latter category are the Schools of the Army and Navy for the Education of Officers, two schools belonging to the Department of Communications, and an institution for the study of Marine Industries, placed under the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. There are also a series of schools and colleges maintained by prefectures and sub-prefectures, while the *shi*, *cho*, *son*, or their unions of districts, carry on elementary schools and technical schools mostly of the elementary grade. Lastly, mention may be made of schools established by private individuals or by legal personages. These are of all grades from universities down to elementary schools.

The elementary schools in Japan, as in European countries, form the base of the whole educational system. It is true that there are kindergarten schools, which receive children at three years old and care for them until they become of school age, but such schools

do not form a part of the national system of education. It is stated in the Imperial Ordinance that —

‘Elementary Schools are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education, and of an education specially adapted to make them good members of the Community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for the practical duties of life—due attention being paid to their bodily development.’

Elementary schools are of two kinds, viz. the ordinary elementary school and the higher elementary school, but in many localities the two schools exist together in one building. To the school of the lower grade, people are in general under an obligation to send their children for a certain period, that they may receive a definite and prescribed course of education, while the higher elementary school is intended for such children as, having completed their course of compulsory education, wish to receive some further training, though not desiring to advance beyond that, or to enter the Middle school for boys or the High school for girls. The ordinary elementary course extends over six years; the child enters the school on the completion of the sixth year of age, as already stated, and, except under certain conditions of exemption, remains throughout the course; the school age is, however, from six to fourteen. The existence of private elementary schools side by side with public schools of the same grade is recognized by law, and such schools are subject to Government supervision. As a rule, the children of all classes attend the same school. Every locality is bound to make school provision for all the children within its jurisdiction, but arrangements are made under which several small localities may combine and constitute a school union, and in bearing the costs of such schools several villages must thus combine and share

proportionately in the expenses. Pecuniary aid may be granted from the whole district for poor schools, and additional grants may be obtained from the *fu* or *ken*. The higher elementary school course may extend over two or three years, according to the decree of the local authorities, and a small tuition fee may be charged. From a report issued in 1909 it appeared that about 60 per cent. of all the public elementary schools were of the lower standard, 35 per cent. of the ordinary and higher standards combined, and about 5 per cent. of a still higher standard. Boys and girls may be taught together, or the sexes may be segregated in special classes. The subjects taught in the ordinary schools are morals, the Japanese language, arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, science, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and (for girls only) sewing. In some few cases, in addition to these standard subjects, manual instruction is given. The subjects taught in the higher elementary school are essentially those of the elementary school course, with one or more of three additional subjects—manual work, agriculture, and commerce, though the two last may not be taken together. Where local circumstances render it advisable the English language may be taught. In the elementary school there are from twenty-one to thirty hours of instruction per week, according to age, and in the higher elementary school thirty to thirty-two hours weekly. In certain half-time schools there are eighteen hours of teaching weekly, and in the case of young children the teaching may be reduced to twelve hours per week in the ordinary course. The number of holidays must not exceed ninety days per annum, exclusive of Sundays. A system of State school-books was adopted in 1903 and, under the advice of a special committee created in 1908 by Imperial Ordin-

ance for the investigation of this subject, the matter is now under review.

It is pointed out in recent reports that the number of school buildings is on the decrease, owing to the consolidation of some of the rural districts. Thus while in 1907-8 there were 27,125 elementary schools, the number in the following year was only 26,386. The following table gives the attendance and the total numbers enrolled in the elementary schools; the average attendance is very satisfactory, reaching as it does a total of 98 per cent.:—

Number of children attending school (1909-10)—

Boys 3,857,957.

Girls 3,461,442.

Total 7,319,399.

Percentage of attendance for the above year—

Boys 98.86

Girls 97.26

Average 98.06

From the elementary school in which the great majority of the children of Japan complete their education an increasing number of boys and girls pass into those of a higher grade, which will now be considered separately. It may be pointed out that the schools of the superior grade are quite distinct for the different sexes and we propose to leave the general consideration of female education to a separate chapter, which will also contain a brief account of technical education.

We cannot here trace all the stages in the development of secondary education; suffice it to say that as early as 1872 the whole country was divided, as has been stated, into eight grand school districts and each one of these was again subdivided into thirty-two middle school districts, with one such school in each district. This would have provided 256 schools of a superior grade,

available on quitting the elementary school. The plan was avowedly based on the French school system, but this arrangement was very imperfectly carried out. In July, 1881, the Department of Education promulgated general rules for a Middle school, with a standard course of study, and these rules were amended in 1884. Two years later an Imperial Ordinance was issued with respect to the Middle Schools of Japan, under which institutions of this type were divided into 'higher' and 'ordinary' schools, the latter with a course of five years. Students of the age of twelve, who had completed the work of the elementary school, were admitted to the ordinary schools, while for the higher school, with a two years' course, only those students who had passed through the ordinary school and had attained the age of seventeen were eligible. Finally, in June, 1894, the High School Ordinance was issued, in accordance with which the name of the Higher Middle Schools was changed, and the courses previously laid down were made preparatory to the University Course in the High Schools, as they are now called. Under a revision in 1899 the name of the Ordinary Middle Schools was changed to Middle Schools, and the object of such schools was defined as being the provision of such higher education as would be required by boys in general. These schools are entered at the age of twelve, on completing the work in the elementary school, and they provide a five years' course with a supplementary course not exceeding one year in duration. The number of Middle Schools now in existence is about 278, with nine branch schools. Though these schools are some of them public and others private the system of education does not allow of any deviation from the course laid down by Government, which includes morals, Japanese language and

Chinese classics, foreign languages (either English or German), history and geography, arithmetic, natural history, physics and chemistry, drawing, singing and gymnastics. The regulations also provide for the teaching of law and economics, but the hours for this subject may be devoted to foreign languages, while singing may be omitted. The time allotted to teaching varies from twenty-eight to thirty hours weekly. Much stress is laid on the instruction in the Japanese language and the Chinese classics, and in the second place on the teaching of modern languages. In issuing the amended programme of studies the Department of Education states : 'The instruction in a middle school shall always aim at the attainment of its object, which is a higher general education accompanied with discipline.'

The numbers under instruction in Public Middle Schools in 1907 were 90,420, and in Private Middle Schools 20,456, making a total of 110,876. The number of teachers in the same year was 5,426, of whom 71.69 per cent. were qualified and 28.31 per cent. unqualified.

The Ordinance relating to Normal Education now in force was issued in 1897, but its main provisions had at that time already been adopted. In the normal schools there is complete division between the sexes. In the case of both male and female students there is a preparatory course lasting for one year, and a regular course of four years which is divided into two sections. The first section extends over four years and the curriculum includes morality, pedagogics, the Japanese language and Chinese literature, English, history and geography, mathematics, natural history, physics and chemistry, law and economics, penmanship, drawing, manual training, music and gymnastics

—English is the only optional subject. In addition to this somewhat formidable list, commerce or agriculture, or even both subjects, may be studied. In the preparatory course thirty-one hours and in the regular course thirty-four hours weekly are set apart for teaching. The second section of the regular course covers one year only, with a similar list of subjects, and thirty-four hours of instruction weekly. In this second section the intention is not so much to extend the knowledge already gained as to train the students in practical teaching methods, and each Normal School has an Elementary Practising School attached to it. The tuition is free and the students are provided with the cost of their board and clothing. After graduation the students are bound to serve for a certain period in the locality in which they have been trained. Graduates in the first section serve for seven years and in the second section for two years. Great stress is laid on the discipline and rigid military training to which the students are subjected. Recently, however, the experiment has been tried of establishing a home system in these colleges. The objections raised against this scheme are the excessive number of pupils and the difficulty of finding suitable accommodation. For the training of teachers in Normal Schools there are higher Normal Schools, both for men and women, with a preparatory course of one year and a regular course of three years.

Teaching Certificates are of two kinds, namely, General certificates and Prefectural certificates. The former are granted by the Minister of Education and are valid throughout the country, while the latter are granted by the prefects and are available only in the prefecture in which they may have been issued. There are, moreover, three classes of teaching certifi-

Teaching
Certifi-
cates.

cates, viz. those for regular teachers, those for assistant teachers, and those for special teachers. Of certificates for teachers and assistant teachers there are two grades, in accordance with the type of school in which instruction is given, and the issue of such teaching certificates is carefully guarded, due inquiry being made into character and ability. The examinations, both for male and female teachers, are of the same standard, but in the case of those teachers not specially trained at Normal Schools certain subjects may be dispensed with. Since 1907, changes have been made in the examination for teachers' certificates and the standard has been somewhat raised. The appointment of school teachers rests with the prefect or the sub-prefect, in accordance with the importance of the district. It is somewhat noteworthy that among the reasons for which the teacher may be deprived of his certificate are included bankruptcy or insolvency. The sums paid to teachers are very small, but since 1907 salaries have been slightly increased. Recently, the Minister of Education has given certificates of merit to a number of elementary school teachers deemed worthy of special commendation on account of their long services or peculiar merit. These certificates are accompanied by a grant in each case of about £15. The pensions of public school teachers are determined by laws on very much the same lines as those relating to other State officials, and provision is made for the establishment in each prefecture of an elementary school teachers' pension fund, to which the State contributes a subsidy.

The number of Normal Schools, which in 1907-8 was 69, is now 78. The number of pupils in training are, males 16,795, and females 6,627, total 23,422.

It will be seen that no efforts have been spared in

Japan to undertake the training of teachers on the best lines, and to afford them a thorough insight into modern teaching methods. There is, however, still a large proportion of teachers who may be classed as untrained. The staffing of normal schools is on a very liberal basis; in a school with four classes (which is the minimum) there must be eleven teachers and assistant teachers, and even this number must be increased when both agriculture and commerce are added to the studies. The director of a normal school is a Government official, and he is paid by the Department of Education, even where the school is established by a prefecture.

A few words appear to be necessary on the subject of school inspection which has not been neglected in the scheme of the Government. A central bureau of inspection was established in 1874, with a small staff, but this was abolished in 1877, and occasional inspection was made by qualified officials. In 1886 the inspectorate was again revived, and a staff of five inspectors took charge of the work; two more inspectors were added subsequently, but in 1893 this system of inspection was again dropped. Four years later five school inspectors were appointed, and each prefecture received two sub-inspectors for elementary school duties. In 1899 the number of sub-inspectors was increased, but at the present time the staff is admittedly inadequate for the work, and Baron Kikuchi states that there are only eleven inspectors in the Department of Education; their duties are mainly connected with the supervision of the teaching in elementary schools, and there is great need of some efficient inspection of the actual teaching in secondary and higher schools.

There are now eight High Schools situated in Tokyo, Sendai, Kyoto, Kanazawa, Kumamoto, Okayama, Higher Education.

Kagoshima, and Nagoya, and under the Ordinance issued in 1900 relative to courses given in these schools preparatory for the University, certain modifications were made with a view to the improvement of the educational work carried on in these institutions. The courses are subdivided into three sections, the first of which is designed to prepare students for admission to the Colleges of Law or Literature, the second prepares applicants for admission to the Course of Pharmacy in the Colleges of Medicine, to the College of Science and Engineering, or to the Colleges of Agriculture, while the third section is for those desiring admission to the Colleges of Medicine. In all the three sections the studies embrace ethics, Japanese, Chinese, English, and German or French, but in each section the remainder of the course is specialized in favour of the particular aim the students have in view. Thus in the first of these sections, history, logic, and mental philosophy, elementary law and political economy are included; in the second section place is given to mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, together with drawing; and in the third, geology or mineralogy are replaced by zoology and botany. Gymnastics are taught in all the sections. Candidates for admission to these schools must be graduates of a Middle school, or those who have corresponding qualifications. Competitive entrance examinations are held in order to limit the number of admissions. Promotion depends upon class work, and on the results of examinations held at the end of each term and each year. Certain privileges of exemption from payment of fees, the postponement of the period of army conscription, and liberty to teach in Normal, Middle, and Girls' High schools, without undergoing

further examination, are granted to the best students. Very great importance is attached in these schools to the teaching of languages, to which more than half the time is devoted. The object of these High Schools is not merely to prepare youths for the University ; they are regarded also as institutions in which men of talent are trained for the government services, and as the students are chiefly of the age of twenty or thereabouts efforts are made to secure for them sound moral and spiritual education. Boarding-houses are provided to shield them from evil influences, and they are kept under strict control. As regards physical education, gymnastics are taught to the students throughout the entire course, and great attention is paid to their health and welfare. In fact, the authorities do all in their power to foster a manly character, as well as to provide for the intellectual training of those under their charge.

There are at present three Imperial Universities in Japan, namely, those of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Tohoku, ^{Universi-}^{ties} but it is intended to create a fourth University at an early date. The Tokyo University received its present status in 1877, and arose out of an amalgamation of earlier colleges. It was created an Imperial University by the Ordinance of 1886, and it assumed its final form in 1890. It now consists of a University Hall, a College of Law, two Colleges of Medicine (one in Kyoto and the other in Fukuoka), a College of Literature, and a College of Science and Engineering. It is not necessary for our present purpose to examine minutely into the Constitution of the other Universities.

The object of an Imperial University in Japan is to provide instruction in literature, science, and art ; all of which are essential to the State. It consists of a Hall and other associated colleges. The Hall is an

institution in which research-work is carried on and into which the graduates of the various Colleges obtain admission. If any student, not a graduate of one of these colleges, desires to be admitted to the Hall, he must undergo an examination at the College devoted to his special subject. The length of the course in the University Hall of the Tokyo University is five years, and the student carries out his researches and investigations under the guidance of a professor. At the end of the course he prepares a thesis, and if he passes he receives a degree.

A College is an institution for instruction in literature or science, both theoretical and applied. The length of the course of study is three years in the Colleges of Literature, Science, Engineering, Agriculture, and Science and Engineering; four years in the course of Medicine and three years in that of Pharmacy in the College of Medicine; and four years in the College of Law. In each College in an Imperial University an elective course is provided for those students who wish to take up one or more subjects. The University year begins on September 11 and ends on July 10 following. In general, the year is divided into three terms. The courses vary in the different colleges. Thus, in the College of Law at Tokyo there are four courses, namely, law, politics, political economy, and commerce. In that of Medicine there are two courses. In the College of Engineering are eight courses, and so on. The subjects taught in similar courses in the various Universities are as nearly as possible alike.

These Universities, having all been established by the Government, obtain annual subsidies from the National Treasury: thus the Tokyo University receives £130,000 annually, that of Kyoto £100,000 and a

smaller sum is granted to the University of Tohoku. Each University has a President, who is of *Chokunin* rank; under him is a Council consisting of the Directors of the College and one professor from each College, chosen by vote. The President convenes the Council and presides at the meetings. There is also a Committee for the management of the University finances, and there is a faculty meeting in each College attended by its special professors. The staff of the Tokyo Imperial University colleges comprises 143 Professors, 88 Assistant Professors, and 95 Lecturers, while there are in addition 11 Honorary Professors. Attending the Tokyo University there are in all 5,071 students, including 169 students of the elective courses. In the Kyoto University are 1,396 students, including 97 in the elective courses, and the Tohoku University has about 100 students.

Training of university rank is not confined to the provision made by the Government, as special schools may be founded by a *fu*, *ken*, or city, or even by a private individual, with the permission of the Minister of Education, and the object of such schools is in most cases to give higher education in the arts and sciences as laid down in the Special School Ordinance. Such institutions have a course extending over three years or more, and students must either be graduates of Middle Schools and Girls' High Schools, or they must possess corresponding attainments. The teachers must be holders of a degree, or graduates of a College of the Imperial University, or graduates who have attained the *gakushi* (degree) qualification, but persons may be specially appointed or permitted to teach by the Minister of Education.

To this category belong the Government Schools of Medicine, of which there are five, viz. those of Chiba, ^{Schools of Medicine.}

Sendai, Okayama, Kanazawa, and Nagasaki, and those schools of similar rank established by prefectures, at Kyoto, Osaka, and Nagoya. There are, moreover, private Schools of Medicine in Tokyo and Kumamoto, and a Government school in course of formation at Niigata. The courses of study at all these institutions, except in the case of Okayama, and the private schools, comprise both medicine and pharmacy; the period of study for the former being four years and for the pharmacy three years only. To each Government Special School a hospital is attached, and the schools are consequently furnished with the equipment requisite to provide a complete medical education. The number of students seeking admission is so large (four or five times the number required) that entrance has to be made subject to competitive examination. These special schools do not, however, turn out such competent and efficient graduates as the Colleges of Medicine forming part of the Imperial University, because in the latter case the students of the College have received, as we have seen, three years' preparatory education in the High School before entering the University, whereas the students of the special Schools of Medicine are admitted directly after graduating from a Middle School. They lack, therefore, the special preparatory knowledge of foreign languages, physics, and chemistry gained at the High School. This being the case steps have recently been taken to raise the standard of the Special Schools of Medicine. It is well known that the examination under the Medical Practitioners' Law is to be discontinued after 1914, and the fate of the medical students at that date in the private schools becomes a matter of difficulty. The examination for the medical profession is divided into two parts, and only those who have passed the first examination are

entitled to sit for the second. It is calculated that not less than 2,000 medical students will thus be disqualified and will be compelled to enter some other profession.

Another school of higher rank is the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, which aims at the training of practical linguists and gives three years' courses in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Korean, Tamil, Hindustani, Mongolian, and Malay. In the second and third years, during the hours allotted to the study of each language, teaching is given on the general history, geography, and literature of the country whose particular language is being studied. There is a post-graduate course of two years' duration, and short courses are given in Malay, Hindustani, Tamil, and Mongolian for those about to engage in business who need tuition in the above languages. For entrance into this school there is a strict examination as more students present themselves each year than can be admitted. There were 451 students in 1909, and about 250 others attending special courses.

Among schools of superior rank which should here be mentioned are the Tokyo Fine Art School, the Tokyo Academy of Music, and the Commercial, Technical, and Agricultural Schools established by the Government, but there are also special schools privately founded which belong to this section. These latter schools may be thus classified:—two special schools of medicine, nine of law, nine of law and literature, three of literature, one of literature and religion, and sixteen of religion. The oldest of these private institutions, established as far back as the period of Keio, is the Daigaki-bu or Special School of the Keiogijuku, founded by the famous Yukichi

Various
other In-
stitutions.

Fukuzawa, one of the most eminent men of modern Japan, and one to whom the country is most deeply indebted for the introduction of western civilization. This University received its present name on its transfer to Shin-senza in 1868, and it was again removed to the site now occupied on the heights of Mita in 1871; its founder is still known as the 'Sage of Mita'. This institution, first established for the teaching of Dutch and English, has kept well abreast of the times and takes high rank as a seat of learning. Mr. Fukuzawa may be regarded as the pioneer of the introduction of foreign teaching, and while his main object in the first instance was the study of languages, a University department with courses in Economics, Law, and Literature was established in 1890 to which seven years later a course in Politics was added. The spirit which animated the founder has been cherished by his students, and his noble and lofty personality is still held in reverence by his followers. The two words 'Independence' and 'Self-respect', embodying his moral teaching, have been chosen as the motto that governs the institution and rules the minds of the students, and many men, eminent in learning and in mental endowments, who now occupy important positions in the State and in society have been trained in the Keiogijuku. Its objects are well summed up in the following declaration: 'The Keiogijuku is not satisfied with remaining merely a place of cloistered learning. It aspires to be a fountain-head from whence flows nobility of character and an intellectual light and moral glory to illumine the path of Japan. Its aim is to make clear those principles which should govern the domestic, social, and national life, not only by preaching, but also by practising them, thus to prove a leading factor in the general welfare of the

country.' These were, indeed, high ideals and they have been worthily carried out. The Institution embraces a Primary School, a Middle School, and a University department. In the first of these departments 300 boys, who enter at the age of six, receive a carefully thought-out education, designed to build up a strong physique, and then to add sound mental cultivation; physical culture is placed before the training of the mind. This school is a boarding school from which the boys pass on to the Middle School without examination.

The Middle School ranks on an equality with those of the Government; the course covers five years and graduates from this school proceed to the University. Special emphasis is laid on the study of English as well as on intellectual, moral and physical culture. There is a supplementary department for the graduates of other Middle Schools preparing for the entrance examination.

In the University which forms the main body of the institution there are now 2,500 students. The two courses are the preparatory, lasting for two years, and the professional, with a full three years' course, making a complete course of five years. Many of the professors have been trained for their duties by going abroad as students to foreign countries in order to complete their education.

Another important feature of the institution is the Shokogakko, the Commercial and Technical School, which prepares candidates for future usefulness in the commercial and industrial world. The course covers four years with two years of preparatory work. This school was established in April, 1903. There is likewise an evening commercial school for apprentices with a two years'

course of elementary commercial instruction ; it receives boys at the age of fifteen.

In 1909 the number attending the Keiogijuku were as follows:—University 2,293, Middle School 803, Primary School 384, Commercial and Technical School 449, Evening School 581, making a total of 4,510.

The institution is governed by a board of thirty councillors elected by the alumni for a term of four years. The directors are five in number, one of whom, Mr. Eikichi Kamada, an earnest and capable teacher, is the President of the Keiogijuku, and the others are elected from among the councillors. (When in Tokyo the writer had several opportunities to discuss educational questions with Mr. Kamada, and obtained from him the particulars of the institution over which he presides, and its aims in the educational world.) The councillors elect the President, who holds office for five years, but is eligible for re-election. There is, in addition, an Ihato (Chancellor), Mr. Ichitaro Fukuzawa, chosen by the Alumni Association, whose duty it is to superintend the welfare of the institution. The Keiogijuku grants four *gakushi* degrees in Political Science, Economic Science, Laws, and Arts respectively. We have dealt with it thus fully as a typical institution of its class.

Another well-known institution is the Waseda Daigaku, created by Count Okuma and his friends in 1882. This establishment, which has greatly prospered, has furnished all sections of Japanese society with eminent and useful men, and has at the present time some 4,000 students. The Doshisha Special School, founded by Jo Nijima in 1875, is also a flourishing institution of higher rank. The Christian and Buddhist Special Schools, in which the study of

religion is of chief importance, must likewise here receive mention. All these special schools are for the training of male students. When dealing with female education, reference will be made to the so-called 'Women's University'.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION—CONTINUED

No department of Education in Japan has received more attention, or has shown greater signs of vitality in recent times than that which may for want of a better inclusive term be considered under the generic head of 'technical' education. This section must here include education in technology, engineering sciences, agriculture, and commerce, with a certain number of nautical and marine Industries schools. This class of teaching may range from University rank in the various faculties of engineering, law, commerce, and agriculture in the Colleges of the Imperial University of Tokyo, through the 'technical special colleges' into which students pass direct on completing their education in the Middle school, down to the Higher Grade school standard. To the special colleges belong the so-called 'technical colleges' of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Kumamoto, various commercial colleges of a similar rank, and the Agricultural Colleges of Morioka and Klushiu. The number of these special colleges will ultimately reach eighteen, but four have not yet been opened. There are also numerous technical schools in two classes, A and B, section A being schools of the secondary, and section B those of the primary grade. The former division contains 190, and the latter 201 schools. Next in order come the supplementary technical schools, of which there are in all 4,908.

The origin of these technical schools is in all cases

comparatively recent; thus, the first Engineering School was founded in 1871, the Agricultural School in 1874, and the Commercial School in the year following, but these institutions, after undergoing various changes, were merged in the University, and in this way became agencies for imparting instruction of the highest grade in engineering, agriculture, and commerce respectively. Later, in 1883 or 1884, regulations were framed by Government for the creation of further technical schools, but little came of this action, and it was not until 1894 that state financial aid was afforded to technical education, and the movement received full Government support. The so-called Technical School Ordinance was issued in 1899, and it was amended in 1902, and again in 1903. In accordance with this ordinance Technical Schools were divided as follows : (a) Technical Schools, (b) Agricultural Schools, (c) Commercial Schools, (d) Nautical Schools, and (e) Supplementary Technical Schools. Among the agricultural schools were included the special schools in sericulture, forestry, veterinary medicine, and schools for the study of marine industries. Great impetus was given to the movement in favour of the creation of these schools after the wars with China and Russia, when the need of more highly trained men in all departments had made itself felt.

The aim of the higher technical schools is to give a more advanced instruction in a number of special subjects to students who desire to prepare themselves for such work. Thus there are schools for mechanics and machine construction, dyeing, weaving, architecture, chemistry, mining, and metallurgy, commerce, and many other distinct subjects. The length of the course is three years, but in many cases there is a post-graduate course for two years longer. Candi-

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dates for admission to these schools must be graduates of middle schools, and in order to restrict the numbers of those who enter, there is a stiff entrance examination, because the number of applicants has been increasing from year to year, and in many cases seven or eight times the number of students required present themselves for admission.

The teaching staff is composed of graduates of the colleges of the Imperial University, or of persons approved for these posts by the Minister of Education. It was stated in a report prepared for the Japan British Exhibition of 1910 that there are 458 teachers on the staffs of these various colleges, and 5,337 students, including those following special elective courses. Most of these schools are provided with workshops and complete equipment for practical work—the agricultural schools have farms attached to them, and in the forestry schools access is secured to forest areas. The great aim is to unite theory and practice in all the teaching. Even in the commercial schools steps are taken to introduce practical business methods.

In the technical schools of Secondary Grade comprised under section A, the same kind of instruction, but less advanced in character, is provided in a wide range of subjects. In the regular course are included morals, Japanese language and literature, mathematics, chemistry, physics, drawing, and gymnastics, with special subjects in accordance with the requirements of the locality in which the school is situated. The school course covers three years, but it may be extended where necessary to four or more years, except in the case of the marine industries schools, where the extension may reach five years.

In the nautical schools, in addition to the three years

in the school, the student must spend three years on board a vessel, during one of which he must be in a sailing-ship, and there are special arrangements for the education of marine engineers, who must work in an engineering factory for one year of their training. Entrance may be obtained by graduates of a higher elementary school, not less than fourteen years of age, but for the preparatory course, where such exists, less stringent conditions prevail. There were, in 1909, 34,675 students in these schools and 2,377 teachers. By far the largest number of students attended the agricultural and commercial schools.

The technical schools of the B, or primary grade, ^{Primary} ~~are~~ ^{grade} ~~are~~ ^{Schools.} are mainly designed for the training of workers and to impart to those intending to engage in various industries, some knowledge of their future occupation. Many of these schools are of the rank of apprenticeship schools, and certain of them are attended only by female students. The subjects of study are morals, Japanese, mathematics, general science, and gymnastics, with special subjects added which directly relate to the intended occupations of the students. The length of the course may vary from six months to four years, but the time spent in the technical school is to be not more than three years. Each school is at liberty to prescribe its own standard of entrance qualification; the lowest qualification is that the student must have completed the elementary school course, and be not less than twelve years of age. The nature of these primary technical schools varies greatly in different parts of the country. The teaching qualification is very similar to that of the teachers of the schools of secondary grade, the chief distinction being the larger proportion permitted of unlicensed teachers, or of those without a diploma in the case of apprenticeship schools.

There are at present 1,158 teachers in these schools and 15,975 students.

The provision made for technical supplementary education is mainly in the form of classes or short courses, attached to or forming part of the elementary school. The classes are intended to give supplementary lessons in general education and at the same time to impart knowledge of a specialized character, useful to those about to be engaged in various industries and in different branches of business. Neither the length of the course nor the school period is fixed by regulation, but these matters may be determined by local conditions, or by the consideration of the time that can most conveniently be assigned to this teaching. Some of the schools are open in the daytime, either before or after the regular school hours. Others are held only in the evening or during the winter months, and there are some which meet only on Sundays or on other recognized holidays. The length of the course varies very much in different places and even for different subjects in the same course. Children of not less than twelve years who have completed their term at the elementary school are eligible for admission to these courses, but even this rule has many exceptions, and young persons who are not qualified under the above conditions may be admitted.

The subjects of instruction are morals, Japanese, and arithmetic in addition to the agriculture, trade-technology, and commercial knowledge. Japanese and arithmetic may be dropped if circumstances render this advisable, and technical instruction may be grouped in any way suitable to the local conditions, while students have liberty to take up only such parts of the course as they may select. In nearly all cases the teachers of these classes are those in charge of the

elementary schools to which they are attached. Owing to the fact that such teachers may not possess the requisite knowledge of technical subjects, each *fu* or *ken* provides from time to time courses of lectures to enable the teachers to prepare themselves to undertake this instruction. Moreover, the Department of Education organizes special summer courses for the training of elementary school teachers who may be willing to qualify themselves to give instruction in these schools. Other persons who are considered fit may have the permission of the local governors to teach in the supplementary technical schools. These schools contained in 1909 no less than 192,148 students. It is noted that not a few of such schools are located in Buddhist temples or in private dwelling-houses. The great want in this matter is that of adequately trained teachers, and though no special normal school for this type of teachers exists, provision has been made to some extent to supply this want by the addition of special training institutions to the Agricultural College of the Tokyo Imperial University, as also to the Technological and Commercial Colleges of Tokyo. The annual Government subsidy for technical schools is £36,500, in the distribution of which some 312 schools participate. Some privileges are enjoyed by the students of such schools as receive official sanction ; namely, that the students are enabled to postpone their period of conscription to a later date, and the graduates of the colleges may become Government officials of *Hannin* rank.

It is pointed out in the pamphlet prepared for the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 that of late years the relations between men engaged in business and the technical schools are becoming closer, and that this relationship has already been productive of

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mutually beneficial influence. There is a growing tendency on the part of business men to make themselves better acquainted with the work going on in technical schools by means of personal visits and inspection of the machines, implements, and equipment; moreover, the value of the trained students is becoming appreciated.

It must be remembered that in addition to the Government schools, a great many institutions of a similar character have been started by private initiative. Thus, Baron Kikuchi points out that Mr. Yasukawa has endowed a technological college to be established in Fukuoka.

Very brief space remains in which to deal with the highest forms of technical education, but the following facts respecting the Engineering College will serve to show the thoroughness of the work in the premier Institution in the country.

The present College of Engineering arose, as has been stated, out of the amalgamation of the Kobu-Daigakko (Imperial College of Engineering, established 1871) and the department of Technology of the Tokyo Daigaku (Tokyo University). The Kobu-Daigakko was organized by Dr. H. Dyer of Glasgow, and contains the following ten courses :—

1. Civil engineering.
2. Mechanical engineering.
3. Naval architecture.
4. Technology.
5. Electrical engineering.
6. Architecture.
7. Applied chemistry.
8. Technology of explosives.
9. Mining, and
10. Metallurgy.

Mechanical engineering is, however, subdivided into mechanical engineering proper and the marine section, so that there are altogether eleven courses in the University. Besides this special subdivision, another point worth mention is the importance assigned to actual practice and to designing.

In the mechanical engineering department, for instance, students are employed during the summer months of July, August, and September in actual practice, either in Government works or in private workshops, while in the third year course, they spend most of their time in practical works and prepare complete designs for engines, steam turbines, and machinery. These drawings are so detailed that they would serve for the purposes of actual construction if sent to shops outside.

In the same way the students in the mining course utilize the summer vacation and visit one of the large mines in order that they may practise hand and machine drilling, blasting, and the sharpening of their own drills in the blacksmith's shop. They also take part in timbering in underground workings and go through the regular routine of work.

The students in the metallurgical course are sent to one of the principal copper smelting works for actual practice in smelting operations and reduction of ores, together with electric refining of copper, while the specialists of the metallurgy of iron obtain practice either at the Imperial Steel Works or in private iron works for blast-furnace smelting and steel making. The students of other engineering departments follow similar courses of practice in corresponding industrial works. The total number of students is about 660, and of these more than

half attend the three courses of civil and mechanical engineering and naval architecture.

The graduates of each engineering course are subsequently employed in different engineering works, mostly the property of private owners or companies, both at home and abroad. Many of them go to the South Manchuria Railway Company, or to posts under the Korean Government.

All writers on Japanese education attribute the relatively inferior position of women in that country for so long a period to the influence of Buddhist and Confucian teaching, in accordance with which woman was looked down upon and even despised. Throughout the more modern Tokugawa period the principal education afforded to woman was that best adapted to render her useful and attractive to man, and little care was exercised upon the development of her intellectual faculties. During all her earlier years the girl was taught unceasingly to consider her duties to her future husband's family, and to practise obedience to her own parents. She had to study modesty and self-repression on every occasion, and she was allowed to have no will or wish of her own to gratify, but to think and do only what was required of her by the family, and more especially the mother of her future husband. The family was the unit of society, and woman as an individual was not considered in any way.

It is the lot of nearly all Japanese women to marry, and when in recent years the idea that woman was entitled to an education in no respects inferior to that given to man gained ground, it was impossible at the outset to discard at once the old traditional view of woman's future position in the household. Thus the aim of Japanese female education is to make girls

‘good wives and mothers’, and to fit them for their future domestic position.

The most recent movement in the education of woman comes from a recognition of the fact that it may be necessary, in consequence of the progress of advancing civilization, that a certain proportion of the female population should be trained to earn their own living.

The earliest step taken in this direction was to educate certain women as teachers. Japanese experts ^{Women Teachers.} speedily became convinced that, especially for young children, no better teachers could be found than those women who had been properly prepared for such duties. As early as 1874 a Women’s Training School was founded by the Government, and later, when more advanced education in the Girls’ High Schools had to be provided, a Higher Normal School, mainly for the purpose of training women teachers for these institutions of a higher grade came into existence. Two such Government training schools have now been established, the one in Tokyo with 365 students, and the other in Nara.

In addition to these higher normal schools for women, under the Ordinance of 1897, the various *fu* ^{Normal Schools for Women.} and *ken* were called upon to establish one or more normal schools in each locality, and in 1907, under a new regulation, the training was divided into two courses; the first course extending over four years, and the second lasting for one or two years only. For admission to the first course the students must be graduates of the three years’ higher elementary course, or be possessed of corresponding attainments, and be not less than fifteen years of age. In order to be admitted to the second course they must be graduates of a four years’ or a five years’ course in a Higher Girls’

School and be above sixteen years of age. The subjects of study are ethics, education, the Japanese language and Chinese classics, history, geography, natural science, physics, and chemistry, mathematics, penmanship, drawing, music, gymnastics, household management, and sewing, with thirty-one hours of study per week. In the first course, in addition to the above branches, English may be taken as an optional subject. The second course of two years' duration has the same subjects of study, omitting household management and penmanship, and in the one year's course, history, geography, and English are dropped and there are thirty-four school hours weekly. In both courses, practical training is given in an elementary school attached to the college, together with nursery practice. In connexion with the teaching of gymnastics, upon which great stress is laid in schools of all ranks, it may be pointed out that this instruction, together with the wearing of shoes instead of clogs, and a kind of plaited skirt, known as a *hakama*, is imparting to the women of the rising generation, a quickness of movement and a freedom in walking which tend to help their bodily development, and is said to be having some effect upon the average of national stature.

It was not until 1895 that regulations relating to Higher Female Schools were issued by the Government, such education before that time having been left entirely to private initiative ; the course of study laid down was to extend over six years, though one of these years was made optional. Girls who had completed their time in the elementary school were eligible for admission, and the course included morals, the Japanese language, a foreign language (at present English), history, geography, mathematics, science, domestic management, sewing, penmanship, drawing,

music, and gymnastics. To these were added as optional or elective subjects, education, the Chinese classics, and manual arts. There were twenty-eight to thirty hours of study per week. In 1899 an Imperial Ordinance was promulgated relating to Higher Female Schools, whereby all the provincial districts were called upon to establish not less than one such school in each prefecture, having a four years' course of study (only three years in some cases), and this Ordinance was amended in 1901. The effect of these measures was seen in the rapid increase in the number of the Higher Schools, which in 1907-8 amounted to 133 in all, with 40,273 pupils, in 1908-9 the number was 159 schools with 46,582 pupils. Lastly, in 1907 the Ordinance was again revised, the permissive three years' course was abolished and the four years' course was made obligatory, while a further permissive course of one year was introduced. The hours of instruction are twenty-eight per week. It is stated that in addition to the above schools there are eight public schools of similar rank and 93 private schools, with a total of about 13,000 pupils.

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At the present time the work connected with the telephones, telegraphs, and railways is providing new avenues for the employment of women, and the need of educating women for the posts thus created has made itself felt. Until now the provision of this kind of instruction, given in so-called commercial or technical schools for girls, has been left to private enterprise, the aim of the Government having been, as has been stated, principally the education of the future wife or mother.

Towards the close of the last century, when the influence of Europe and America upon the evolution of Japan had made itself fully felt, shortly after the

issue of the Imperial Rescript on education, official encouragement was given to the provision of a superior education for young girls.

Educational experts in Japan assert that the result of the Japan-China War was to give a still further impetus to higher grade female education, because it was believed that the influence of women as mothers and wives had an 'important bearing in producing the happy results of victory'. It was therefore felt that more ought to be done to secure a liberal education for the women of the community. From this sentiment sprang the Imperial Ordinance of 1899, as the outcome of which higher female schools were, as we have seen, founded in every *fu* and *ken*, as also in Hokkaido.

From this period dates the establishment of a Girls' College, often spoken of as a University, which was founded by private enterprise. The proposals for this institution were made public by the founder, President Naruse, in 1897. The College was opened in 1901. We have been favoured by Mr. Naruse with some notes of his aims and views respecting this admirable establishment. The education to be given was regarded from three different standpoints. In the first place, woman was considered as a member of the human family, 'not a mere plaything.' Her mental and physical faculties which she shares with man were to be developed, and her character was to be formed, so as to adapt her for all circumstances and positions in which she might eventually be placed. Secondly, she was to be trained as a woman. All female virtues were to be fostered, and she was to be endowed with her fair share of every branch of knowledge which would qualify her to become a good wife, a wise mother, and an excellent woman. Lastly, she

was to be educated as a subject of Japan, to learn her duty to her country, to become a useful member of society, and to play her part as a Japanese woman.

There are four sections or departments in the College, the course in each extending over three years.

- A. Section for pedagogics
- B. „ „ literature
- C. „ „ English literature
- D. „ „ household management.

For each of these branches there is a preparatory course extending over one year, but in English literature this section requires two years.

Attached to the College is a Girls' High School, with a five years' course ; a Grammar School for girls, with a six years' course, and a Kindergarten for children from four to six years old. The boarding-house forms an essential part of the system, and itself serves as an element of education. All students, except those who live at their own homes, must enter this boarding-house, where they gain experience in house-keeping and domestic management, taking all branches of the work in turns. This is regarded as an essential matter in the cultivation of character. There are twenty-seven buildings in all. The college authorities entrust everything to the care of the girls, who follow the general rules laid down for their guidance, as this tends to promote habits of responsibility and self-reliance. This system, moreover, leads to the cultivation of friendship and self-sacrifice, and stimulates social intercourse.

Of the 383 students in the college in 1909 no less than 157 were married women, consisting of 138 employed in domestic duties, 11 engaged in teaching, and 7 occupied in business. The 226 unmarried

students are placed in the following categories : helpers at home, 83, engaged in teaching, 86, employed in business (as editors, missionary students, in newspaper work, &c.), 38, students, 12, work not stated, 7.

It is impossible here to describe the various schools for the professional and industrial teaching of girls, of which there are not less than 300, with about 10,000 pupils. Among the oldest of these institutions are the so-called sewing schools, the female school in Kyoto having been established in 1876. There are likewise cookery schools and schools for sericulture, weaving, and dyeing ; a female medical school with 300 students ; an academy of music ; a physical culture association and schools for the training of midwives and nurses.

Special mention should here be made of the Peeresses' School, an institution founded by the Empress, and intended, as its name implies, for the education of the daughters of the nobles. Her Majesty is the directress, as well as the founder of this school, and she continues to take a permanent interest in its management and welfare. Admission is not confined to girls of high rank, but the school is open to the daughters of citizens in general if the means and position of their parents are suitable. The instruction is given on the best European lines, with teaching of modern languages, music, and painting. This school is attended by eight members of the Imperial family, 329 peeresses, and 277 daughters of other families, making a total of 614. Of these scholars 57 were in the post-graduate course, 287 in the middle school course, 191 in the elementary course, and 79 young people were attending the kindergarten.

Madame Shimoda, formerly of this school, has founded a flourishing private establishment, which is

known as 'Issen Jogakko', or the Girls' Practical School, with over 800 pupils in the three departments, viz. the Girls' Higher School, the Special Art Department, and the department for domestic economy, Madame Shimoda has added also a section for training Chinese girls to become teachers in their own country; this comprises about one hundred students, for whose education funds are provided by the Chinese Government.

It is interesting to note in connexion with the higher education of women, that some of the most profound thinkers in Japan are of the opinion that the attempt on the part of the Government to restrict such education to the level of that imparted in the elementary and middle school is a fatal error, and that much injury is being inflicted on the rising generation by this policy. Only a month or two ago, Count Okuma, Baron Shibusawa, and Mr. Ichizaemon Morimura, accompanied by President Naruse, made an excursion through Osaka, Kobe, Okayama, and Kyoto. This tour was undertaken avowedly in order to awaken interest in the aim and work of the Japan Women's University at Mejirodai, Tokyo, and it provides food for reflection that these mature statesmen should embark on this mission, while the present educational authorities, who are mostly younger men, and presumably progressive in their ideas, look rather askance at the higher intellectual aspirations of the girl students. It is suggested that the tendency of the present system of education is to cause a disregard for the old spirit of reticence and humility, so characteristic of the women of the past. The Japanese girl of to-day learns too many things in a shallow, superficial manner and neglects, so it is said, the training of her mind. She reads too much light magazine

literature of a low intellectual tone, and little is being done to retain the former belief in the sanctity of family life and the discipline and spirit inculcated in the old samurai households. There are few of those restraining influences at work on the younger women of the present generation which kept their sisters of a past age in the path of modesty and patient endurance. Japanese womanhood is on the high road to emancipation, and a radical change is needed in the whole system of education, in order to cope with this altered state of things, and to open out for women a wider field of intellectual interest.

CHAPTER XI

THE NAVY

WITHIN a single generation, and almost within a single decade, the navy of Japan has passed from a collection of junks to an array of formidable war-ships, manned and officered by warriors who have shaped the destiny of their country, and who have created traditions of which the most valiant kingdoms of the world might well be proud. By an effort almost unparalleled in the history of nations, Japan overcame internal prejudices, accepted the materials and methods of war offered by Great Britain, Holland, Germany, and France, schooled herself in the science of western civilization, and, retaining all that she had derived from an inspiring ancestry, upheld her rights in successful encounter against her powerful foes. The secret of her success is the dauntless devotion of her sons, the intensely practical nature of the objects upon which she centres her efforts, and the care with which she formulates her policy and settles down to a plan. It is to be observed that her powers of selecting what is practical have hitherto enabled her to combine initiative with imitation in matters appertaining to the construction of ships and armaments; and it is reasonable to assume that in the future she will be less dependent upon her foreign contemporaries than she has been in the past, though none the less sensible of the benefits gained by her early admirals in the training schools of other nations. In contemplating

the Japanese navy as it was, as it is, and as it is likely to be, it is desirable, therefore, to recognize the change that the success of Japan has wrought for her, to study the gradual development of her internal resources in regard to what proceeds from her shipyards and from her arsenals, and to observe the simultaneous diminution of her dependence upon the foundries, mills, and workshops upon which she has hitherto relied for the material portion of her naval fighting strength.

The story of the growth of the Japanese navy has often been told; its retarded birth, its troublous infancy, its sturdy youth, and its quick ripening into manhood, have been the themes of all writers upon contemporary history. The delay in establishing a naval force must be attributed to the policy adopted in 1635 by the Tokugawa Government, whereby voyages to foreign countries by Japanese vessels, and the building of large vessels in Japan, were strictly forbidden. There is a tendency in these days to denounce that policy, but it is significant that from the time of its adoption the people enjoyed comparative peace and were ignorant of foreign affairs for about two hundred years. Like other policies of the kind, it worked admirably so long as the other nations took the same view, or were content to regard Japan as beyond the pale of their interests. It came to an abrupt end, however, in 1840, when the national tranquillity was rudely disturbed by the appearance of truculent foreign vessels off the Japanese coasts; and it was transformed into zealous activity and clamouring for a navy when the United States dispatched a fleet to Japan, in the usual way, to open up trade. Finally, when in 1858 commercial treaties were signed between Japan and Great Britain, the

United States, and Russia, the creation of a Japanese navy became inevitable.

The comparative peace to which reference has just been made was occasionally broken by clan warfare, and by more or less picturesque encounters between Japanese explorers and residents on the southern coasts of China. For these piratical attacks the Japanese used junks, and in these vessels in the seventeenth century their commercial instincts carried them to India, Siam, Java, and the Philippines, as well as to Korea and China. It would be out of place here to follow step by step the chapters of this early history, but it is important to observe that, so far as the personal element, as distinct from the material element of the Japanese navy is concerned, its strength and spirit are largely the result of a long struggle of a maritime nation against the dangers and chances associated with a seafaring existence, and it is noteworthy that it was this inheritance of the sea that enabled Japan to cast off lethargy and to renew her strength at the very moment when her birthright seemed most likely to be wrested from her. When, therefore, in 1853, Commodore Perry anchored off Tokyo, and insisted upon the gates of trade being flung open by Japan, the Shogunate may have been alarmed, but Japan at once realized that her defence lay seaward. At this crucial moment, the Dutch Government advised the Shogunate to develop a navy upon the European plan, and in the following year the Japanese Government organized a naval training school at Nagasaki, and candidates were quickly forthcoming, recruited from officials of various departments of the State. Students who graduated at Nagasaki were passed on to Tokyo—then known as Yedo—where they followed a course of instruction in the

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training ship *Kanko Maru*, which was presented to Japan by the Dutch. In 1857 the fleet itself began to take shape, and its earliest squadron consisted of a few war-ships given to Japan by the Dutch, and a vessel which was a gift from Queen Victoria. Then followed ten years of strenuous exertion on the part of Japan to encourage the naval spirit. Students were sent to the naval establishments of Europe and of America, and others were instructed in naval subjects in Japanese colleges by instructors from Great Britain and France.

An incident in 1863, when Kagoshima was bombarded as a punitive measure by British war-ships, followed by the bombardment, in 1864, of Shimonoseki by British, French, Dutch, and United States vessels, conveyed to the Japanese a sense of proportion, and led to an expansion of their ideas concerning the development of a navy. In 1868, all the national institutions of Japan were reformed, and the Department of Navy and Army was established, subsequently to be denominated the Bureau of Coastal Defence. Four years later, the Departments for the Navy and for the Army were separated from one another, and a scheme was then formulated for the construction, equipment, manning, and officering of a large fleet. Some idea of the rate of expansion at that time may be gathered from the fact that in 1871 the Japanese Navy consisted of seventeen vessels with a total displacement of about 6,000 tons. The part taken by England in assisting in the administration can be gathered from the fact that the late Admiral Sir Richard Tracey was first foreign adviser in Japan, that Admiral Sir Archibald Lucius Douglas, with several junior officers, helped to train the Japanese recruits, and that Rear-Admiral John Ingles, who at

that time was a captain in the British Navy, also acted as naval adviser to the Japanese Government. The period from 1871 to 1893 was characterized by a remarkable expansion. Between those years the Japanese Government expended £24,000,000 on their naval forces, and in the following period, which terminated in the Russo-Japanese War, their fleet consisted of 76 war-ships, forming an aggregate of rather more than 264,000 tons. Subsequent to the last war the Diet decided upon a programme that implied the expenditure of about thirty-five millions sterling for the construction of new ships, and for repairing and refitting their existing ships, and the vessels they had captured from Russia. This sum also included an amount for making good the tonnage removed from their list on account of obsolescence. At the close of the financial year of 1909 about 13½ millions sterling had been spent. It is anticipated that the balance, about 21½ millions sterling, will be expended by the end of the year 1916 or early in 1917. It is stated that in addition to the foregoing programme, the Government of Japan contemplate an expenditure of eight millions sterling to be distributed over a similar period to the last, but this will appear as an ordinary item of revenue. To quote from the *Japanese Year Book*, the motive given by Premier Katsura for this further call upon the resources of Japan was stated to be to bring 'the naval strength to a point unavoidably necessary for purposes of national defence'. Although this programme requires to be ratified by the Diet, there is every reason to believe that it will be carried out exactly as determined upon by the late Government.

It was stated by a correspondent of the *Times* in June last year that the problem that awaits Japan is

much larger and more complex than those which confronted her in her struggles against China and against Russia, and the task before her is 'to assure herself of competence to encounter any force which any foreign State, England excluded, will be capable of massing in Far Eastern waters ten years hence'. She has not forgotten the superb example of seamanship given to the world by Rozhestvenski when he marshalled the Baltic squadron to the China Seas, and she realizes to the full that her programme must in consequence be based upon the assumption that the enemy may bring against her a whole fleet, and not merely an isolated squadron.

The *Times* correspondent proceeded to say that the minimum addition made to Japan's navy during the next ten years should be twenty-five units to the first fighting line, which will involve a total outlay of from £40,000,000 to £45,000,000. He further points out that although she will have the undoubted advantage of fighting close to her base, she will have to take account of the circumstance that the quality of battleships built in Japanese dockyards is still unproved. But, whatever interpretation is put upon this expression of opinion, it may be observed that it is usually unwise to assume that the material forces of a foreign nation are inferior. Japan should in fact be given full credit for the fighting value of the ships and armaments that are now proceeding from her dockyards and arsenals.

The relative position of Japan to-day in regard to battleships of all classes, as compared with that of other naval Powers, and her expenditure on her navy, can be estimated from the following tables which have been prepared partly from the *Naval Annual*, and partly from the *Japanese Year Book*.

BATTLESHIPS

Name	Displacement (tons) and length (feet)	When launched	Nominal speed (knots)	Number of torpedo tubes	Armour at water line (inches)	Principal armament
Fuji	12,320 374	1896	19.2	5	19 6	12" (4) 6" (10)
Shikishima	14,850 400	1898	18.3	5	9 4	12" (4) 6" (14)
Asahi	15,800 400	1899	18.0	4	9 4	12" (4) 6" (14)
Mikasa	15,200 400	1900	18.5	4	9 4	12" (4) 8" (4)
Iwami	13,516 367	1902	18.0	4	9 4	12" (4) 8" (6)
Sagami	12,674 401	1898	18.0	5	9 7	12" (4) 6" (11)
Tango	10,960 367	1894	16.0	6	15	12" (4) 6" (12)
Hizen	12,700 374	1900	18.0	6	9 4	12" (4) 8" (6)
Suwo	12,674 401	1900	18.0	5	9½ 4	12" (4) 6" (11)
Katori	15,950 420	1905	19.5	5	9 5	12" (4) 10" (4)
Kashima	16,400 425	1905	19.2	5	9 4	12" (4) 10" (4)
Satsuma	19,350 482	1906	20.5	5	9 5	12" (4) 10" (12)
Aki	19,800 482	1907	20.5	5	9 5	12" (4) 10" (12)
Kawachi	20,800 479	1910	20.0	5	—	12" (12) 6" (10)

ARMoured CRUISERS

Asama	9,700 408	1898	22.1	5	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (14)
Tokiwa	9,700 408	1898	23.0	5	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (14)
Yakumo	9,850 407	1899	20.0	5	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (12)
Azuma	9,436 431	1899	20.0	5	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (12)
Iwate	9,750 400	1900	22.0	4	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (14)
Izumo	9,750 400	1899	22.0	4	7 3½	8" (4) 6" (14)
Kasuga	7,299 344	1902	20.0	4	6	10" (1) 8" (2)
Nisshun	7,700 344	1903	20.0	4	6	6" (14) 8" (4) 6" (14)

ARMoured CRUISERS (*continued*)

Name	Displacement (tons) and length (feet)	When launched	Nominal speed (knots)	Number of torpedo tubes	Armour at water line (inches)	Principal armament
Aso	7,762 443	1900	22.0	2	8 3	8" (2) 6" (8)
Tsukuba	13,750 440	1905	21.0	5	7 5	12" (4) 6" (12)
Ikoma	13,750 440	1906	21.0	5	7 5	12" (4) 6" (12)
Kurama	14,600 450	1907	22.0	5	7 4	12" (4) 8" (8)
Ibuki	14,620 450	1907	22.0	5	7 4	12" (4) 8" (8)

PROTECTED CRUISERS

Naniwa	3,700 300	1885	18.7	4	3	6" (8)
Takachiho	3,700 300	1885	18.7	4	3	6" (8)
Itsukushima	4,277 295	1891	17.0	4	2	12½" (1)
Hashidate	4,277 295	1891	17.0	4	2	12½" (1)
Kasagi	5,416 374	1898	22.7	4	4½ 1.8	8" (2)
Chitose	4,760 395	1898	22.5	4	4½	8" (2)
Tsugaru	6,630 413	1899	20.0	6	3	6" (6)
Soya	6,500 420	1899	23.0	6	3	6" (12)
Tone	4,035 400	1906	23.0	—	2 3	6" (12)
Izumi	2,950 270	1878	18.6	3	5 1	6" (2)
Chiyoda	2,450 308	1889	17.5	3	4½	4.7" (10)
Akitsushima	3,150 302	1892	19.0	4	3	6" (4)
Suma	2,657 306	1896	20.0	2	2	6" (2)
Akashi	2,657 295	1897	20.0	2	2	6" (2)
Niitaka	3,365 235	1902	20.0	—	2½	6" (6)
Tsushima	3,365 235	1902	20.0	—	2½	6" (6)
Otowa	3,000 341	1903	20.0	—	—	6" (2)

COAST DEFENCE SHIPS

Name	Displacement (tons) and length (feet)	When launched	Nominal speed (knots)	Number of torpedo tubes	Armour at water line (inches)	Principal armament
Chinen	7,400 308	1882	14.0	3	14	12" (4)
Iki	9,672 326	1888	14.8	6	14 6	12" (2)
Okinoshima	4,126 277	1896	15.0	4	10	10" (3)
Minoshima	4,792 265	1894	16.0	4	10	9" (4)
Kongo	2,200 231	1877	13.0	—	4½	6.6" (3)
Hiyei	2,200 231	1878	13.0	—	4½	6.6" (3)
Katsuragi	1,476 206	1885	13.0	2	—	6" (2)
Yamato	1,476 206	1885	13.0	2	—	6.6" (2)
Musashi	1,476 206	1885	13.0	2	—	6" (2)
Takao	1,774 230	1888	15.0	—	—	6" (4)

GUN BOATS

Akagi	615 164	1889	13.0	—	—	8.2" (1)
Uji	620 180	1903	13.0	—	—	—
Sumida	126	1906	15.0	—	—	—
Fushimi	180	1906	14.0	—	—	—

DISPATCH BOATS

Yayeyama	1,600 315	1889	20.0	2	—	4.7" (3)
Tatsuta	875 240	1894	21.0	5	—	4.7" (2)
Chihayo	1,250 273	1900	21.0	5	—	4.7" (2)
Suzuya	3,080 347	1900	25.0	6	2	6" (2)
Mogami	1,324 316	1906	23.0	—	2½	4.7" (2)
Yodo	1,230 300	1906	22.0	—	2½	4.7" (2)

TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYERS

Name	Length	When launched	Name	Length	When launched
Akebono	311	1898	Murusame	381	1903
Araie	227	1904	Nagatsuki	381	
Ariake	227	1904	Nenohi	381	1905
Asagiri	381	1903	Nowake	357	1906
Asakaze	375	1906	Oboro	311	1898
Asashio	373	1898	Oikaze	381	
Asatsuyu	375	1906	Satsuki	350	1902
Fubuki	227	1904	Sazanami	381	
Fumizuki	400	1892	Shigure	375	1906
Harukaze	375	1906	Shinonome	279	1897
Harusame	381	1903	Shikiname	400	1892
Hatsuharu	375	1906	Shirakumo	373	1898
Hatsushimo	381	1905	Shiranui	279	1898
Hatsuyuki	375	1905	Shirotaye	375	1906
Hayakaze	375	1906	Shiratsuyu	375	1906
Hibiki	375	1906	Shirayuki	375	1905
Ikazuchi	311	1897	Ushio	381	1905
Inazuma	311	1898	Usugumo	381	1899
Kagero	279	1898	Uzuki	381	
Kamikaze	381	1905	Wakaba	381	1905
Kasumi	364	1898	Yamabiko	240	1897
Kisaragi	381	1905	Yayoi	381	1905
Makigumo	400	1892	Yudachi	375	1906
Matzukaze	381		Yugiri	279	1898
Mikazuki	375	1905	Yugure	381	1906
Minazuki	381		Yunage	375	1906
Murakumo	279	1897			

In regard to battleships, the position to-day is somewhat as follows:—

	Britain	Germany	United States	France	Japan	Russia	Italy
Built	52	25	29	16	13	7	8
Build- ing	15	16	6	8	3	7	4
Total	67	41	35	24	16	14	12

In modern battleships, the relative position at the end of the year 1913 is estimated to be as follows:—

Britain	Germany	United States	France	Japan
43	28	26	15	11

Again, it may be useful to compare the estimated strength of Japan for 1913 in regard to what the

Naval Annual classifies as 'Dreadnoughts and ships launched since 1906 which may be considered fit to "lie in a line"'. The figures are :—

Com- pleted	Britain	Germany	United States	France	Japan	Austria	Italy
March 31, 1911	10	4	4	0	2	0	0
March 31, 1912	16	7	6	6	4	0	1
March 31, 1913	20	13	8	6	5	2	2
March 31, 1914	24	16	10	8	5	4	4

The eleven modern battleships ascribed to Japan in the table on p. 204 include the following vessels :—

Name	Tons	Launched	Name	Tons	Launched
Kawachi	20,800	1910	Iwami	13,516	1902
Settsu	20,800	1910	Hizen	12,700	1900
Aki	19,800	1907	Asahi	15,200	1899
Satsuma	19,350	1906	Mikasa	15,200	1900
Kashima	16,400	1905	Shikishima	14,850	1898
Katori	15,950	1905			

In addition, a cruiser-battleship of 27,500 tons, to be known as the *Kongo*, was laid down at Barrow in 1910 for Japan. It is further to be observed that Japan possesses four old battleships, i. e. the *Sagami* (12,674 tons), the *Suwo* (12,674 tons), the *Fuji* (12,320 tons), and the *Tango* (10,960 tons) all launched between 1894 and 1898. Her 13 first-class cruisers vary in displacement from 7,700 to 14,620, and their reputed speeds vary from 20 to 22 knots. Japan has a reserve of 7 second-class, and 13 third-class cruisers, and a flotilla, built or building, of 64 destroyers, 48 torpedo vessels (1st and 2nd class), and 14 submarine boats.

The growth of her naval expenditure has proceeded at a rate greater than that of any naval Power, and the only reduction in it is to be observed in the period of her effort against Russia. This is shown by the following figures for the total expenditure :—

Year	Total Naval Expenditure	Year	Total Naval Expenditure
	£		£
1902	3,632,619	1907	7,227,232
1903	3,611,786	1908	8,094,884
1904	2,061,322	1909	7,202,823
1905	2,341,194	1910	7,695,647
1906	6,187,667	1911	8,803,015

It is noteworthy that the Japanese Navy Estimates for 1911-12 are practically stationary with the exception of the Armaments Replenishing Fund, which in 1910-11 amounted to £3,607,073, but which for 1911-12 is to be expanded to £4,462,286. This item includes the Replenishing Fund and the Repair Fund, and its increase indicates that Japan is as determined to maintain her existing vessels and dockyards in readiness for war, as she is to abandon her vessels when they reach the stage of obsolescence. She has learnt the lesson of flinging away the poorer half in order to fight the better with the other half. Taken as a whole, her naval policy at the moment is, to the uttermost, preparedness, but without vindictiveness.

According to Mr. John Leyland, if the programme regarding obsolescent vessels of the Japanese Government be carried into effect, three battleships will be retired in 1911, and four in 1913 ; and within the same two years some very serious inroads will be made into their armoured cruisers also, for reasons of obsolescence. It is estimated that within the next ten years Japan must build twenty-five ships of those two classes, and

the outlay consequent upon this cannot fall short of £50,000,000.

Against the suggestion that Japan will in future build all her own fighting-ships Mr. Leyland directs attention to the recent contract signed on behalf of the Japanese Government with Messrs. Vickers, Sons & Maxim for the construction of a battle-cruiser. The position seems to be that Japan has constructed what are believed to be highly efficient fighting-ships of more than 20,000 tons, but that the conditions are not yet wholly perfected in that country for carrying out a continuous programme of construction upon the most economical and effective lines. There is, however, another aspect of the matter of home construction that deserves attention. It has to be remembered that hitherto Japan has exhibited remarkably little initiative in the improvement of engineering designs and construction. In regard to construction, hers is a policy of imitation. This demands that in order to provide herself with patterns for vessels that she may desire to turn out from her own yards, she must from time to time purchase ships from the foreigner.

Some remarkable figures relating to the development of naval engineering in Japan were given by Rear-Admiral Terugoro Fujii, at the Jubilee Meeting of the Institute of Naval Architects, held in London on July 6, 1911. He pointed out that, since the year 1896, nearly 28 per cent. of the war-ship machinery of Japan, calculated on the basis of horse-power, had been derived from Great Britain. In 1863 the gun-boat *Chiyoda Gata*, the first steam-driven ship built in Japan, was fitted with three low-pressure cylindrical boilers of the locomotive type, and this type, or return-tube boilers, was put into all Japanese ships launched before 1899.

In 1900, boilers of the Normand and Belleville types were given a trial, and in 1902 the old boilers in the *Chiyoda* and the *Yayeyama* were replaced by others of Belleville and Niclausse types.

It will be remembered that at about this time the struggle between cylindrical and water-tube boilers was proceeding among all the naval Powers. The Japanese were able to confirm that the water-tube boilers possessed undoubted advantages. The experience of Japan regarding the use of water-tube boilers in their war with Russia put the matter beyond all doubt, and they adopted the Miyabara boiler generally. It is further stated that the first-class battleships *Kawachi* and *Settsu* are to be equipped with Miyabara boilers of double-ended type. For many of their destroyers they use a water-tube boiler similar to the Yarrow type. Besides progress in boiler construction, the Japanese have been actively engaged in developing the use of oil fuel, but the greatest advance has been in the direction of installing steam turbines. In 1907 they fitted a set of Parsons turbines of 8,000 horse-power in their dispatch boat *Mogami*. In the same year they gave a trial to Curtis turbines in two of their vessels. The Navy Department is also investigating the new Westinghouse turbine engines and gear, which are said to reduce greatly the weight and space required and to give much greater control over the engines, making it possible to reverse from full ahead to full astern in fourteen seconds.

At the same meeting of the Institute of Naval Architects, the progress of naval construction in Japan was admirably dealt with by Rear-Admiral Motoki Kondo, Inspector-General of Naval Construction. He pointed out that naval construction as Japan knows it

to-day had its beginnings in 1861, when the first war-ship was laid down by Japan.

The four Navy Yards at Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, and Maidzuru, and the three repairing yards of less importance at Ominato, Takeshiki, and Bako have furnished an eventful chapter in modern naval history. The Yokosuka Navy Yard at Tokyo began its existence in 1864. It therefore belongs to the Tokugawa period. It was provided with a technical staff of naval constructors, foremen, and leading hands by the French Government. In the first instance it was used principally for general shipbuilding, but it came subsequently under the administration of the Ministry of Public Works—which has since passed away—and in 1872 it became the principal shipbuilding establishment of the Japanese Imperial Navy. On February 1, 1870, the first graving dock at Yokosuka was opened. The Yard appears to have limited itself to the construction of wooden vessels up to the year 1885, when the composite ship *Katsuragi* was launched. In 1887 the *Atago*, an iron ship, was launched from Yokosuka. This was followed by several third-class cruisers and small vessels, and in 1906 by the *Satsuma*—the first battleship built in Japan. To-day the dockyard has two large building-slips, and three others suitable for destroyers and torpedo-vessels. It has four graving docks, of which the largest is capable of taking any ship now afloat. According to Rear-Admiral Kondo, in 1869 Yokosuka employed 960 workmen. In 1911 it employs more than 8,000, while at the time of the war with Russia the number was something like 16,000. In 1865 its area was about 18 acres; to-day it is 116 acres.

Although the yard is of moderate size it appears to be well equipped, for it provided all the propelling

machinery, castings, forgings, water-tube boilers, and most of the auxiliary machinery of the *Satsuma*. In addition the yard has done good service in repairs and alterations to captured ships, and in ordinary repairs to Japanese vessels.

The Kure Yard dates from 1889, and became of importance just before the Chinese War of 1894. It contains two large building slips, and smaller ones for destroyers and other torpedo-vessels, two graving docks completed, and two larger graving docks in course of construction. This dockyard built the first armoured vessel of Japan, and it launched the *Ibuki* in six months after laying down the keel. At this yard the ordnance department is equipped for constructing guns and mountings up to the largest size, and it is here that practically the whole of the armaments of the war-ships built in Japan in recent years have been manufactured.

Near to Nagasaki is the Sasebo Navy Yard in the Island of Kiushiu. This also came into prominence just before the Chinese War, and was originally intended for repair work. It contains five docks, and it is equipped for carrying out all repair work and construction.

The most recent of the Japanese Navy Yards was opened in 1901 at Maidzuru in the Sea of Japan, within reach by railway of Osaka. Until now this has only been used for the construction of destroyers, but it is said to be fully equal to the task of building large vessels. It is provided with two large graving docks, now in course of construction, and two smaller ones.

In the auxiliary naval stations at Ominato, Takeshiki, and Bako there are small yards for minor repairs. Floating docks, capable of lifting ships up to about 1,500 tons, are provided at Ominato and at Takeshiki. The total number of workmen engaged in naval con-

struction and marine engineering in the Imperial dockyards at the end of 1910 was 20,676.

Admiral Kondo points with pride to the fact that Japan possesses two large private shipbuilding yards capable of turning out the heaviest war-ships complete with their machinery. At the Mitsubishi Dockyard, Nagasaki, the *Mogami* was built, complete with her turbine machinery, and at the present moment the yard is busy with a second-class cruiser and a large destroyer for the Japanese Navy. At Kobe the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Company have a yard in which the dispatch boat *Yodo* and several torpedo craft were built, and what is, perhaps, of more importance, a second-class cruiser is there being built, similar to the one on the stocks at Nagasaki. Further, each yard has recently received orders to proceed with the construction of a large armoured cruiser. There are in addition several smaller firms such as the Osaka Shipbuilding & Engineering Company, and the Uruga Shipbuilding Company, each capable of turning out destroyers.

Finally, in regard to naval construction it is important to observe that although the manufacture of armour plates in Japan was only begun in 1902, the Kure Navy Yard has now so far perfected the various processes that it is able to turn out trustworthy armour plates in sufficient quantity to supply all the needs of the Japanese Navy present and prospective.

The dry dock at Mitsubi will be extended to take vessels of the largest size now under construction, and work of a similar character is proceeding at Maidzuru, Kure, and Sasebo; within the present year, Mitsubi is expected to be able to provide the largest dry dock in the Far East. According to the *Naval Annual*, Ryojun (Port Arthur) has been opened to commerce,

Private
Ship-
building
Yards.

Armour
Plates.

Largest
Dry Dock
in Far
East
Mitsubi.

but Masampo has been closed owing to its proximity to the war harbour of Chinkaiwan, which is being fortified. Kelung and Tokio Bay are also being fortified.

The recent history of the growth of mercantile ship-building in Japan is largely the history of the Ship-building Encouragement Act of September, 1896. According to Dr. Terano and Mr. Yukawa, 98 ships with an aggregate displacement of 286,501 tons have been launched since the Act came into force. These comprise 5 passenger steamers, 4 of which are turbine driven, 2 channel steamers, 64 cargo and passenger steamers, 8 cargo steamers, 1 cable steamer, and a number of small vessels of which 12 are used on Chinese rivers.

To meet this demand the number of private yards which in 1896 was 66 has now increased to 250. Of course most of these yards are comparatively small, and at present many of them are only capable of turning out wooden sailing-ships and junks. Under the stimulating influence of the Encouragement Act, however, it is safe to assume that they will become centres for general manufactures.

It is admitted that the capabilities of Japan in respect to the provision of iron and steel are at the moment too limited to satisfy her requirements. In regard to the means for operating upon iron and steel for construction purposes the equipment of the ship-yards, however, leaves little to be desired. The struggle, therefore, must be largely a question of expenditure, and the great problem before Japan in contemplating the future of her industries centres upon the question whether it is advisable to continue to subsidize her shipbuilding by a process that, in effect, is threatening her reserves.

CHAPTER XII

THE ARMY

THE story of the rise, the progress, and the present condition of the Japanese army has been admirably recounted by Field-Marshal Prince Aritomo Yamagata.¹ It is a story that in some respects has its parallel in the growth of the British army, particularly in regard to the border troubles and the clan warfare, the final results being determined, as with us, by the dominating influence of the surrounding sea.

It begins with Prince Izanagi and Princess Izanami, ^{Early military history.} who brought the eight provinces of Japan into subjection, and with Prince Wakairatsuko, of Kyushu who, as the result of his successful encounters against the chiefs of Yamato, secured the crown, and became the first Emperor Jimmu of the new Empire. It tells also how Kume and Otomo, the governors appointed under Wakairatsuko, became the ancestors of the military families of Japan. As yet there was no central force sufficiently powerful to hold sway over all the provinces, and the chief work of the early emperors appears to have been to collect armies and to direct them against their own local administrators. It was left to the Empress Jingo—the Boadicea of Japan—to cross over to Korea, and to garrison it in A. D. 200. The time was ripe, and material was forthcoming, for the growth of an army and for developing it by active service.

In A. D. 661 the Emperor Tenchi issued the first ^{First regulations} regulations for the Japanese army; they took the

¹ *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Count Okuma.

form of directions to troops engaged in an encounter against China. The question of national defence was also considered at that time, and guards of the court and garrisons of the frontiers were established. About thirty years later the Empress Jito was sufficiently powerful to introduce the rudiments of conscription, whereby about a fourth of the population became available for the army. In A.D. 701 the army was divided into corps, each consisting of a thousand soldiers ; the cavalry section was organized, and all the court families were obliged to lend themselves to the movement. Under the Emperor Konin, in A.D. 780, conscription took definite form. Every able-bodied man was trained to fight, and the incompetent men were left to work on farms. This military class-distinction, based upon fighting quality, was destined to characterize the Japanese. It is noteworthy that from the time that a strong army was established Japan enjoyed several centuries of peace. Unfortunately this peace, with its consequent luxury, reacted upon the nation, as was inevitable. Except on the frontiers, it stamped out much of the war spirit. Elsewhere, throughout Japan, defence gave place to plunder and rebellion, and the integrity of the nation was upheld solely by the families of professional soldiers. The whole army became decentralized and there was consequently a return to ancient feudalism and local administration. Military power continued for a time to be associated with the Minamoto and Taira families. Finally, however, dissensions broke out even between these. The Taira family fell, and the Minamotos held pride of place as the military rulers at Kamakura for generations. The families of the Minamotos thus conserved the renowned military spirit, destined to be transmitted to the nineteenth century.

Japan, as was shown in the chapter dealing with the Navy, was content for a long time to close her eyes to the progress of the world in arms. Against this decadence, from the military standpoint, she revolted in 1789 when the Russians swept down upon the Kurile Islands. She did not fail for lack of a counsellor. Shuhan Takashima, of Nagasaki, endeavoured by every means to induce the Shogunate to study the art of war, to defend the Japanese coasts from invaders, and to procure advice and armaments from the countries that were then known to possess weapons incomparably more effective than their own. For his pains he was imprisoned in 1842.

In 1862 the Shogun's Government definitely adopted the foreign military system by forming three corps consisting of 8,306 infantry, 1,068 cavalry, 800 field artillery, 2,045 garrison artillery, with 1,406 officers, making altogether a total of 13,625 officers and men. Nevertheless the lesson had not been fully learned; for the troops still retained accoutrements which hindered them in the field, and they proved unequal to the task of quelling rebellion in 1864. In 1867 the Government of Japan was consequently forced to introduce far-reaching reforms under European guidance; and thus began the Meiji period.

Modern
military
methods
intro-
duced.

Dissensions as to the model to be followed in reconstruction, however, continued among the clans. Satsuma sought instruction from the British, Kii from the German, and other clans from the Dutch. An effort was made to establish a system of recruiting which should be equable for all classes, but the privileged samurai lodged objections. The Minister of War, Masujiro Omura of Choshu, found a partial solution of the difficulty in the establishment of a military school at Kyoto in 1868. It is a blot upon the page

of the history of this stage of Japan's progress that this far-seeing administrator was assassinated at the very moment when his plans were taking practical form. The spirit of reform, however, was invincible. By 1873 Japan was divided into six military districts, each with its own garrison, and head-quarters at Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto. Each military district was divided into divisional districts. The total force was 31,680 on a peace footing, and 46,350 on a war footing, consisting of 14 infantry regiments, 3 cavalry squadrons, 18 artillery batteries, 10 sapper sections, 6 commissariat sections, and 9 coast artillery companies. Conscripts were summoned, battalions were filled, officers were appointed, and discipline was at last secured.

Field-Marshal Yamagata tells us in his picturesque language that even in 1876, although Japan had adopted the methods developed by Europe during ages, these reforms and foreign adaptations were but the buds on the tree; Japan had yet troubles in store. In 1877 a rebellion broke out at Satsuma, and in coping with it Japan came at once face to face with difficulties of transport and commissariat. The rebellion taught the Japanese the value of a conscription army. A year later another system of reforms was introduced, partly dealing with military control. Subsequently there was a revision of the law of conscription especially affecting the duration of service and payment, with a view to rendering the conscription system effective and permanent. Meanwhile the military schools had been proceeding apace, and the two great lines of advance corresponding to conscription and improved teaching and training now began to converge.

There was next evidence of a determination to con-

centrate expenditure upon the means of defence and offence. Everything was directed towards a great military effort on the part of Japan to culminate in the early nineties; but the point upon which it was actually to fall had not yet been divulged. The movement was characterized by the fact that in place of divided counsels, Japan had awakened to the advantage of working upon a definite plan towards a common object.

The present organization of Japan's army had its beginnings in 1882, when an Imperial Edict was issued concerning the arrangements to be made for national defence and for the organization of the troops. In that year foreign instruction of military officers was largely discontinued, and in 1883 a Staff College was established, the Military Academy was extended, and the Military Medical School was revised. Non-commissioned officers were trained to qualify for commissions, and the whole system of drill was revised. In 1888 the garrisons were organized as units complete with infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and commissariat, which ultimately became Field and Reserve Divisions on a war basis. The Imperial Army then consisted of seven Divisions, with fortress artillery, railway corps, and colonial militia ready, if need be, for service beyond the seas. By 1893 Japan had organized sixteen military schools, attended by 2,602 students. By these measures, stimulated by all that was best of their traditions and national instincts, the Japanese were able in 1894 to oppose China with an army of more than 240,000 trained men, and in addition 6,495 irregulars and 100,000 coolies. In 1895 Japan again revised the law of conscription, whereby conscription reserves were replaced by conscription recruits, and the militia was divided into two sections. The idea

Foreign
military
instruc-
tion dis-
con-
tinued,
1882.

Develop-
ment of
army
organiza-
tion.

Conscrip-
tion
system
revised.

now was to render the army more mobile and to defend the outposts. By being associated with European troops during the further troubles with China in 1900, Japan acquired new ideas concerning ammunition and armaments. This period of expansion and improvement increased steadily up to the time of the Russian War, and since the war there have been still further changes. In place of the three years' conscription, a two years' system has been introduced, the numbers have been increased, and the arms have been augmented and improved. It is considered that the fighting power of the army is now double what it was at the end of the Russian War.

The following table forms a concise summary of these remarkable changes :—

	Generals and corre- sponding Officers	Higher Officers and Officers	Petty Officers	Men	Total
Before C.-J. War	36	4,235	8,970	65,241	78,482
Before R.-J. War	94	8,480	11,865	132,348	152,787
After R.-J. War	125	14,338	24,066	211,396	249,975

At this point the history of the past merges into the history of the future, and it is desirable therefore to take advantage of the temporary lull in the movement of Japanese military affairs to review the organization as it exists to-day. It is estimated that, on a peace footing it numbers 250,000 men of all ranks and ratings. This mighty force is governed in respect to (1) administration, (2) superintendence, and (3) education, by two departments of the State, both of which are under the direct control of the Emperor of Japan. The first department is the Supreme Military Council of War, consisting of the members of the Supreme Military Council, Ministers of the Navy and Army,

the Chief-of-Staff of the Navy, the Chief-of-Staff of the Army, and a few others, all of whom advise his Majesty in naval and military affairs. The Minister of War has charge of all matters relating to the administration of military affairs. He has under him a vice-minister, a secretariat, and a staff, controlling the six divisions, corresponding to personnel, military affairs, arms, finance, medicine, and law.

In all matters relating to national defence and arms his Imperial Majesty looks to the department concerned with superintendence. The staff-officer of that department attends to the education of the junior officers of the staff service. He has, therefore, to supervise the Military Staff College and the Military Surveying Department. He is supported by a second-in-command and by several departmental chiefs, and his office is subdivided into four sections. It is to be observed that military education is placed under the direct control of his Imperial Majesty, who entrusts to the chief of the Military Inspection Board all affairs affecting the Artillery and Engineering School, the Cadets' School, the Central Preparatory School, the Provincial Preparatory Schools, and the Toyama School where non-commissioned officers and junior officers receive a certain amount of training. The chief of the Military Inspection Board has also charge of the Examination Committee. The Board itself includes a general office staff, and Cavalry, Field Artillery, Heavy Artillery, and Engineering and Commissariat Departments, each with its chief. Thus, the chief of the Cavalry has charge of the riding-school; the chief of the Field Artillery is responsible for the gunnery-school; and the chief of the Heavy Artillery has the care of a separate gunnery-school.

The Japanese Army is an army of valiant conscripts,

and it offers to-day a striking example of what can be achieved by an island race when the able-bodied youth is taught to lend a hand in the defence of his country. The conscript system, nevertheless, has disadvantages, especially in certain branches of education and in the industrial life of the country, for it monopolizes the time of the young men throughout the years that they would otherwise bestow upon learning trades. So long as Japan can depend upon other countries for material supplies, however, this consideration is of minor importance. She has already gone a long way by adhering to the policy of imitation, and she cannot at this juncture vary that policy. It is sufficient here to observe that conscription must tend to the continuance of imitation, for the reason that it retards initiative in the industries by deflecting the young men from them to the less productive art of war. Between the full age of seventeen and the full age of forty all able-bodied Japanese males, other than felons and criminals, are liable to be called upon to perform military service. Under special circumstances there are exemptions, and, as a matter of fact, the conscript law has never been fully enforced, even in time of war.

The military system includes: (1) Service with the colours, for men who have reached twenty years of age; (2) First Reserve, for men who have been through active service; (3) Second Reserve, for men who have completed their service with the First Reserve; (4) First Territorial, consisting of men who have completed Second Reserve service, and of men who have completed Depot Service; (5) Second Territorial, for men who are in none of the other sections; (6) Depot Service, for probationers, and for replenishment of other services. The number of conscripts enrolled in each year is settled by the Minister of War, subject to

the approval of the Emperor. For example, in 1910 260,000 men were examined, and of these probably about one-third were accepted.

The term of training is generally three years for Cavalry or Artillery; but it appears to be variable. Three years ago, for Infantry a term of two years was adopted. For the First Reserve it is four years and four months; for the Second Reserve, ten years; and for the Territorial Service, twelve years and four months. Volunteers may apply to serve with the colours at the age of seventeen or over, and those of seventeen and not more than twenty-eight who have gone through their education at the schools specially recognized by the Minister of War, and who can pay for maintenance and clothing, may apply for one year's service with the colours. Candidates who have passed the examination may also be made to serve in this special service. Teachers in Government or Communal schools are obliged to do military service for six weeks.

As a rule, provisions and fodder are supplied to the Japanese army in kind. Rice is purchased by the Military Account Department, and is distributed to the various troops. Other requirements are usually purchased by the troops. Uniforms and clothing, and especially cloth in the piece, are generally bought and supplied through the Clothing Section, but clothing and uniforms are sometimes bought by the troops themselves. Horses are purchased by the Horse Section, and are kept under the supervision of that department until the animals are five years of age, when they are distributed to the divisions. Attention has recently been given to the improvement of native breeds of horses, and considerable success in this direction has been attained. Military transport is controlled by a special department, and it is stated that in 1909

the overland transportation included 54,640 men, 4,771 horses, and 7,183 tons of goods. In the same year the marine transportation included 77,661 men, 3,925 horses, and 83,045 tons of goods.

So long as the feudal system remained in Japan it was impossible for the Government to formulate a definite scheme of army expenditure. But when, in 1871, the military authority was at last concentrated and brought directly under the control of the Imperial exchequer, some approach to army estimates could be contemplated, and a treasury bureau was organized expressly for military affairs. The military expenses (1) Ordinary, (2) Extraordinary, have to be considered separately. The ordinary expenditures include the annual outlays of the War Department and of the various corps, while the extraordinary expenditures include the expenses of building barracks and batteries, quelling disturbances, medical aid for sick and wounded, the manufacture of weapons, and the transport of troops and arms. The following table of approximate amounts convey an idea of the moneys spent by Japan upon her army since 1878 :—

	Ordinary	Extraordinary	Total
	£	£	£
1878	640,900	22,074	662,974
1881	817,971	55,906	873,877
1884	1,076,459	77,119	1,153,578
1887	1,184,262	56,592	1,240,854
1890	1,208,098	174,169	1,382,267
1893	1,241,983	230,140	1,472,123
1896	2,261,859	3,062,893	5,324,252
1899	3,557,731	1,697,339	5,255,120
1902	3,916,967	1,027,239	4,944,206
1906	5,046,038	167,674	5,213,712
1907	5,366,379	5,795,338	11,161,717
1908	7,020,978	3,720,699	10,741,677

These figures are all probably somewhat less than the actual expenditures, but they indicate by what

leaps and bounds the expenses of the army have proceeded. For the financial year 1909-1910 the total expenditure was again nearly £11,000,000, and it is computed that for 1910-11 the amount will be £8,749,770. This sustained outlay in peace-time is undoubtedly having a disastrous effect upon certain sections of the commercial life of Japan, and there is naturally a reaction against the heavy taxation that is implied by these costs. This degree of efficiency could not possibly have been attained without tremendous sacrifice. It is not surprising that those who have to bear the burden occasionally groan under its weight. The military correspondent of *The Times*, who is regarded in military circles in Japan as the best-informed European writer on the military situation in the Far East, recently said :—

‘The supreme advantage possessed by Japan as a military Power is that, thanks to national service, her home territory is unassailable, not only by any single enemy, but by any reasonable or unreasonable combination of enemies. Her navy is sufficiently formidable to deter any Power except England from the idea of attacking her in her home waters, and her two fighting services in combination, joined with her geographical position, assure to her predominant position in the Far East. Nothing but the military regeneration of China or the United States seems likely to deprive her of this privileged position—and to talk to a Japanese of such possibilities only provokes a smile.

‘Japan is already twice as powerful as she was when she challenged Russia in arms. She intends to be thrice as powerful, and nothing but an external cataclysm, or some internal convulsion, of which there is yet no symptom, or scarcely one, can prevent her from becoming so. The weight of her numbers, the excellence of her organization, the adequacy of her

armament, the skill of her staff, the science of her officers, and the splendid spirit which animates, not only the Army and Navy from top to bottom, but the whole nation, have no exact counterpart, whether in the New World or the Old.

‘Were these mighty forces ever employed upon aggressive war, Japan would shake Asia to her foundations. Employed as they are to serve as the guardians, and the guarantees of peace, and directed as they are by prudent policy and wise statesmanship, their influence remains beneficent, and they ensure for the Far East the element of stability, which it has long lacked.’

CHAPTER XIII

FINANCE

OF the complete and radical reversal of general conditions in Japan within the last forty years there is no clearer illustration than the history of its currency, and no better proof could be adduced of the energy and sagacity of the Japanese public men who, when faced in the middle of the nineteenth century with a state of affairs comparable to that which obtained in Europe in mediaeval times, and having no business training or knowledge themselves could, with comparative rapidity, reform their country's hopelessly chaotic monetary system and place it at last upon the soundest possible basis.

For over two and a half centuries the currency system established in the sixth year of Keicho endured without change, except as regards the circulating medium. This, indeed, the Shogunate Government, sinking steadily in the slough of financial embarrassment, recoined and debased until what were originally coins became little better than tokens. The daimyos, too, frequently coined money in secret, and it is to be assumed that the intrinsic worth of these surreptitious issues fell far short of their nominal value. Again, with these feudal princes it became customary to issue paper money for circulation within the limits of their respective semi-independent principalities, of which there were some two hundred and seventy. Debased coins of little intrinsic value, paper money of more than 1,600 different types, much of it repudiated by

History
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Currency.

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its issuers—these, then, were the currency of Japan's monetary system at the time of the Restoration.

Banks, in the western sense of the word, were unknown, and almost unnecessary, in the pre-Meijian era, their place being taken by family concerns which acted chiefly as financial agents to the nobles, collecting their taxes and keeping them supplied with money. Samurai as well as daimyo held commerce in all its branches degrading, and shunned all but the concrete result of financial operations. Yet it was from this very class, the samurai, that the men were picked whose task it was to set Japan in the way of becoming a great modern commercial nation.

The evolution of the Japanese currency is one of the most extraordinary in the history of national finance. In 1871, when the work of regeneration was begun, the currency system adopted was one of gold monometallism; in 1878 it had become a system of gold and silver bimetalism; by 1879 it was to all intents and purposes a system of inconvertible paper money; in 1886 the paper money had been redeemed by silver coins, and at the end of 1897 a gold standard had replaced the silver system.

In these rapid changes can be traced the inexperience of the authorities, their pardonable errors and their prompt abandonment of what they recognized as faulty measures. The difficulties with which they had to contend excuse most of their mistakes, and the wonder is that they should have made so few.

Burdened to the point of bankruptcy with the expenses of the wars, and possessing no fixed source of revenue, the Imperial Government was obliged by sheer necessity to issue, in 1868, as an emergency measure, a large amount of paper money, at first convertible into specie, but subsequently, in 1871,

declared inconvertible. The people, rendered suspicious by previous bitter experiences, would have none of it, and it was found necessary, in 1873, to make it exchangeable for *kinsatsu* (literally, *gold notes*) or inconvertible Government exchange bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest. The plan was to destroy the paper money exchanged for these *kinsatsu* and to promote the establishment of banks which should issue convertible notes on the security of these bonds. Such banks were duly founded, slowly at first; but certain amendments in the National Banking Regulations in 1876 rendered the business so profitable that the number of these institutions rapidly increased to 153, all issuing notes convertible only into *kinsatsu*. The result was that when the Government, to defray the cost of the suppression of the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, was forced to issue further inconvertible notes amounting to twenty-two million *yen*, the country was flooded with paper money backed only by the credit of the State.

The value of the notes naturally depreciated heavily, the price of commodities rose in about the same proportion, specie was driven from the country whole-sale, imports increased and exports diminished, and the position generally, in 1880-1, was very serious.

It is necessary here to go back to 1868, the beginning of Meiji, and to follow the fate of the gold monometallic system first adopted. The 1-*yen* gold piece was the unit, and in order to facilitate foreign trade 1-*yen* silver coins were issued for circulation within the limits of the treaty ports, equal in weight and fineness to the Mexican dollar, then the universal exchange medium in the Far East. The relative value of the gold and silver 1-*yen* pieces was fixed at the rate of 16.174 of silver to 1 of gold, but in 1873, when

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Gold and
silver
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Germany, establishing her gold standard, began to sell silver, the gold price of the white metal began to fall in Europe and America, sinking, by 1876, to the ratio 1 of gold to 20 of silver, and the price of gold coins in Japan was seriously affected. To encourage commerce with the neighbouring silver standard countries it was resolved to extend the circulation of the 1-yen silver coins, formerly limited to the treaty ports, and to make them legal tender to any amount throughout the country, side by side with the gold coins. This was done in 1878, Japan's currency system thereby becoming, in reality, a gold and silver bimetallic system.

In October, 1881, the newly-appointed Minister of Finance, Count Matsukata Masayoshi, came to the conclusion that the remedy for the financial distress caused by the over-issue of inconvertible paper money lay in the redemption of a portion of the Government notes simultaneously with the augmentation of the Government's reserve of specie preparatory to the resumption of specie payment. Accordingly, the most rigorous economy was thenceforth practised in all the Ministerial departments, and while half of the surplus thus gained was used to redeem paper money the remainder went to swell the specie reserve. As to the bank-notes, an amendment of the National Banking Regulations ordered each national bank to deposit its reserve fund with the newly-created Bank of Japan for the redemption of its (the national bank's) issues.

The diminution in the volume of paper in circulation was rapid, and soon its value was restored to *par*. At the same time specie ceased to leave the country, trade revived and industry again became active. In June, 1885, the Government was in a

position to announce that from the following January the notes would be exchangeable for silver coins, thus placing paper on a par with silver and, practically, altering the currency system from gold and silver bimetallism to a silver standard.

This was an unfortunate deviation from the right path, for the fall in the gold-price of silver continued unabated, until there was no stable standard of value, and foreign trade, with merchants obliged constantly to cope with fluctuations in the exchange, threatened to become to a great extent a matter of monetary speculation. The necessity for adopting a gold standard was obvious to most Japanese financiers, but so also was the difficulty of accumulating a gold reserve that would make it possible. It was at this juncture that the Chinese war indemnity became due, and in this circumstance Count Matsukata saw his opportunity. The amount was payable, according to the terms of the Treaty of Peace, in Kuping Taels; why, argued the Minister of Finance, should it not be paid in British money? On his suggestion Marquis Ito negotiated with the Chinese authorities, with the result that the money was received in pounds sterling. In March, 1897, the Bill for the new coinage received the approval of both Houses of the Diet, and in October of the same year it was put into force. Bullion was purchased abroad and coined at all speed, gold coins to the value of 76 million *yen* being minted between July of 1897 and April of the following year.

The minting of the 1-*yen* silver coin previously used as the standard coin was discontinued from the date of the passing of the new Bill, though it remained in circulation, as legal tender to any amount, until April 1, 1908. It was withdrawn completely from circulation at the end of July of the same year, and

Urgent
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In New gold
coinage,
1897.

Silver
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though the time allowed may appear short no report reached the authorities of any failure to exchange the silver coins. These, which together represented over 75 million *yen*, were disposed of by recoinage a portion into subsidiary coins, by selling about 41 million *yen* in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and elsewhere, and by sending some 6,750,000 *yen* to Formosa, Korea, and other countries, and placing them in circulation there. The net loss sustained in the whole process was no more than 7 per cent., and this was fully covered by the manufacturing profit of the Mint.

The establishment of the present gold standard was thus successfully accomplished, to the abiding credit of those responsible for the work. The principal details of the system are as follows: the coinage unit is 2 *fun* (0.75 gramme) of pure gold, the standard and subsidiary coins being:—

Denomination	Fineness	Weight (grammes)	Approximate value in English money
Gold 5 <i>yen</i>	900 gold, 100 copper	4.1666	£ s. d. 0 10 3
„ 10 „		8.3333	1 0 6
„ 20 „		16.6665	2 0 11½
Silver 10 <i>sen</i>	720 silver, 280 „	2.25	0 0 2½
„ 20 „	800 „ 200 „	4.05	0 0 4½
„ 50 „		10.125	0 1 0½
Nickel 5 „	250 nickel, 750 „	4.66	0 0 1¼
Bronze 1 „	950 copper, 40 tin, 10 zinc	7.13	0 0 0½
„ 5 <i>rin</i>		3.56	0 0 0⅓

Note.—The gold coins issued under the old coinage law have double the value of the gold coins of corresponding denominations issued under the new coinage law. The 5-*sen* subsidiary silver pieces and the 2-*sen* and 1-*sen*, 5-*rin* and 1-*rin* copper pieces previously issued are allowed to circulate.

We have briefly described the condition of the currency at the beginning of the Restoration, and, though it is obvious that such chaos in the circulating

medium must mean an equally confused state of finances generally, the financial system of Japan may be summarized here with particular reference to the subject of revenue and system of taxation.

The feudal system which, during the Shogunate, reduced the nation to a collection of some 270 *han* or clans, was an effective barrier to unification of any kind, above all financial. Each daimyo levied his taxes, paid almost entirely in rice, at his own will and pleasure, as much in conformity with the condition of his exchequer as with the state of the crops; and though the taxes varied widely in the different fiefs they were on the whole much more burdensome than those collected from territories under the administration of the Shogunate. The principal tax was the land-tax. Japan's trifling foreign trade was limited to two countries, China and Holland, and to one port, Nagasaki; and Customs duties, arbitrarily imposed, constituted part of the Tokugawa Government's revenue. In addition to these sources there were monopolies and a host of miscellaneous duties.

It was evident to the leaders of the Restoration that a system was necessary by which taxation should be rendered uniform throughout the country, and, taking the land-tax and other direct taxes, they considerably reduced their rates, making up the loss in receipts by the gradual introduction of indirect taxation. The benefit thereby accruing to the large agricultural class was soon shown in the development of agricultural enterprise. In 1872 the land-tax was entirely reformed; the whole of the territory was surveyed, private ownership was established, and new laws distinguished between the people's land and that of the Government. Lands were assessed on the basis of the money value of their produce during five years.

Taxation
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feudal
system.

Indirect
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Land-tax
reformed.

and the new land-tax was levied at the rate of 3 per cent. on this assessment, payable only in coin. At the same time most of the miscellaneous duties were abolished.

The reformation of the land-tax was not universally popular, and the ultra-conservative, impatient of new institutions, created such disturbances that as a conciliatory measure they were allowed for a time to continue to pay their taxes in rice. The rate, too, was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which meant a decrease of 800,000 *yen* in the revenue of the year 1876, and after this the opposition ceased.

The purely local taxes were now reorganized and placed upon a uniform basis, whereupon the evils arising from the old system disappeared immediately.

The necessity for increased naval and military expenditure, which arose in connexion with Korea in 1881, called for considerable additional revenue. Fresh taxes were therefore levied; income-tax was introduced along with indirect imposts on soy, tobacco, confectionery, and stamps, and the tax on *sake* was raised, augmenting the receipts to such an extent that the Government was able in 1886 to reduce the land-tax again. But following the war with China it became necessary to establish occupation and registration taxes, to raise again the *sake* tax, and to create a Government monopoly of leaf tobacco. Against this, however, the taxes on vehicles, ships, and confectionery, which produced little and were difficult of collection, were abolished. In 1896, and again in 1900 after the Boxer trouble, the rate of taxation was increased, while the war with Russia caused the introduction of the Extraordinary Special Tax Law and the creation of the tobacco-manufacturing monopoly.

It will be seen from the tables given further on

that the taxation was by no means light; but, thanks to the wisdom and energy of the Government, the resources of the country had been very considerably developed, and the tax-bearing capacity of the people had improved commensurately. The only hardship entailed was due to the uneven incidence of the extra burden, and for this reason and in view of the economic changes which had taken place the revision of some taxes and the abolishment of others became imperative. Therefore, shortly after the termination of the war with Russia, the liquor tax was rearranged as a first step in this direction, and two years later all but the income-tax were readjusted, involving a decrease in the revenue of over a million and a half sterling annually.

From the following table it will be seen how the *ordinary* State revenue of Japan was derived in the financial years 1898-9 and 1909-10. For the purpose of further comparison it may be mentioned that the revenue of the first fiscal year of Meiji (1867-8), ordinary and extraordinary, amounted to no more than 33 million *yen*.

Sources of Revenue	1898-9 Yen	1909-10 Yen
Land Tax	38,440,976	85,693,955
Income Tax	2,351,420	32,800,432
Business Tax	5,478,020	25,112,330
Liquor Tax	33,032,473	91,480,101
Soy Tax	1,535,543	4,731,800
Mining Tax	567,992	2,007,973
Travelling Tax	—	3,032,800
Succession Tax	—	2,784,436
Tax on bourses	856,036	3,657,500
Tax on issue of bank-notes	1,255,610	720,140
Consumption Tax (kerosene oil)	—	2,112,308
Consumption Tax (textile fabrics)	—	18,778,324
Other Taxes	3,576,680	232,168
Customs duties	9,092,592	36,423,860
Sugar excise	—	13,270,189
Tonnage dues	—	568,761
Stamp receipts	7,605,170	30,746,048
Posts, telegraphs, and telephones	13,603,285	43,957,862

Sources of Revenue— <i>contd.</i>	1898-9 <i>Yen</i>	1909-10 <i>Yen</i>
Forests	1,625,632	10,014,534
Railway profits	4,278,547	—
Salt Monopoly profits	—	11,134,120
Camphor Monopoly profits	—	47,691
Tobacco Monopoly profits	5,145,999	47,267,571
Miscellaneous receipts	4,423,360	16,666,266
Total ordinary revenue	132,869,335	483,241,169

Some account may be given of the principal taxes at present in force :—

The land-tax is assessed upon a basis of ten times the annual rental value of land. On this assessment residential land pays at the rate of 2·5 per cent., rice and other fields at 4·7 per cent., and ‘other land’ at 5·5 per cent., except in Hokkaido, where the rate for rice and other fields is 3·4 per cent. and for ‘other land’ 4 per cent.

The income-tax is payable by (a) persons domiciled, or who have resided for one year, in places where the Income Tax Law is in force, and (b) those who, though not thus liable, derive income from sources within the Empire which come under the said law. Class I comprises the income of joint-stock companies and ‘other juridical persons’; in Class II comes the income from interest on public loan bonds or companies’ debentures, and Class III embraces incomes not included in Classes I and II. In Class II the income is subject only to one rate of 2 per cent., but in the other classes an additional rate, varying from 1 per cent. in respect of incomes of not less than 300 *yen* to 14·85 per cent. for incomes of 100,000 *yen* and upwards, was imposed by the Extraordinary Special Tax Law and is still in force. The ordinary rate in Class I is 2·5 per cent., and in Class III it ranges on a sliding scale from 1 per cent. on incomes

of not less than 300 *yen* to 5.5 per cent. on incomes of not less than 100,000 *yen*.

Among the incomes exempted from income-tax are salaries of Army and Navy officers and privates when engaged in war; income derived from charity, pensions, and as legal support; money received for school expenses, and others. Special laws grant exemption in respect of interest from National Loan Bonds and Savings Debentures.

The business tax was created in 1896 and falls ^{Business tax.} upon all descriptions of industry and commerce. Assessment is based upon capitals, sales, commissions, contract values, and rental values of buildings, and for each employee other than a labourer or an artisan a tax of 2 *yen* is also payable, the rate for artisans and labourers being $\frac{1}{2}$ *yen* each. The tax rates naturally vary; thus the rate for the sale of goods is 12/10,000 of the wholesale and 36/10,000 of the retail sales, *plus* 90/1,000 of the rental value of buildings; the rate for banking and insurance concerns is 5/1,000 of the capital and 90/1,000 of the rental, while for manufacturing, printing, publishing, and photography, the rate is 3.7/1,000 of the capital and 90/1,000 of the rental value.

The tax on liquors is levied upon (a) brewers of ^{Liquor tax.} *shurui* (alcoholic liquor), which is divided into five classes, viz. *seishu*, or refined sake, *dakushu*, or unrefined sake, *shirozake*, or white sake, *mirin*, or sweet sake, and *shochu*, or distilled sake; (b) brewers of beer; and (c) wine and alcohol and alcoholic liquors other than sake or beer. The rate varies with the percentage of alcohol in class (a), ranging from 20 *yen* per *koku* (39.686 gallons) for 20 degrees spirit to 1 *yen* for each degree per *koku*. Beer brewers pay at the rate of 10 *yen* per *koku* brewed, the equivalent, approximately,

of 6*d.* per gallon, and the rate for class (c) is 1 *yen* for each 1 per cent. of pure alcohol per *koku*, though in no case less than 21 *yen* per *koku*.

The soy tax is levied upon manufacturers of this sauce at the rate of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ *yen* per *koku*. A tax on soy for household use was introduced in 1900, and ranges from 50 *sen* to 4 *yen* per *koku*, according to the amount manufactured. No more than 5 *koku* of soy per annum may be made for household use.

The mining tax is levied at the rate of 30 *sen* for each 1,000 *tsubo* (a *tsubo* = about 4 square yards) per annum in the case of prospecting and double that rate in the case of actual mining. The tax on mining products is 1 per cent. of their value, gold, silver, and iron ores being exempt.

There is also a placer tax upon the gold-dust recovering industry, for which the annual rates are 30 *sen* per *cho* (2.45 acres) of alluvial placer area and 30 *sen* per 1,000 *tsubo* of non-alluvial area.

The travelling tax came into force in 1905 and is levied upon passengers by steam trains, electric cars, and steamboats, as follows:—

Distance travelled	1st class	2nd class	3rd class
200 miles (statutory or nautical) and upwards	50 <i>sen</i>	25 <i>sen</i>	4 <i>sen</i>
Under 200 but over 100 miles	40 "	20 "	3 "
Under 100 but over 50 miles	20 "	10 "	2 "
" 50	5 "	3 "	1 "

The succession tax became operative in April, 1905, and may be compared with English death duties. It is too intricate to be described here, but the rate varies according to the degree of relationship of, and other circumstances connected with, the successor to the headship of a house, and also according to the value of

the heritable property, ranging from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent.

The tax on bourses is levied, in respect of time bar-gains, upon exchanges, the rates being 5/10,000 of the amount of the transaction in the case of local loan bonds and 12/10,000 in the case of other securities and negotiable papers. National loan bonds are exempt.

The consumption taxes are as follows :—

Textiles	10% <i>ad valorem</i>	Consumption taxes.
Kerosene, of which delivery is taken at a manufactory, customs house, or bonded warehouse	1 <i>yen</i> per <i>koku</i>	

The sugar excise came into force in 1901, and applies to sugar, syrup, and molasses of which delivery is taken at a manufactory, custom house, or bonded warehouse. The rate varies, according to quality and methods of manufacture, from 2 *yen* to 10 *yen* per *picul*.

Tonnage dues, introduced in 1899, are imposed upon vessels entering a Japanese port from foreign countries. They consist of 5 *sen* per registered ton of the actual capacity, but the payment at a port of 15 *sen* per ton exempts a vessel from all further tonnage dues at that port.

Taxes, other than those included in the business tax, and fees from stamps generally, come into the category of stamp receipts. There are over eighty of them, the most important being stamps for patent medicines and legal documents, the registration tax, the shooting licence tax, civil suit stamps, examination fees, and certain Custom House charges.

Turning now to an examination of those items of the revenue which are not classified as taxes, we find that the most important is the Tobacco Monopoly profit. The Leaf-Tobacco Monopoly Law was replaced in 1904 by the Manufactured Tobacco Monopoly Law

now in force, according to which private persons, authorized by the Government, may cultivate tobacco for sale to the Government. Such tobacco is prepared at Government manufactories and sold at fixed prices, according to quality, by licensed dealers. Tobacco can only be exported or imported by special permission of the Government.

The Salt Monopoly and the Camphor Monopoly are conducted on much the same lines, except as regards the limitations placed on exportation.

The disappearance of this item from the revenue is due to the promulgation in 1909 of a law which had as its object the promotion of the independent working of the various Imperial Railways. The railway system now has its special account, subdivided into Capital, Revenue, and Reserve Accounts. The excess of revenue over expenditure in the Revenue Account constitutes the profit, and the balance remaining after deducting for the Reserve Account a sum not exceeding 10 per cent. of the profit is transferred to the Capital Account, whose revenue is further constituted by any public or temporary loans which the Government may issue in the case of a deficit in the railway profit; by proceeds of sale of the railway's property, and by other receipts. The expenditure of the Capital Account consists of disbursements for the construction, improvements, upkeep and repair of railways, the redemption of the debts, and other charges. The expenditure of the Reserve Account consists of disbursements to meet deficits in the revenues of the other accounts caused by accidents, natural catastrophes, and the like.

Before 1859 no Custom Houses existed in Japan, but in that year, as the result of commercial treaties with Western nations, some few were established at

certain treaty ports. In 1866 the entire tariff was revised, and remained in force unchanged until 1899. In that year a general tariff was brought into operation, the export duties being abolished.

In 1904 it became necessary to impose a special sur-tax on the Customs duties, and towards the end of 1906 the whole tariff again underwent revision. The new tariff specified 538 different articles in nineteen groups, and on many of them the duties were specific.

As a result of the Import Tariff Revision Bill, which became law in April, 1910, a new tariff came into operation on July 17 last (1911). It enumerates 647 articles, classified in seventeen groups, the duties being specific as far as possible. Most raw materials are duty-free, and there are light duties upon semi-manufactured materials. The duties on many manufactured goods are quite low, and for others they range from 15 per cent. to 40 per cent., though the latter rate applies only to articles of limited importation. Articles of luxury pay a duty of 50 per cent., but these again are imported in but small quantities.

A new treaty was concluded with Great Britain whereby a reciprocal tariff was arranged, affecting such British exports as linen yarns, cotton and woollen tissues, iron and paints.

The table on p. 240 shows the estimated revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1911-12.

It is interesting to note that in pre-Restoration times the people were under obligation to lend money to their feudal lords. A daimyo could contract a loan in money or rice or other commodities without specifying any security, and the rights of creditors being unrecognized it frequently happened that they were forced either to provide further contributions or lose what had

The
National
Debt.

Budget for financial year 1911-12

Ordinary Revenue	Yen	Ordinary Expenditure	Yen
Customs Duties . . .	50,514,465	Imperial Household . .	4,500,000
Land tax . . .	75,072,765	Foreign affairs . . .	4,249,027
Income tax . . .	32,968,278	Home affairs . . .	11,828,477
Business tax . . .	24,184,783	Finance: Dept. Proper . .	371,375
Liquors tax . . .	88,727,350	Interest on deposits	
Soy tax . . .	4,630,864	and charges for its	
Mining tax . . .	2,013,177	payment . . .	7,874,523
Consumption tax		Inland tax-collection	
(Textiles) . . .	18,617,564	expenses . . .	7,424,954
Consumption tax		Cabinet and Privy	
(Kerosene) . . .	2,111,489	Council . . .	519,415
Travelling tax . . .	3,184,440	House of Peers and	
Succession tax . . .	1,862,947	House of Representa-	
Other taxes . . .	201,506	tives . . .	1,648,079
Sugar excise . . .	14,727,283	National Debt Con-	
Tax on bourses . . .	3,661,210	solidation Fund . . .	147,657,337
Tax on bank-note		Transferred to War-	
issues . . .	1,032,897	ships Replenishment	
Stamp receipts . . .	25,026,150	Fund . . .	12,000,000
Posts, telegraphs, and		Other expenses . . .	9,982,531
telephones . . .	48,589,725	Army . . .	76,371,236
Forests . . .	10,544,807	Navy . . .	40,746,338
Salt Monopoly . . .	10,671,092	Justice . . .	11,722,752
Camphor Monopoly . .	120,650	Public Instruction . .	9,032,170
Tobacco Monopoly . .	50,554,660	Agriculture and Com-	
Other public under-		merce . . .	7,323,853
takings, &c. . .	6,025,057	Communications . . .	56,889,810
Int. on deposits trans-			
ferred . . .	7,851,044		
Tonnage dues . . .	587,410		
Other miscellaneous			
receipts . . .	11,434,884		
Extraordinary:—		Extraordinary:—	
Sale of State Property .	2,309,294	Foreign affairs . . .	240,057
River Improvement		Home affairs . . .	19,041,202
Works Fund trans-		Finance . . .	40,880,764
ferred . . .	12,845,467	Army . . .	22,021,133
Receipts from Public		Navy . . .	46,063,392
Loans . . .	15,084,199	Justice . . .	765,076
Forestry Fund trans-		Public Instruction . .	801,113
ferred . . .	2,755,728	Agriculture and Com-	
Transferred from		merce . . .	8,087,229
War-ships Replen-		Communications . . .	20,862,073
ishment Fund . . .	12,000,000		
Surplus of preceding			
year transferred . . .	23,495,828		
Chinese Indemnity . .	2,144,258		
Other Miscellaneous			
Receipts . . .	3,352,645		
Total, Yen	<u>568,903,916</u>	Total, Yen	<u>568,903,916</u>

already been loaned. In July, 1871, however, when the prefectural or centralized system came into force, the new Government ordered an investigation of debts so contracted, and, after adjusting them, converted those dating since 1844 into Imperial public loans, delivering the bonds to the creditors. The Government also relieved the people from all obligation to lend money to the daimyo, and established a public loan system similar to that which obtains in Western countries.

The first loan raised by the new Government was one of 500,000 *yen* silver from the British Oriental Bank in 1868, though as this was but a temporary accommodation it may perhaps not be regarded as a loan. But in 1870 there were issued in London 9 per cent. bonds to the value of £1,000,000, the proceeds of which were applied to the building of the Tokyo-Yokohama railway. In 1876 the capitalization of hereditary pensions of the daimyo was effected, and the following year saw the issue of 'Pension Bonds for Shinto Priests', the State debts in this year standing at over 230,000,000 *yen*. In the following year the Industrial Works Loan was floated with the object of extending public works, and this deserves mention as being the first domestic loan, since the object of the previous bond issues had been merely the liquidation of the feudal debts and the pensioning of the Shinto priests and the former feudal lords. The Railway Loan and the Navy Loan followed, and in 1886 the Consolidated Loan Act redeemed all previous bond issues bearing more than 6 per cent. interest, which were replaced by new 5 per cent. bonds.

The second foreign loan, of £2,400,000, was floated in 1873, also in London, but this time at a less ruinous rate of interest, namely, 7 per cent.

It was not until 1897 that another loan was raised

abroad, in which year 43,000,000 *yen* of war bonds, bearing 5 per cent. interest, were placed upon the London market; while two years later the Government found it necessary to issue £10,000,000 4 per cent. bonds, also in London, for railway construction. In 1902 a 5 per cent. loan of 50,000,000 *yen* was raised in the same market, and in 1905 the Government resorted to New York and London for another £10,000,000 at the enhanced price of 6 per cent. The war of 1904-5 forced Japan into debt abroad to the extent of 1,100 million *yen*, most of which was actually expended within two years; yet the financial credit it had gained by scrupulous attention to the service of the various loans was not affected by these large borrowings.

In the following tables the National Debts outstanding in 1911 are compared with those outstanding in 1898:—

1898		<i>Yen</i>
<i>Internal Loans:—</i>		
Old Public Loan (without interest)	. . . . .	5,266,908
Hereditary Pension Bonds, 5%	. . . . .	29,453,820
Navy Loan, 5%	. . . . .	9,288,600
Consolidated Public Loan, 5%	. . . . .	173,857,250
War Loan, 5%	. . . . .	124,572,000
Railway Loan, 5%	. . . . .	17,907,350
Public Works Loan, 5%	. . . . .	37,900,000
Hokkaido Railway Loan, 5%	. . . . .	1,000,000
<i>Foreign Loans, nil</i>	. . . . .	—
Total, <i>Yen</i>		<u>399,245,928</u>

1911

Internal Loans:—

	<i>Yen</i>	National Debts outstand- ing.
Old Public Loan (without interest)	2,414,000	
Railway Loan, 5%	5,588,900	
Public Works Loan, 5%	10,831,400	
Hokkaido Railway Loan, 5%	811,150	
Taiwan Public Works Loan, 5%	385,650	
Imperial Japanese Government 5% Loan. { Loans for Consolidating debts of Purchased Railway Companies, 5%	27,683,850	
{ Okinawa Prefecture Pension bonds, 5%	1,603,150	
{ Loan for relief of Japanese suffering loss by late war, 5%	984,650	
{ Loan for the readjustment of Salt-fields, 5%	1,135,150	
{ Loan for purchase of Private Railways, 5%	473,021,900	
{ Loan for conversion of Exchequer Bonds, 5%	29,415,050	
{ Extraordinary Expenditure Loan, 5%	280,190,700	
{ 'Onshi' Loan bonds granted to the former Koreans	26,218,100	
{ *4% Loan, first issue } raised in Japan	175,636,400	
{ *4% Loan, second issue }	99,994,150	
{ Exchequer Bonds, 5%	59,047,825	
{ Exchequer Bonds issued under Tobacco Mono- poly Law, 5%	6,850,550	
{ Debentures of purchased Railway Companies	300,000	
{ Public Works Loan of former Korean Govern- ment	1,000,000	
{ Public Loan Bonds formerly granted by Korean Government to Dosho	116,825	
Internal loans, Total, <i>Yen</i>	1,203,179,400	

Foreign Loans:—

Imperial Japanese Government 4% Sterling Loan—

{ Railway Loan	17,577,750	
{ Public Works Loan	78,052,250	
{ Hokkaido Railway Loan	2,000,000	
4½% Sterling Loan (first issue)	292,869,498	
4½% Sterling Loan (second issue)	292,883,947	
5% Sterling Loan	224,548,024	
*4% Sterling Loan (second issue)	244,073,047	
4% Sterling Loan (third issue)	107,393,000	
*4% Loan issued in Paris	174,150,000	
Debentures of the purchased Railway Companies	13,668,200	1,447,215,716

Grand Total, *Yen* 2,650,395,115

The low interest loans marked with an asterisk were issued for the purpose of converting the 5 per cent. loans whose period for remaining unredeemed had expired. The wonderful success which attended their issue was made possible, it is true, by the rise in the price of

public loans and the fall in the rate of interest which occurred early in 1910, but the whole operation, a part of the redemption scheme of 1906, is further testimony to the wisdom and thrift which govern Japanese financial dealings. The total amount of the loans redeemed by the proceeds of the 4 per cent. issues in conjunction with fixed sums from the Sinking Fund was 523,300,000 *yen* (£53,600,328), and the annual interest payable in the future was reduced by no less than £368,739.

To the National Debt Consolidation Fund the Bill in relation to its establishment provides that not less than 110 million *yen* (£11,267,029) shall be transferred annually from the general account for the purpose of redeeming the loans issued in connexion with the war with Russia, which redemption, at this rate, would be accomplished in about thirty years; and still further to expedite the redemption of the National Debt it was decided in 1909 to transfer to the Sinking Fund at least 50 million *yen* to be applied to the repayment of the principal.

We have said that certain private firms answered the purposes of banks in the pre-Meijian era, and it may be mentioned that in some provinces these *Kaisho* or *Shosha* issued paper money similar to the national notes. But this was one of very few points in which they bore any resemblance to Western institutions, and it was only on the return from America of the late Prince Ito that, in accordance with his proposals, national banks, based mainly on the American system, were established. The National Bank Regulations, as originally drawn up, provided that the notes of the national banks should be convertible into specie, but, as previously stated, they were revised in 1876, and the notes became convertible merely into Government money. However, in 1883 the regulations were again

revised, and the national banks were deprived of their note-issuing power, which thenceforth became an exclusive prerogative of the Bank of Japan, created in October, 1882. Most of the national banks became private banks, a few ceasing business altogether.

The National Bank Regulations did not govern private banks or bank-like companies, and upon the establishment of these there were no restrictions, the only condition exacted being that they should be supervised by the local authorities. By 1884 these institutions numbered nearly a thousand, and to control them more effectively the Bank Regulations and the Savings Bank Regulations were promulgated in 1890, becoming operative in 1893. Under these regulations ordinary banks may only be established by license of the Minister of Finance, who may at any time investigate their business condition. They must also publish in the newspapers or otherwise a half-yearly balance-sheet. Savings banks must be joint-stock companies, and their directors are jointly under unlimited liability for the obligations incurred by the bank during their directorship, and for two years after leaving office. Savings banks must also acquire national or local loan bonds corresponding in value to at least one-fourth of the deposits received, and must place them in the Deposit Office. In other respects they are governed by the regulations as to ordinary banks.

Of far greater importance than the ordinary and savings banks are the financial organs which were created by special law and with special objects, and whose functions and conditions are of a different order. In each case their sphere of business action is more or less restricted, but as a compensation they enjoy certain privileges which constitute a source of considerable

profit, and they are under Government protection and control. Such are :—

The Bank of Japan, the central bank of the country, established in 1882 with a capital of 10 million *yen*. It was created as a necessary part of the Government's plan of substituting metallic currency for its paper, and with the view of bringing into uniformity the many private banks and bank-like companies; but very soon, as has been seen, it became the only financial centre authorized to issue notes. Its capital has been three times increased, and now stands at 60 million *yen* (£6,145,652). The bank is privileged to issue bank-notes against gold and silver specie and bullion, and on the security of Government bonds and Treasury and other bills, and bonds of a 'gilt-edged' nature, to a maximum (which, however, may be exceeded in case of necessity) of 120 million *yen*. In addition to the management of the Treasury receipts and disbursements, its business is principally the discounting or purchase of Government and commercial bills, the purchase or sale of gold and silver bullion, the granting of loans against specie or bullion, the collecting of bills for banks and merchants, the receiving of deposits, the making of advances in current accounts, and the like.

In June, 1910, the business condition of the Bank of Japan was as follows : authorized capital, 60 million *yen*, paid-up, 37 million *yen*; reserve fund, 26,350,000 *yen*; bank-notes issued (balance), 337,230,732 *yen*; deposits (balance), 442,407,669 *yen*; loans (balance) and bills discounted (balance), 45,180,862 *yen*, gross earnings, 14,774,086 *yen*, gross expenses, 11,690,799 *yen*; dividend 12 per cent.

The Yokohama Specie Bank was founded in 1880, with an authorized capital of 3 million *yen* (£307,283),

and with the special object of facilitating financially the foreign trade of Japan. It was originally State-aided, being, for instance, entrusted with the management of a large sum from the Treasury Reserve Fund. In its infancy it encountered adverse experiences, but it is now in a very flourishing condition, with branches all over the world, an example of the soundly conducted financial institution. In 1889 the direct support of the Government was withdrawn, but arrangements were made whereby the Bank of Japan was empowered to re-discount the Specie Bank's foreign bills to the extent of 15,000,000 *yen* at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum. Its capital has been doubled no less than four times, and now stands at 48 million *yen*. The Yokohama Specie Bank is entrusted with matters relating to foreign loans, and with the management of public money for international account, and it is also authorized to issue, in Kwantung Province and China, bank-notes convertible into silver. Its ordinary business consists of foreign and inland exchange, loans, deposits, discount, and collection of bills, and the like, and exchange of coins. If necessary it may also buy and sell bullion, bonds, and foreign coins.

The Hypothec Bank of Japan was established in 1896 with a view to improving and developing the agricultural, manufacturing, and marine products industries by granting long-term loans at a low rate of interest on mortgages of immovable property. It is the central financial organ for agricultural and industrial enterprises on a large scale, and has a capital of 10 million *yen* (£1,024,275). In June of this year (1911) the shareholders of this bank decided to double its present capital, the new shares to be taken by the present shareholders at the rate of one new for one old share. The importance and usefulness of this

The Hypothec
Bank of
Japan.

bank is shown by the business which it undertakes ; it grants, on mortgage of immovable property, loans redeemable by annual instalments, lends without security to prefectures, districts, cities, towns, villages, and other public corporations organized by law, and to industrial and fishery guilds, takes up debentures issued by agricultural and industrial banks, and receives deposits of bullion and negotiables not exceeding in value the amount of its paid-up capital. It is empowered to employ the deposits and money lying idle to discount bills or make short-term loans against agricultural or marine produce or industrial manufactures, and it is also authorized to issue 10-yen mortgage debentures with a view to absorbing small funds scattered among the people.

The Industrial Bank of Japan was established in 1900 with a capital of 10,000,000 *yen*, now increased to 17,500,000 (£1,792,482). Its special object is to grant loans similar to those made by the Hypothec Bank, but against bonds and shares as opposed to immovable property, being, in fact, a kind of *crédit mobilier*. It engages in trust business, receives deposits, makes loans on security prescribed by law, discounts bills presented with security, and takes up national or local loan bonds and companies' debentures. Since 1905 excellent progress has been made in its trust business, and the value of this important institution has been abundantly proved. It is authorized to issue debentures in the same way as the Hypothec Bank, and, in the event of funds being required for enterprises for the public benefit undertaken in a foreign country, it may issue such debentures (with the approval of the Minister of Finance) without restriction as regards amount of outstanding loans, bills, debentures, and so forth in hand.

The Agricultural and Industrial Banks are local institutions, established in every prefecture and having as their central organ the Hypothec Bank of Japan. They perform very valuable services in the direction of furnishing long-term loans at low interest, each having a capital of not less than 200,000 *yen*, or £20,486, and in order to assist them in their business the Government divided amongst the various prefectures the sum provided in the Budget for taking up the shares of the banks in their respective business districts. Their other functions are substantially the same as those of the Hypothec Bank.

Agricultural and Industrial Banks.

The Hokkaido Colonial Bank was created with the object of assisting the colonization and exploitation of Hokkaido by supplying the necessary capital for enterprises in this direction, and especially for the purpose of granting loans against agricultural produce and companies' shares and debentures, and long-term low-interest loans on immovable property. It has a capital of 5 million *yen*, and its business also includes the receipt of deposits, and the granting, without security, of loans, redeemable by annual instalments, to Hokkaido public corporations and to a party or parties of at least twenty persons engaged in agriculture or industry and combined in joint liability.

Hokkaido Colonial Bank.

The Bank of Taiwan (Formosa) was founded in 1900 with a capital of 5 million *yen*, increased, in 1909, to 10 million *yen*. It is privileged to issue in Taiwan bank-notes of 1 *yen* and upward, convertible, previous to February, 1906, into silver *yen*, but since that date into gold *yen* only. It must hold a gold and silver bullion and specie conversion-reserve equal in amount to the note issue, which in June, 1910, was 15,934,013 *yen*. Its other business in Taiwan is similar to that of the Bank of Japan.

Bank of Taiwan.

Bank notes in Japan are of seven denominations :—
1 *yen*, 5 *yen*, 10 *yen*, 20 *yen*, 50 *yen*, 100 *yen*, and 200 *yen*.

Though the burdens of taxation in Japan are excessive, and it is difficult to see how they can possibly be increased, it is claimed by several economic writers that they are probably not so burdensome as in feudal times. According to Brinkley, during the Tokugawa régime, the average rate of taxation certainly did not fall short of 40 per cent. of the gross produce, and judging from this and other precedents the present burden of taxation proportional to production, heavy as it is, is less than it was at various periods previous to the Restoration. So great, however, is the thrift of the Japanese, that there are (1911) 11,236,637 depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank, and in 1911 the deposits had reached nearly £17,000,000. Of this amount the agriculturists' savings represent one fifth, the shopkeepers' about one seventh, and the civil and military classes' less than one twelfth. The postal money-order department last year paid over $16\frac{3}{4}$ million money orders representing £23,000,000. In addition, the ordinary savings banks had in 1911 nearly £26,000,000 of deposits. The Japanese are firm believers in the doctrine that industry and thrift are the two chief factors in the production of wealth, and the Emperor and the Government encourage the spirit of thrift and of economy in personal expenditure. The inculcation of these sound doctrines has much to do in bringing about the present satisfactory financial condition in Japan. There are some who believe that the Government has gone too far in throwing safeguards around its financial institutions, thus displacing private capital by the absorption into governmentally protected concerns of the safest risks leaving the inferior ones to private capitalists. There is some

truth in this charge, but, on the other hand, the Government has been determined to establish the credit of Japan, especially with the foreign investor. It was not sufficient, therefore, that the national credit should stand high; the credit of the cities and towns as well as that of individuals had to be above reproach.

It was realized that the floating of a quantity of worthless Japanese securities abroad, even though they only represented private enterprise or undertakings, would give a fatal blow to Japanese credit. In the establishment of such institutions as the Industrial Bank a practical and sensible method was adopted to prevent such a misfortune. Mr. Juichi H. Soyeda, President of the Industrial Bank, has kindly furnished the writer, under date of Tokyo, June 26, 1911, with the following table showing the foreign loans negotiated directly by his Bank, or for which it has acted as trustee or guarantor:—

Name	Date of Issue	Amount	Rate of Interest	Place of Issue
Japanese Government 5% Bond Loan	Oct. 1902	Y50,000,000	5%	London
Hokkaido Colliery Railway Deb. . .	Jan. 1906	£1,000,000	"	"
Tokyo City Loan Bonds	July 1906	£1,500,000	"	"
South Manchurian Railway Deb. . .	July 1907	£4,000,000	"	"
	June 1908	£2,000,000	"	"
Fuji "Paper Manufacturing Company Loan . .	Aug. 1908	Y1,500,000	6½%	Tokyo
Industrial Bank of Japan shares . .	Mar. 1906	Y7,500,000	"	London
South Manchurian Railway Deb. . .	Dec. 1908	£2,000,000	5%	"
Osaka City Loan Bonds	April 1909	Y30,220,000	"	"
Yokohama City Loan Bonds . .	July 1909	£716,500	"	"
South Manchurian Railway Deb. . .	Jan. 1911	£6,000,000	4½%	"
Fuji Paper Manufacturing Company Loan . .	Mar. 1911	£155,000	5½%	Tokyo

Loans negotiated or guaranteed by Industrial Bank.

The second table shows the amounts of principal foreign loans in the negotiation of which the Industrial Bank of Japan was not directly concerned, but which were arranged through other banks :—

Name	Date of Issue		Amount	Rate of Interest	Place of Issue
Yokohama City Water Works Bonds	July	1902	Y900,000	6%	London
Osaka City Harbour Works Bonds . .	Nov.	1902	Y3,500,000	„	„
Japanese Government Sterling Bonds	Mar.	1905	£30,000,000	4½%	London and New York
„ „	July	1905	£30,000,000	„	London, New York, and Berlin
Kwansai Railway Deb.	Nov.	1905	£1,000,000	„	London
Japanese Government Sterling Bonds	Nov.	1905	£25,000,000	4%	Berlin, New York, and Paris
Yokohama City 5% Sterling Bonds .	Aug.	1906	£317,000	5%	London
Japanese Government Sterling Bonds	Mar.	1907	£23,000,000	„	London and Paris
Yokohama City Gas Bonds	Feb.	1909	Y648,000	6%	London
Nagoya City 5% Sterling Bonds .	May	1909	£800,000	5%	„
Kyoto City 5% Sterling Bonds . .	June	1909	fc.45,000,000	5%	Paris
Japanese Government 4% Sterling Bonds	May	1910	fc.450,000,000	4%	„
„ „	May	1910	£11,000,000	4%	
Hokkaido Colonial Bank Debentures	July	1910	Y5,000,000	5%	Tokyo

Mr. Soyeda and his financial friends take the view that under existing conditions foreign investments are as safe in Japan as they are in any country. The renewal of the treaty of alliance with the United Kingdom and of the treaties which have been negotiated with other foreign countries, especially that with

Russia, assure the peace of the Far East. The aim of Japan is to preserve that peace and to promote the economic development of the Far East, avoiding all conflict with the rest of the world. We have shown that the currency system is sound, and that the finances of the country have been admirably managed. The legal status of foreigners in Japan is practically the same as that of natives. The laws are framed on the most civilized and liberal principles, and the writer has never heard of a foreigner being unjustly treated in a Japanese Court. In the matter of holding property, foreigners, as we have seen, enjoy practically the same rights as natives, though some exception is made in the ownership of mines. But when they form a company under the Japanese laws they are free to work mines. On this point Mr. Soyeda said :—

‘While under the Japanese laws foreigners in Japan enjoy, therefore, all kinds of public and private rights, almost to the same extent as the Japanese people themselves, they are not free from certain restraints already mentioned in regard to mines and railways. In order to remedy these inconveniences, especially as regards foreign investors, amendments were effected in the Law of the Industrial Bank of Japan in March, 1905, extending the sphere of business to be conducted by that bank ; while at the same time the Guaranteed Debentures Trust Law, the Factory Mortgage Law, the Mine Mortgage Law, and the Railway Mortgage Law were enacted. In virtue of these laws, railway, factory, and other movable, as well as immovable properties can be formed into a legal entity or “estate”, and can be made objects of mortgages, on which debentures or loans may be raised through the medium of a trust institution, such as the Industrial Bank of Japan and others.’¹

¹ *Times*, Japanese edition.

There would appear to be excellent opportunities for sound investments by foreigners in Japan, as the country will require a good deal of capital during the next twenty-five years in the exploitation of Taiwan, Chosen, and for their increasing trade in Manchuria. At the same time the leading financiers, bankers, and merchants of Japan themselves advise the greatest caution on the part of foreigners in the investment of capital in the country, for they neither want the investor to lose his money nor do they wish the good credit of the country to be impaired.

CHAPTER XIV

AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE is and always has been the most important industry of Japan. Few of those who have ruled Japan in the past have failed to encourage the tilling of the soil, now by edicts couched in quaint paternal phrases, and displaying much practical knowledge of the subject, now by rewards for diligence and skill, qualities always indispensable to the Japanese farmer. For Japan was never an agriculturist's paradise; hard work and plain living have been the lot of those who would support themselves by cultivating the fruits of the earth in Dai Nippon, and it was dogged perseverance, more than any special bounty of nature, which won for Japan the appellation of *Mizuho-no-Kuni*, the Land of Luxuriant Rice-crops.

Apart from the question of economics agriculture is of importance in other directions. Those who are engaged in it, that is to say over 60 per cent. of the population, are the clean-living, wholesome class from which is drawn the pure and vigorous blood necessary to the physical and moral health of the nation. Moreover, the legions of Japan, which, especially in the last war, amazed the world with their fighting qualities, were largely recruited from the farming classes. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that upon agriculture and agriculturists depends the existence of the empire.

Japan is a land of small holdings; only three Small holdings.

farmers in a hundred cultivate as much as 8 acres each, and 70 per cent. of the whole class must subsist on holdings of less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Though larger than the United Kingdom by some 26,000 square miles Japan has much less space available for agriculture; so greatly do mountains and valleys predominate in the configuration of the soil. To a certain height the more gentle slopes of some of the mountains are utilized, and about a third of the area of the few level plains is roughly tilled, but (excluding Hokkaido) the percentage in Japan proper of land under cultivation is little more than a quarter of the total area. There were, according to the last census, 7,024,583 acres of paddy fields, 6,809,706 acres of upland fields, and 5,447,579 acres of plains and pastures, the latter occupying the very small area of 96,544 acres; and since then the area has not appreciably increased. This aggregate of 19,281,868 acres, distributed evenly among the 5,270,300 agricultural households, would give each household (with an average of six members) an acre and a third of paddy fields, an acre and a tenth of upland fields, and the merest fraction over an acre of plain and pasture; a total of 3.45 acres.

In view of these figures and of others, referring to taxation, which are given further on in this chapter, it is evident that in spite of highly intensive cultivation, rigid frugality and, in most cases, skilful husbandry, the vast majority of the agricultural class cannot live by the land alone. Consequently every member of a household, from the very old to the very young, employs his or her enforced leisure from farm-work in some occupation whereby the joint income may be augmented. Chief among these are sericulture and filature, which occupy at least a quarter of the

households. Then come the manufacture from rice-straw of braids, rice-bags, matting, ropes, and other articles ; the making of paper, fancy mattings, bamboo fans, and osier baskets from material specially grown ; bee-keeping, weaving, the breeding of carp in paddy fields or fish-ponds, and the raising of a few poor head of cattle. Home industries of this and other descriptions will, in the more favourable cases, increase the household revenue by as much as 25 per cent. The tillers of land in the vicinity of a mountain will engage in forestry work ; those who live near salt water or rivers will combine fishing with farming ; others, whose homes are sufficiently close to towns and cities, will hire themselves out as day-labourers or otherwise. Everything is done that can be done to turn the income scale from insufficient to just enough.

The agricultural class is divided into *jinushi*, land-owners, *jisaku* farmers, or peasant proprietors, and *kosaku* farmers, or tenants pure and simple. These last, together with such as cultivate a few square yards of their own, constitute about 47 per cent. of the total, and the area which they work ranges from 2 to $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres. It is no matter for surprise that of late a tendency has been noticeable among these tenant farmers, especially the younger men, to abandon the hereditary industry in favour of a life in the cities. From 45 to 60 per cent. of their crops go to the landlord for rent, and out of the balance they must pay heavily for the indispensable fertilizer ; on what is left, even with the addition of the proceeds of their subsidiary labours, a life of privation is their only outlook. The peasant proprietors are, as a rule, better off. In addition to their own plots, which may be $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres, some cultivate portions of land for the larger proprietors, the *jinushi*, in most cases working

Agri-
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class
divisions.

with their labourers but occasionally merely directing the work : these make a fair living. But the majority of peasant proprietors own only from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 acres, which they till with the assistance of the entire family. Taxes swallow about 16 per cent. of the proceeds, and expenses in connexion with the cultivation (labour apart) account for 23 per cent. or so, leaving a balance of 61 per cent. for wages, interest on capital, and profit.

The *jinushi* are capitalists, very few farming their own lands. In Japan's 'good old times' the local landed proprietors were what might be called county families, respected and liked by their tenants, who called them *jiwoya*, literally 'land-parent'. But, as one result of the comprehensive changes which the country has undergone in the last forty years, the land has passed out of their possession into the hands of owners who, as a class, neither command any particular love or respect from their tenants nor show any kindly feeling towards them. In some districts, however, *jinushi* philanthropically inclined have united to form a protective and benevolent society in favour of the tenants, and evidently desire to improve the lot of the struggling *kosaku* farmers. The extent of their possessions is not, however, impressive ; an average property is about 25 acres in area, and he is indeed a large landowner who possesses more than 30 *cho* ($73\frac{1}{2}$ acres). Rents of paddy fields are invariably paid in kind ; of upland fields generally in cash ; and we have seen that they average over 50 per cent. of the produce. But the *jinushi* are less grasping than they might seem from these figures, for on an average over 30 per cent. of the rent which they collect goes in taxes and other imposts, and the owner of less than 20 acres who depends entirely upon his rents for the means of subsistence is a poor man.

The arable land of Japan, including dwelling-houses and out-buildings, is valued roughly at 7,230,000,000 *yen* (£740,532,750), and for the financial year 1909-10 yielded £8,777,203 in taxes. Since then the rates of taxation have been considerably reduced, and the estimated revenue from the land-tax for the year 1911-12 is less by about a million pounds. As to the value of the produce the statistics published refer only to the principal products, and show that they have averaged in the last four or five years about £129,000,000 annually. The total annual yield of the agricultural industry, including the proceeds of the farmers' home industries, may be taken as averaging £156,000,000.

Arable
land
valuation
and
taxation.

Value of
Agri-
cultural
products.

We may now turn from figures to an examination of the methods of cultivation. Rice, besides being the staple food of the people, is the basis of the national drink, *sake*, and its importance, from the economic point of view, is equal to that of all the other products combined. It is grown in two varieties, glutinous and non-glutinous, and it is from the latter, which forms about one-tenth of the crop, that *sake* is brewed. Rice is a summer crop, being sown from early May to late June and harvested from late August to early November. A little is grown in the uplands, but all the best paddy fields are situated at low levels, where they form the most valuable land in the country. Irrigation, chiefly from rivers and reservoirs, but also from lakes, wells, and springs, is universal in the cultivation of paddy fields, the area left dependent upon the rainfall being practically nil. From very early times natural irrigation has been extensively practised, and where mechanical power was necessary to raise the water a simple arrangement of wheels and buckets was in vogue until quite recent times. Now, however, farm-

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Rice.

ing communities frequently combine to instal steam or electric pumping plant, not only for irrigating the land, but also for the purpose of drawing off the water where natural drainage is defective.

The method usually followed in the growing of rice is as follows : the seeds are tested in salt water, those that float being rejected, and are afterwards immersed in fresh water for the space of four or five days. They are then sown in nursery beds, from which sprouts are transplanted into the paddy fields in two or three inches of water and from six inches to a foot apart. Much care is taken to destroy harmful insects, and weeding and hoeing is repeated four or five times, the irrigation water being meanwhile kept at the proper level. When the plants ripen the ears assume a golden tint; they are then reaped with sickles, the ears are threshed off, the husks are removed in mortars, and the grain is stored away in bags made of rice-straw.

Good paddy fields can be made to bear rice crops in summer and barley and other crops in winter. After the September or October harvest the land is drained of all water, and barley, *genge*, wheat, rape, and the like are sown, to be harvested in early summer, after which the field is again irrigated for the transplanting of the rice shoots. Where it is impossible to drain off the water, or where the climate is sufficiently cold to delay the harvest of the winter crops and consequently the transplanting of the rice shoots, the ground is perforce allowed to lie fallow in winter.

But the area of good fields is being considerably increased by the labours of the Adjustment Commission. Since 1900, when a sum was specially set aside for the purpose, the authorities have devoted their attention to the adjustment, primarily, of some 4,000,000

acres of paddy fields, or over half of the total area. The plan is, briefly, to concentrate the scattered small plots to the end that animal labour may be utilized to a greater extent than is possible in such tiny holdings, to increase the productive area by the abolition of the many boundary ridges hitherto necessary, and *ipso facto* to improve the drainage. Adjustment of farms is undertaken by Government-trained experts, and with the consent of half the owners concerned; and it has been shown that of fifty districts adjusted the yield was increased on an average by 15 per cent. The cost of adjustment is about 180 *yen* per *cho*, or 2.45 acres, and, as far as their resources will allow, the Hypothec Bank and its local agencies lend owners the necessary money on easy terms, the Government granting additional aid in some cases. Lack of funds alone limits the enterprise, which is exceedingly popular with owners, but already some 450,000 acres have been adjusted, and the work proceeds steadily, if slowly.

The upland fields, being for all intents and purposes ^{Upland} unirrigable, are only to a very limited extent utilized ^{field} for the cultivation of rice. ^{crops.} Rotation crops are, however, raised twice a year, usually barley, 'naked barley,' and wheat as winter crops, and soya (more properly soja), sweet potatoes, and millets as summer crops. The latter are often sown as a substitute for rice, when for one reason or another, the planting of rice has been delayed until the season has passed. There are many plantations of tea, mulberry trees, and paper mulberry trees, particularly on sloping ground, and the cultivation of fruit such as apples, persimmons, oranges, pears, peaches, and others is rapidly increasing.

The cultivation of the plains, which are usually

situated on high ground, is restricted to the raising of fodder and of weeds which are used as fertilizers, 65 per cent. of the total area being divided evenly between these two products. Pastures occupy about 8 per cent., and the remainder is covered with scrub, collected for fuel, or is farmed in a very poor and primitive fashion.

The productivity of these three descriptions of land naturally varies very widely. Taking an average over the last ten years of paddy fields throughout the country it will be found that the annual produce per *tan* (245 acre) is 7.913 bushels of rice and 6.668 bushels of barley, which may be considered a representative winter crop. Upland fields, upon the same basis, produce 6.638 bushels of barley as a summer crop and 3.756 bushels of soya bean. Plains in Japan, except in Hokkaido (which, being a recently opened country, is treated separately), would be called moorland in England, and their value corresponds approximately to this type of land. An average *cho* (2.45 acres) of plain and pasture produces nearly a ton of grass for fodder and three-quarters of a ton of grass for green fertilizer, and grazes three or four head of cattle.

On the whole, both the area of cultivated land and its productive capacity have increased satisfactorily since the writer's visit to Japan in 1896. The output of rice per unit of area has, in particular, vastly improved, but comparison is made difficult by the periodical intervention of an abnormally good or an abnormally bad harvest. Therefore, in the following table, which is introduced to show the agricultural progress of Japan in recent years, the yield of rice is the average yield for the year in question and the five previous years, but of the other principal products for the year mentioned only :—

	1897			1910		
	Area under cul- tivation.	Total yield.	Average yield per acre.	Area under cul- tivation.	Total yield.	Average yield per acre.
	Acres	Bushels	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Bushels
Rice	6,829,000	163,875,000	23.99	7,226,000	235,213,000	32.55
Barley	1,551,000	40,100,000	25.85	1,520,000	46,456,000	30.57
Naked barley .	1,654,000	30,800,000	18.61	1,656,000	33,580,000	20.28
Wheat	1,122,000	19,050,000	17.00	1,656,000	23,910,000	20.52
Millet	68,000	1,292,000	19.00	73,500	1,952,000	26.56
Italian millet .	613,000	11,880,000	19.38	476,000	11,137,000	23.40
Soya bean . . .	1,067,000	15,381,000	14.41	1,137,000	18,834,000	16.56
Small red bean	268,000	3,069,000	11.45	331,000	4,513,500	13.63
Buckwheat . .	427,000	4,911,000	11.50	385,000	6,370,000	16.54
Rape seed . .	378,000	5,015,000	13.27	343,000	5,260,000	15.34
		Tons	Tons		Tons	Tons
Sweet potato .	635,000	2,444,000	3.85	723,000	3,349,000	4.63
Potato	71,000	216,000	3.04	152,000	589,000	3.88
Tea (manufac- tured)	144,000	31,000	0.11	124,000	30,000	0.24
Seed cotton . .	109,000	27,000	0.25	9,800	3,600	0.37
Hemp	55,000	13,000	0.23	30,500	8,900	0.29
Indigo	124,000	72,000	0.59	22,500	14,800	0.66
Leaf tobacco .	77,000	33,000	0.43	72,000	42,000	0.59

A brief account may now be given of these products and the uses to which they are put.

Barley and 'naked barley', as food-stuffs, rank next to rice but fetch about half the price of the latter. Barley is, of course, much used for brewing beer, and though German malt is largely imported as being better for this purpose than the native article there is reason to believe that improved methods of cultivation, with seed imported from Germany, will in the course of time render Japan independent of foreign supplies. Mixed with rice, barley is a staple article of food, especially amongst farmers, while quite a large proportion, 15 per cent. of the total crop, is used in cattle-feed. 'Naked barley' is a glumeless species, which ripens more rapidly than ordinary barley and is consequently sown in paddy fields for harvesting immediately before the planting of rice shoots.

Wheat is grown as a winter crop both in paddies and upland fields in the colder districts, and is of increasing importance as a food-stuff, the Japanese having recently adopted wheat bread as a food. About 80 per cent. of the crop is made into flour for bread and into food pastes such as macaroni or vermicelli. About a quarter of what is consumed in Japan at present comes from North America and Europe, but the improvement in yield and quality and the introduction of modern flour-mills are having a perceptible effect upon the importation.

Millet and sorghum, on the other hand, are cultivated less every year. In early times poor and droughty soil, in which they flourish, was set apart for their cultivation as famine crops, and even in the present day, in periods of small rice-harvests, they are boiled together with rice or eaten alone. But with a higher standard of living the demand for these very unpalatable cereals is gradually decreasing.

The soya, or soja, bean is well enough known in England as a cattle-food, but in Japan its application is by no means limited to this use. It is the basis of the Japanese sauce, soy, of which enormous quantities are brewed; of *miso*, or bean cheese, used extensively for soup and in cookery in general; and of *topu*, or bean curd, a cheap, highly nutritious and very popular article of diet. The residue from these manufactures is used both as fertilizer and as cattle food, or, alternatively, an oil of some value may be obtained from it. It is the principal summer crop of the upland fields, and its cultivation, which requires less fertilizer and less labour than other products, is general throughout Japan and particularly in Hokkaido. But the supply is far from equal to the demand, and a large quantity of beans and bean cake is imported from

Chosen and Manchuria, the value of the present importation amounting to £3,000,000 annually.

Among other beans the small red bean is largely cultivated, especially in Hokkaido, and is used for cakes and confectionery, and boiled with rice on occasions of ceremony. The Japanese are very fond of peas, horse-beans, and kidney-beans, which are grown as a stolen crop after rice in the paddies and just before it in the upland fields. ^{Other beans.}

Of buckwheat there are two varieties, one sown in spring and the other in autumn. The crops ripen quickly, and newly broken ground is congenial to them. Buckwheat flour is chiefly made into buckwheat macaroni, a favourite foodstuff in Japan. ^{Buck-wheat.}

The sweet potato is an important upland crop, grown most extensively in the south-west of Japan. It is mainly used as an auxiliary foodstuff among the poorer people, being palatable as well as cheap, and in the cold season also appears, baked, on the tables of the well-to-do. Starch and some varieties of alcoholic liquors are made from it, and a little is used to feed cattle. ^{Sweet potato.}

The ordinary potato was brought into Japan soon after the Restoration, and its cultivation since then has developed so rapidly that there is now a considerable export trade to Russian Siberia, China, and the Philippines. Hokkaido and north-east Japan generally are the principal districts for its cultivation and it is used in many of the same ways as the sweet potato. ^{Potatoes.}

Of special crops rape seed covers the greatest area. The oil was formerly used for lighting purposes, but nowadays its chief applications are in cookery, hair-dressing and the lubrication of machinery, though rape seed oil-cakes are esteemed as a highly nitrogenous fertilizing agent. Of recent years the export of the oil has considerably increased. ^{Rape seed.}

Tea flourishes exceedingly in the warm and humid climate of Japan, whither it was brought from China, A.D. 805, becoming rapidly an indispensable item in the diet of all classes. It is planted mainly on slopes and in upland fields, but only about 65 per cent. of the total area under tea (124,000 acres) is exclusively occupied by the plant, peas, beans, and other crops being raised with it in the remainder. In the principal tea districts the soil is very carefully tilled and abundantly fertilized, and though machinery has recently been introduced much of the labour is still done by hand. The results are profitable, but the higher cost of production militates against increased exportation. When placed upon the American market, where most of the exported crop is consumed, Japanese tea, though highly appreciated on account of its flavour, is dearer by nearly 50 per cent. than Indian or Chinese, and as a consequence the export remains stationary. More and better labour-saving machinery is, however, gradually being adopted.

Teas for export are mostly green, and the principal districts for their propagation are Shizuoka, Miye, and Saitama. Black teas, used for the greater part for home consumption, are produced in the Fukuoka, Kumamoto, and Kochi districts.

A crop which, all over the world, has suffered almost to extinction from the science of chemistry is indigo. Before the invention of the artificial product it was grown extensively in Japan, but within even the last ten years the area under leaf indigo has been reduced from over 110,000 acres to less than 23,000, and it is now only cultivated to any extent in the Loochoo islands, where a very fine quality is obtained.

The cotton-growing industry has been almost entirely swamped by imports from America, China, and India,

and its present position is hopeless. Moreover, the fibre of native cotton is much shorter than that of foreign species.

Hemp, as a material for cloth, has been supplanted by cotton, and is now chiefly used in the manufacture of fishing-nets and ropes. Its production is still considerable, but in the last ten years nearly 50 per cent. of the area under hemp has been cleared and used for other crops. Flax is grown chiefly in Hokkaido, where there is an important flax factory.

With the exception of Hokkaido, tobacco is cultivated throughout Japan. The principal districts are in Ibaraki, Tochigi, Fukushima, Okayama, and Hiroshima in the main island, Kagawa and Tokushima in Shikoku, and Kagoshima and Oita in Kiushiu. The manufacture of tobacco is a Government monopoly, and growers must sell all their produce to the authorities. It follows that the State has full control over the cultivation of the plant, and of late years it has used its powers to restrict the area planted in order that more attention may be paid to the improvement of the quality. That these efforts have been successful is shown by the following table:—

Year	Acreage	Leaf Tobacco production	Average Price per lb.	Amount paid
1900-1	91,800	110,077,510 lbs.	Yen 0.07 (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.)	Yen 7,720,610
1909-10	71,966	91,847,081 „	„ 0.11 (2 $\frac{1}{10}$ d.)	„ 10,617,607

The native tobacco is of very fair quality, and yellow American varieties are also cultivated. Few cigars are made, the chief manufacture being cigarettes, of which the sale exceeds 7,000 million pieces annually.

Such are the principal crops of Japan (excluding Hokkaido). There are, of course, many minor crops,

of some of which we may give a very brief description before examining the question of labour.

Sugar-cane was grown in Oshima and Okinawa (in the Loochoo islands) as long ago as A. D. 1600, and until recently Sanuki, in the Kagawa prefecture, was the centre of a considerable refining industry. But it is Formosa which is destined to render sugar-cane growing really important in the economy of Japan, and the subject is dealt with in the chapter on that island. The sugar-cane raised in Japan proper amounted in 1909 to 694,520 tons, from a total area of 52,323 acres. Of this over a half came from the Okinawa prefecture, Kagoshima producing almost exactly one-third of the total. In Kagawa and Kumamoto a little was grown, but the output of the other districts was either insignificant or *nil*.

Rushes and *Shichito-i* are cultivated in paddy fields; from them are made the mats so much in evidence in Japanese dwellings. Peppermint, of which the leaves are dried and distilled to make menthol and peppermint oil, is an agricultural export product of some importance, but prices have recently been too low for very profitable cultivation.

Ginseng is a medicinal plant grown in mountain districts, the roots being dried before marketing. Its cultivation is declining by reason of American and Korean competition. The fibrous tissue of the paper mulberry (*mitsumata*) is the chief material for Japanese paper. The shrub is extensively grown on mountain slopes, banks of rivers, or wherever crops cannot be cultivated, being particularly useful in this respect. Osiers for basket-making are cultivated in suitable soil and, finally, barley is grown with special care as providing most of the material for straw-braids, an important Japanese manufacture.

A comparison of the relative positions of human and animal labour in paddy fields and upland farms for the years 1903 and 1908 (the latest year for which the figures are available) shows that the area tilled exclusively by human labour still forms a very large proportion of the total, though it tends steadily to decrease. In proportion as the efforts of the Adjustment Commission are successful, more land which hitherto has been cultivable only by manual labour will certainly be prepared for sowing by animal-drawn ploughs. But it is difficult, especially on paddy fields, to see how it is possible to dispense with human labour to any appreciable extent, even if, from the standpoint of economy, it were expedient. It has been mentioned that the number of agricultural households in Japan reaches approximately 5,270,000, and it is estimated that in each two households there are five members capable of effective work, which gives a total labouring population of 13,175,000 souls to an aggregate cultivated area of 13,834,289 acres. Obviously, therefore, manual labour is plentiful, and it is chiefly by reason of its abundance that the intensive system can be carried on. Rice-growing requires, for instance, the labour of 17 men and 9 women per *cho* (2.45 acres), barley and wheat 11 men and 6 women, tobacco 25 men and 23 women, soya bean 7 men and 5 women, and so on. Farmers, in the vast majority of cases, are their own labourers, and those who may be distinguished as 'professional labourers' are a very small class. They are divided, as elsewhere, into day labourers and hands engaged by the year, the latter, as a rule, living in the houses of their employers, who board them and, twice a year, supply them with clothes. Some have tiny farms of their own, and attend to them and their employers' on alternate days. Yearly contract labourers

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earn on an average 43.310 *yen* (£4 8s. 8*d.*) for males and 21.930 (£2 4s. 11*d.*) for females, and the average wages of the day labourer are 0.380 *yen* (9¼*d.*) for males and 0.230 *yen* (5½*d.*) for females per diem. Most of the hired labour is composed of youths and girls, children, generally, of small tenant farmers.

Wages vary widely both with districts and seasons, and, of course, with occupations. Thus, while some yearly contract men will be paid in certain districts as much as 85 *yen*, in others they will get as little as 10 *yen*; and a sericulture labourer often earns 1 *yen* a day in the height of the season.

The draught animals used by farmers are oxen and horses. It is not long since practically all the ploughing in the districts north of central Honshiu was done by human labour, and though, with social progress, the human element is gradually being replaced by animals, for work of this nature the improvement is slow, as shown hereunder :—

Year	Oxen	Horses	Total
1903	1,014,903	1,171,562	2,186,465
1909	1,080,323	1,240,924	2,321,247

At this rate the proportion of draught animals to agricultural households works out at little better than one animal to each two households, the area actually ploughed by each animal being about 1 *cho* (2.45 acres).

Such a condition of affairs naturally raises the question of stock-breeding. Japan has never been a horse-breeding country; the absence, comparatively speaking, of suitable plains and pasture lands, the ubiquity of small rice fields, in which horse labour not only need not but could not be employed to any considerable extent, and the fact that horse-riding was not a general method of locomotion among the Japanese—these circumstances were sufficient to prevent the

development of the horse-breeding industry. The wars with China and Russia emphasized the scarcity and poor quality of the native stock, and in 1906 the authorities established a Horse Administration Bureau, which, at first, even condoned betting in order to encourage horse-racing. The present policy of the Bureau consists in keeping 1,500 foreign-bred stallions, which are loaned to the principal breeding-centres (chiefly situated in northern Honshiu and Hokkaido) for mating with native mares. The progeny are purchased by the army to the extent of four or five thousand chargers annually. The breeds imported are mostly British, and the following figures show that they are gradually replacing the native stock :—

Year	Native	Cross	Foreign	Total in Japan
1904	1,284,840	103,120	2,047	1,390,017
1909	1,242,921	281,199	27,036	1,551,156

In much the same way the native breeds of horned cattle, strong and hardy beasts of burden, though ill-looking through neglect in breeding, are disappearing in favour of imported or cross-breeds. In one respect this is a source of regret to consumers of beef, for, to the Japanese at least, the flesh of the indigenous kine is superior to that of foreign cattle, and this accounts for the failure, so far, to popularize Australian cold-storage beef in Japan. Here it may be mentioned that with the introduction of Buddhism the use of flesh as food was prohibited under severe penalties, and that even to-day the consumption of meat in Japan does not exceed 2 lb. per head per annum. Imported cattle was at first mainly Devon, Ayrshire, and Shorthorn, but of late, strains like Holstein and Simmenthal have been found more suitable. There are eight large stock-farms in Hokkaido, and others, Government and pri-

vate, in Chiba, Iwate, Fukushima, Hiroshima, and other prefectures. The Shimosa pasture belonging to the Imperial Household is the largest breeding-station in Japan, and, as might be expected, is a model enterprise. It covers 9,000 acres of land situated about forty miles to the south-east of Tokyo, and its live-stock includes, in round numbers, 700 horses, 180 head of cattle, and 1,100 sheep, which latter animal has for some reason failed to thrive elsewhere.

By precept and example and by means of prizes the Government of Japan fosters and promotes stock-breeding to the limit of its resources, and when the difficulty of extending and developing the industry is considered its improvement under State encouragement is highly satisfactory. We may conclude the subject with a tabulated comparison which will bear out this statement :—

Number of Cattle in Japan.

Horned Cattle.

Year	Native	Cross	Foreign	Total	Sheep	Goats	Swine
1903	1,076,377	189,520	20,219	1,286,116	2,238	62,407	212,569
1908	899,913	423,112	27,849	1,350,404	3,411	87,338	287,107

The education of the agriculturist to a better knowledge of the science of his industry is satisfactorily extending, and has undoubtedly contributed to the improvement of the yield of crops per unit of area. In 1903 just under 250,000 farmers had completed courses of instruction at farming schools and lecture classes, and in 1907 this number was almost exactly doubled. Assuming each pupil to represent a household this would mean that about 20 per cent. of the farming households possess knowledge of the more productive methods of agriculture.

Authentic records show that the silkworm was first introduced into Japan by a Chinese royal prince, A.D. 195, and that the first knowledge of the art of

silk-weaving was imparted to the Japanese by emigrants who, in A.D. 283, accompanied another Chinese prince to Japan, became naturalized, and were settled in various districts as instructors to the inhabitants. From the very beginning the industry was encouraged by the court, which set the example of planting mulberry trees and rearing the worms, and stimulated production by enacting that some of the taxes paid in kind should be paid in silk fabrics. During the Dark Ages of Japan (939-1639) the industry was of necessity confined to remote districts undisturbed by the storm and stress of constant war, but we may gauge the extent of its revival on the return of peace by the records of sumptuary laws prohibiting the wearing of silk fabrics by the common people. The opening of the country to foreign trade was, however, in conjunction with the subsequent silkworm epidemic in Europe, the starting-point of the present immense importance of sericulture in Japan.

Silkworm rearing and raw silk manufacture seem almost as if they had been specially designed for the benefit of small farmers. Conducted on a large scale sericulture has never been successful, but in the hands of nearly 1,500,000 families scattered throughout the Empire from Hokkaido to Formosa it thrives admirably. As a 'subsidiary' occupation, it is almost as important to the farmer as the growing of rice itself, and when members of a household, chiefly the women and children, are sufficiently active to undertake both the spring and autumn rearing, and possibly the summer rearing as well, it is at least twice as lucrative as ordinary farming alone. With a card of 'seed' eggs, which costs about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *yen*, from 1600 to 1700 lb. of mulberry leaves (20 *yen*), and miscellaneous expenses amounting to 10 *yen*, that is to say a total expenditure

of $31\frac{1}{2}$ *yen*, an ordinarily industrious family can produce about 44 *yen* worth of cocoons.

But there is one serious disadvantage resulting from the rearing of silkworms in so many disconnected households. There are some 1,200 breeds of worms in use throughout Japan, and the consequent absence of uniformity in the quality of the filament is a defect which is occupying the Government's earnest attention. To overcome this drawback (which prevents the use of Japanese filaments for warp, since warp requires finer material of uniform quality) it is proposed to divide the sericulture districts into sections in which only certain specified breeds shall be reared.

Most of the raw silk produced in Japan, some 70 to 80 per cent., in fact, is of coarse quality, but this is not due to any difficulty experienced in producing fine silk. Of the total consumption of silk in America 60 per cent. is of Japanese origin, the demand of American importers being for coarse yarns from Japan, and finer fabrics from France and Italy, to which countries Japan's finer product is exported.

Important progress has recently been made in the difficult science of feeding the worms, the number of cocoons obtained per egg-card¹ having consequently increased by about 20 per cent. during the last nine years, as the subjoined table, which compares the production of cocoons in 1901 and 1909, will indicate:—

	Egg-cards hatched	Cocoons	%	Double	%	Pierced	%	Waste	%	Total
1901	3,831,211	9,914,165	79	1,325,137	11	283,772	2	1,011,836	8	12,534,910
1909	4,602,500	14,512,156	81	1,903,423	11	284,536	2	1,288,259	7	17,988,380

Production per card: 1901 . . . 3.27 per cent.
1909 . . . 3.91 „

¹ An egg-card contains the eggs of 100 moths.

To show the result in silk and in value of the above cocoon production the following table has been compiled :—

	Raw Silk		Waste Silk		Total	
	Production lb.	Value	Production lb.	Value	Production lb.	Value
1901	14,462,903	£7,645,930	6,331,437	£457,602	20,794,340	£8,103,532
1909	22,644,604	£12,673,047	9,060,318	£758,950	31,704,922	£13,431,997

As to prices, the average price in 1909 of raw silk was about 6 per cent. lower than the average for the previous nine years, while that of waste silk had remained at the average level of that period.

The process of rearing silkworms from the ‘egg-card’ occupies a matter of thirty or forty days, so that a family which undertakes to breed for spring, summer, and autumn hatching is occupied in this way for at least three months of the year. The spring hatching is by far the most favoured, but it is becoming more usual to breed for autumn hatching as well. The summer, or intermediary crop is comparatively neglected, contributing only 13 per cent. of the total production in 1909, while spring and autumn cocoons formed 63 per cent. and 24 per cent. respectively.

The methods of rearing in use are various; the most general is what is known as the ‘conventional method’, and consists of a combination of the ‘warm-rearing method’, in which artificial heat is constantly applied to the rearing-room, and the ‘natural method’ which dispenses with such stimulation. Silkworms grow but slowly by the natural method, and the cocoons are apt to be of poor quality, while against the ‘warm rearing method’ there is the circumstance that the treatment debilitates the worms, which, although spinning a greater quantity of filament in less time, are more liable to disease, and frequently

produce cocoons of an abnormal and undesirable nature.

It may be deduced from the foregoing data that the outlook for sericulture in Japan is most favourable. Of the essentials to its prosperity, cheap, plentiful, and naturally skilful labour abounds in the country, mulberry leaves are grown with ease and in ever-increasing quantities, scientific rearing prevails, and in the Government laboratories fresh and effective methods are being discovered of preventing disease in the silkworms, of augmenting their production, and of improving generally the bases of the industry. Since silk in its various forms is Japan's chief export product, care and energy in these directions was of course to be expected, but the success which has attended these efforts is none the less notable.

Probably no Government in the world gives so much attention to the promotion, encouragement, and protection of industrial enterprise as does the Government of Japan, and it is noteworthy that of the amount collected as local taxes in the financial year ending March, 1911, an average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or £901,000, was applied to these purposes in the respective prefectures. Agriculture, sericulture, and tea-planting were directly assisted to the extent of £520,000, and the balance was mainly expended in their favour on such items as meteorological observatories, exhibitions and shows, statistics, and the like. In the chapter dealing with banking we have shown how the Hypothec Bank of Japan was founded with the object of facilitating the supply of capital for agricultural purposes, and in this connexion it may be mentioned that in the report of this Bank for the year 1910 the outstanding loans figure at over £8,900,000. More-

over, the Co-operative Societies Law, which promoted the formation of credit, purchase, sale, and productive societies, inculcated the valuable spirit of self-help among the farmers, and at the end of 1910 there were no less than 7,263 of these societies in Japan. Again, the Agricultural and the Horticultural Experimental Stations now established in nearly every prefecture have been of incalculable service to the industry; the Silk Conditioning House has had the effect of rehabilitating the silk producers in the eyes of the traders; and few of the Government's many other measures for the improvement of Japan's chief industry have failed in their object.

Given this parental care, the assiduity and inherited aptitude of the Japanese agriculturist, and a soil which, while not particularly prolific, has always responded satisfactorily to the farmer's wooing—it would seem justifiable to regard the position of agriculture in Japan as assured for many years to come.

Already the total annual value of agricultural products exceeds 1,500 million *yen*, or £153,125,000, a stupendous sum when compared with the acreage cultivated, and the production increases year by year. There must of course be a limit to the resources of the soil, but it is evident that it has not yet been reached. Meanwhile the demand is always ahead of the supply, and with prices tending constantly to rise farming grows steadily more profitable in spite of increasing expenditure on the land. In short, the outlook for Japan's first industry is decidedly favourable.

CHAPTER XV

FORESTRY AND MARINE PRODUCTS

IN her forests, which cover 70 per cent. of her total area, Japan has an asset of value from the aesthetic as well as from the commercial point of view. It is not too much to say that the beauty of the thickly wooded plains and uplands has had a large share in the moulding of the Japanese character, and in forming that appreciation of sylvan scenery, and sympathetic understanding of trees and shrubs which are innate in the Japanese of all classes.

It is, however, with the commercial worth of the forests that this chapter is concerned. If, so far, their importance as a factor in the national economy has not bulked as largely as might be inferred from their area, this is due to the jealous care and protection of which (except just at the beginning of the Meiji era) they have been the object for many centuries, and which has not only preserved them almost intact but has also considerably added to their original extent. Their forests are to the Japanese an entailed inheritance from the remote past, and the entail is still respected ; in recent years, however, the property has been cautiously developed and exploited, and its yield has increased with a rapidity that indicates its possibilities.

Forestry and re-forestation are applied sciences that have not yet reached their zenith in Japan, but which are being earnestly studied, and on the whole with great success. For a variety of purposes, some of which do not seem to be regarded as feasible even

in Europe, trees are planted as a matter of course. To prevent soil-denudation; as a protection against shifting sand, or against flood, wind, tide, avalanches and rolling stones; as a means of feeding springs, of attracting fish, of providing landmarks for navigators, of improving the public health; and finally, to 'manufacture' scenery, many thousands of acres are annually planted with trees, especially since 1901. In estimating the worth of the forests of Japan the value of the special services rendered by these 'protection' forests must not be forgotten.

Forests clothe the slopes of most of the mountains of Japan, but abound particularly in the northern Distribution of forests. island and in the more northerly districts of the centre of Honshiu. This lack of uniformity in distribution is not due solely to physical peculiarities of the soil; in Shikoku, Kiushiu, and the south-west of the mainland, for instance, where by reason of the density of the population, the claims of agriculture have become paramount, much of the land that is now under cereals and other crops was formerly thickly wooded. In the island of Kiushiu the area now covered by forests and by 'wild lands' (i. e. unreclaimed land akin to forests) is less than in the single prefecture of Aomori at the head of the main island. It is obvious, however, that in so mountainous a country as Japan much forest land must be inaccessible.

At the end of March, 1910, the total area of forest Forest Acreage. and wild lands in Japan proper was 54,164,786 acres, distributed as to ownership as follows:—

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	Protection Forests	Utilization Forests	Percentage Forests	Total Acreage
State Forests. . .	897,109	27,605,179	177,716	28,680,004
Crown „ . . .	240,433	4,961,032		5,201,465
Forests belonging to private owners, civic corporations, and shrines or temples	}	20,283,317		20,283,317
	1,137 542	52,849,528	177,716	54,164,786

Briefly stated, the State forests represent those that the feudal princes, at the time of the Restoration, surrendered to the Government, a certain proportion of these being handed over to the Crown. Then in early times shrines and temples were erected in forests to protect them by rendering them sacred, and such the State still recognizes as sacerdotal possessions. By 'percentage forests' are meant State forests left under the control of villages or towns which, in return for services rendered, enjoy a certain percentage of their produce.

The revenue of the State forests for the financial year ending March, 1910, derived from the sale of products and by-products, rents and other receipts, was £1,025,493, to which may be added the proceeds of sales of forests and plains, £366,834. But expenses were heavy, amounting to £670,170, so that the net profit from the year's working was no more than £722,157, or somewhat below the average of the last three years. No statistics are available in connexion with the Crown forests, and it is only possible to state the value of the principal products of forests in the third category for the year 1909, and (for sake of comparison), 1905, which was as follows :—

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	1905	1909
Logs and balks	£2,233,461	£3,889,938
Railway sleepers	70,358	134,214
Wood for clogs	125,452	181,897
" " paper	23,143	52,350
Bamboo	128,087	169,770
<i>Hinoki</i> and <i>Sugi</i> bark	65,912	102,107
Bamboo sheath	17,224	20,207
Charcoal	1,139,801	1,841,946
Mushrooms	134,450	236,371
Planks	971,096	1,686,022
Wood for casks		
" " boxes		
" " wagon building	157,969	227,399
" " matches		
" shavings	13,660	29,482
Seedlings	104,470	115,335
Fruits	49,380	71,406
Nut-galls	7,574	7,837
Animal pelts	16,291	14,069
Stones	183,671	430,488
Various	478,719	483,618
	<u>£5,920,218</u>	<u>£9,694,456</u>

It will be seen that the productivity of these forests has increased, within the short space of five years, by over 60 per cent.

In giving a short account of their contents we may omit the tropical forests, partly because their chief site is Formosa, which island is dealt with in another chapter, and partly because, with the exception of bamboos that grow to extraordinary dimensions, and are used for building purposes and the manufacture of various utensils, their products, being mainly banyans, furnish no timber of utility.

Of the forests in the frigid zone, which comprises the Kuriles and most of the northern half of Hokkaido, many are not yet explored, though they are known to contain an abundance of conifers. The principal trees are Todo-matsu (*Abies sachaliensis*, Mast.) and Yezo-matsu (*Picea ajanensis*), which grow with especial luxuriance in the mountains of Ishikari, Teshio, Tokachi, Nemuro and Kitami. The wood of these trees is light,

coarse-grained, and liable to warp, but is in some demand for building-work. A closer-grained wood is the Akaeso-matsu (*Picea Glehnii*). In the Kuriles the trees are usually too stunted to be of value, but a species of larch (*Larix sibirica*) found there in pure forests has a hard and wet-resisting timber which is used for boat-building and furniture making. A birch called Shirakaba (*Betula alba*, vulg.), the Yama-hanoki (an alder), and the Nagakamado (*Pirus aucuparia*) are also of little value except as fire-wood. There are, of course, other trees in the frigid zone, but those mentioned are the principal species.

In the temperate forests, which extend over the southern half of Hokkaido and the northern half of Honshiu, the species number over sixty. The peculiarly scented fir Hinoki is the best of Japan's timber trees, being tough, strong, and close grained, and is used for building, ship-building, and bridge-work. There are large forests of this tree in the provinces of Kii, Yamato, Totomi, and elsewhere. The Hiba (*Thujopsis dolabrata*) was one of the five trees specially protected under the feudal régime, and occurs in pure woods in the Aomori districts. It is of very slow growth, and its wood is dense, strong, and durable; hence its use for railway sleepers. The Sugi (*Cryptomeria japonica*) is one of the commonest of conifers. Its growth is rapid in moist soil with plenty of light, and specimens are occasionally found measuring 6 feet in diameter and 130 feet in height. Akita is a district where it grows to perfection. The wood is light yellow with a tinge of red, and is largely used for the manufacture of tools and utensils. The timber of Sawara (*Chamecyparis pisifera*) and Nezuko (*Thuya japonica*) is soft and light and splits easily, and is much used in boards and planks. The Momi (*Abies firma*) is very

widely distributed ; it grows rapidly after middle age, forming a perfect trunk. Used almost exclusively for the manufacture of paper pulp, its fibre being particularly long, and for tea-chests and the cases and boxes which are an item of Japan's export trade. The Tsuga (*Tsuga Sieboldii*, Carr.), like the Momi, with which it is generally found, is used for paper and tea-chest making, but also as an ornamental wood, being of slow growth and compact structure. Its bark is employed for tanning and dyeing. A very useful tree is the Karomatsu (*Larix leptolepis*), which grows fast and well, even in the poorest of soil, forming natural woods on Mounts Fuji and Asama and in the provinces of Shinano and Nikko. Its timber is moderately hard and durable, and is much used for telegraph poles.

Among the broad-leaved trees of the temperate forest zone the Keyaki (*Zelkova Keaki*, Sieb.) is supreme in respect of utility and value. It is found in mixed woods throughout Honshiu, Shikoku, and Kiushiu, and attains huge dimensions in calcareous soils. A slow-growing tree, its timber is strong, hard, and lustrous, and it is in great demand for building, carving, ship-building, and for the manufacture of costly furniture, some of the sub-species having a beautiful grain. The Buna (*Fagus sylvatica*, Sieb., Maxim.) is a very widely distributed species, used mainly for firewood and charcoal. Its growth continues even when it has attained a great age and enormous proportions. It was of this tree that the Ainu of Old Japan made their log-boats. The Yachidamo and Katsura are the only broad-leaved species which furnish good timber for sleepers and for building purposes ; they grow best on level ground. The Inu-enji (*Cladorostis amurensis*), a very handsome wood, is used for furniture-making and also for sleepers, and another tree whose timber serves for ornamental

work is the Kurumi (*Juglans*, Sieb.). The oak called Kashiwa (*Quercus dentata*) and Onara (*Quercus crispula*) are found throughout the plains of Hokkaido and in several districts in Honshiu. The wood of the latter is used for sleepers, firewood, and charcoal; the bark of the Kashiwa has tannic properties and is used for curing skins. Two poplars (*P. tremula*) and (*P. balsamifera*) are valuable as providing material for match-sticks, and a chestnut named Kuri, of which the wood is exceedingly hard and moderately durable and wet-resisting, is esteemed the best of all for railway sleepers.

The sub-tropical forests are comprised within Shikoku, Kiushiu, the part of Honshiu lying south of parallel 36° N., and districts of Formosa about 2,900 feet above sea-level. They contain many species, some of which are particularly valuable. The most important is the camphor-tree, which is sometimes found forming large forests, but as its habitat is now mainly confined to Formosa the tree and the industry of which it is the basis are discussed in the chapter on that island. The wood of the Tsugo (evergreen box) is used for much the same purposes as in Europe. The several varieties of Kashi (oaks), of which the Ubamegashi (*Quercus ilex*) makes the best fuel-wood in Japan, are the most common of the broad-leaved evergreens. The Akamatsu, or Red Pine (*Pinus densiflora*), is the most widely distributed of all the coniferous trees. It grows very rapidly in well-drained land, and on this account is a favourite plantation tree. The wood is hard, strong, and so resinous as to be practically damp-proof, and it makes excellent firewood. The *matsutake*, or 'Pine mushroom', grows in the forests of red pine in the south of the main island. The Kuromatsu, or black pine, is similar in every way except that its wood is of a reddish colour.

In addition to these timber trees there are groves of bamboos of many varieties, splendid specimens of which are found in the neighbourhood of Kyoto and elsewhere. They are much used for tools, for ornamental work, for building and for a hundred other purposes, and there is an export trade of some importance in bamboos and in articles manufactured therefrom.

The mushroom-growing industry of Japan deserves mention no less on account of the methods employed than because the annual production exceeds 5,000 tons. There are ten or eleven chief species of edible fungi, the most highly esteemed of which are the aforesaid 'pine-mushroom' (*Armillaria edoides*, Berk) and the *Agaricus shiitake*. Occasionally forests are specially prepared for their cultivation, and in the State forests of Osaka Okayama the greater part of the revenue is derived from the sale of 'pine mushrooms'. They are grown in a way that must be peculiar to Japan; big logs of the Kunugi, Konara, and other trees are soaked in water for some days and then hammered to soften the exterior. At short distances apart the macerated crust of the log is punctured with holes a few inches deep, in which the spawn is sown, and the logs are then left in a dark and secluded part of the forest. In spring and in autumn the fungi are collected and dried, about half of the crop being exported to China, India, Hongkong, Hawaii, and other places. They are usually very large and of the 'umbrella' shape; the writer has tried several varieties and found them greatly superior in flavour to those of any other country.

Japanese forests are rich in undergrowth and, in some districts, in grass and herbage, which are used for fuel and fertilizer. Seeds and acorns are a not

Mush-
room
culture in
forests.

Other
forest
products.

unimportant item of forest produce, and from these and from beech-mast, walnuts, and others are extracted wax and oils of varied industrial uses. The bark of several species of oaks, alders, and chestnuts is used for tanning and dyeing. Of more consequence are the stones, such as granite and andesites, calcareous and slate-stones, that are found, for instance, in most of the districts which border on the Inland Sea, and in Mino, Owari, and elsewhere. In the districts mentioned there is a considerable demand for these stones as building-material and for pottery manufacture.

As to the industrial utilization of wood, there are in Japan proper 700 privately-owned saw-mills, in addition to which the Government, which formerly limited its enterprise to the sale of standing timber in State forests, has since 1906 opened timber-conversion mills in Aomori, Akita, Kumamoto, Oita, and Kochi. In 1909 the State mills reduced 268,193,832 cubic feet of timber and 17,628,865 faggots (3 ft. long \times 6 ft. wide and 6 ft. high) into over 4,500 tons of sided logs, 1,070 tons of hewn boards, &c., and 1,284 tons of charcoal fuel. The private saw-mills, which are most numerous and important in the Akita and Osaka prefectures, converted between them 103,012,716 cubic feet of timber.

Charcoal-burning, though appreciably affected by the increased consumption of coal, is an industry which is carried on throughout the country, and having in mind the cooking methods of the Japanese and the extent to which charcoal is used in Japan's large army, it is one which will always retain a certain importance.

Transport of timber from the forests to the yards is often a matter of difficulty. The cost of road-making through the forests is very high, particularly when torrential streams which are liable to overflow their banks have to be bridged, and progress in road con-

struction has been commensurately slow. Nor is the use of the rivers entirely satisfactory, on account of sunken snags and other obstacles. The cheapest and easiest method is that which is employed in the colder districts, such as Hokkaido, where in winter the timber is 'skidded' over the hardened snow.

The supreme control of forests in general is in the hands of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Forest Administration. Subject to this they are administered by the Forestry Bureau through 10 Major Forest Offices and 325 Minor Forest Offices. This is in respect of Japan proper, the State Forests in Hokkaido and Taiwan being subject to the supervision of the Minister of Home Affairs.

A glance at Japan's coast-line, with its long reach north and south, from the frigid to the tropical zone, Marine products. and its innumerable bays, gulfs, and river-mouths, will make it clear that many of the inhabitants of this densely populated string of islands, crowded, so to speak, to the water's edge, could and must rely upon the sea for sustenance. Daily fare of rice and vegetables needs to be supplemented by some more invigorating food, and as, either from religious scruples or from inclination, the Japanese ate and eat but little flesh, the obvious deduction is that fish entered to a large extent into the diet of those who could obtain it. Ancient shell-mounds which have recently Antiquity of the fishing industry. been excavated prove at once the correctness of this inference and the antiquity of the fishing industry in Japan. Its present-day importance is indicated by the fact that a total of 1,740,000 men are engaged therein, 810,000 being exclusively, and 930,000 partially so employed. An aggregate of more than 420,000 boats are used, mostly small, open, native craft of about 30 feet in length. But if the total value of their catches be divided amongst the boats, we shall find

that the net earnings per annum of each are lamentably small. A matter of 165 *yen* (say £17) per boat per annum, to be shared by an average boat's crew of five, is an almost incredibly ungrateful return for such hard and perilous toil, and provides a sufficient explanation of the fact that since 1903 the number of regular fishermen has decreased by about 121,000, while 474,000 hands occasionally employed have abandoned the sea altogether.

For this unsatisfactory state of affairs there are several reasons. It is true that Japan is excellently placed in respect of natural conditions which should ensure that the fishing industry, conducted in the scientific and methodical manner which we have learned to associate with Government-encouraged industries as a whole, should be at least moderately lucrative. At the Marine Biological Station in Sagami over 400 species of marine products have been classified which are of importance either as food or as fertilizer, or as providing material for various industries. But the vast majority of Japanese fishermen, with their unseaworthy craft that can barely sail against the wind, must confine their operations to within a very short distance of land; the effect of many years of reckless and improvident fishing is now being felt, some species having become almost extinct; modern methods are adopted but slowly; the curing business is in its infancy, and, finally, lack of capital makes speedy and effectual reform impossible.

In accordance with the Fishery Agreement of 1907 with Russia, Japan's fishing rights along the coasts of Siberia and North Saghalien were confirmed, and now extend as far north as Kamchatka. The value of the catches in these waters in 1909 was £636,557, and of the catches in Chosen, Taiwan, Karafuto, and

Kwantung £1,230,126; but, in the following abbreviated account, figures¹ refer only to inshore and freshwater fishery in Japan proper. The approximate value of the principal items was as under:—

<i>Fish</i>		Annual values of catches.
Herring . . .	£51,617	Sawara (Cybium) £132,774
Sardine . . .	632,730	Horse Mackerel 151,626
Anchovy . . .	264,935	Grey Mullet . 135,866
Bonito . . .	729,546	Salmon . . . 61,879
Mackerel . . .	242,191	Trout . . . 52,454
Tunny . . .	252,334	Carp . . . 65,568
Yellow-tail . . .	320,361	Eel . . . 118,842
Tai (Pagrus) . . .	479,466	Others. . . 1,667,271
Karei (flatfish). . .	141,790	£5,500,750
<i>Shell-fish</i>		
Sea-ear . . .	£72,944	
Oysters . . .	39,750	
Clam, razor-clam, and others . . .	187,790	£300,484
<i>Crustaceans</i>		
Prawns and Shrimps	£154,494	
Spiny lobster . . .	17,928	£172,422
<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Cuttle-fish . . .	£78,067	
Squid . . .	244,548	
Octopus . . .	109,314	
Sea-cucumber . . .	23,973	
Whales . . .	52,658	
Fur-seal (38) . . .	78	
Coral . . .	112,592	
Seaweeds. . .	373,635	
Others . . .	82,370	£1,077,235
		£7,050,891

If to the above should be added the total catches in Chosen, Taiwan, Karafuto, and Kwantung, the value of the industry to the Empire last year would be close upon £10,000,000. Total value for the Empire.

The herring fishery is at present restricted to the western shores of Hokkaido and the north of the main

¹ In view of certain difficulties in the compilation of fishery statistics, absolute accuracy is not to be expected.

island (Aomori and Akita), and the months from March to May. The fish are taken with pond-nets and grill-nets, and the deep-sea catches are of course much greater than those indicated by the figures quoted above. The record twelve-months catch of recent years was valued, for instance, at over £1,100,000. In general, only the parts along the backbone are used for food, the remainder being treated to obtain fish-oil and fertilizer. But, as much herring fertilizer is exported from Siberia, bean cake from North China, and sardine fertilizer from Korea, the demand for the Hokkaido produce has fallen off, and to remedy this the Government is now encouraging the curing business.

Sardines and anchovies are caught off nearly the entire coast of Japan, with seines and purse-seines. Most are used as fertilizer, though some are boiled and dried for food. A little canning and sauce-making is done.

The bonito is a favourite fish with the Japanese, especially when dried and smoked. It is taken chiefly with rod and line and a bait of live sardine, and as it haunts warm currents it is found nearly everywhere in the south and often in the north.

The 'Tai' (*pagrus*) is caught for the most part during spring and summer in the Inland Sea. Driving-nets are used to 'corral' the fish and they are then taken with the seine. Occasionally they are caught with long lines. The 'tai' is very seldom salted or otherwise cured.

The 'sawara' is a fish more common in the southwest than in the north, and it also frequents the Inland Sea. It swims in shoals and is taken in drift-nets.

Tunny-fish are found everywhere and taken with

drift-nets and long lines. Mostly eaten fresh, they are occasionally cured in the same way as the bonito.

The 'Yellow-tail' (*seriola quinqueradiata*) is taken in the Sea of Japan and the south-western seas with lines, grill-nets, and otherwise. It is used either fresh or salted.

The mackerel is also a very ubiquitous fish, caught everywhere with spread-nets and seines. It is usually preserved in salt. Cod, on the other hand, frequent the north and are taken with lines and nets. There is some little business in the manufacture of cod-liver oil.

Salmon ascend many of the rivers flowing into the Sea of Japan or the northern part of the Pacific, especially in Hokkaido and the head of the main island. In river-fishing seines are used, and occasionally traps, but in the sea the salmon are taken with pound-nets. They are usually preserved in salt or tinned.

Trout are found in company with salmon, and are both taken and used in much the same fashion.

Of shell-fish the sea-ear, or ear-shell, is valuable both for its flesh and for the mother-of-pearl contained in its shell. The flesh is largely exported to China. The oyster is next in importance, and there is a growing demand for this bivalve. At Toba (Shima) in the bay of Ago, a Mr. Mikimoto exercises the unique monopoly of hatching pearl-oysters. His oyster-beds extend for 25 miles along the coast, and the method employed to produce natural pearls is to introduce seed pearl or small fragments of mother-of-pearl into the shells of three-year-old oysters. It is explained that the effect of irritation thus induced is to cause the oyster to put forth its pearl-forming secretion in successive layers, and so to encase the foreign substance. In four years a pearl of considerable value is formed.

Lobsters frequent the Pacific coast, and are usually taken in grill-nets. Prawns abound in the Inland Sea and the warmer inlets, and are caught in trawl-nets. China imports most of them.

Cuttle-fish, squids, and octopi are caught by lines and trawls in warm currents. They are invariably dried for export to China. The sea-cucumber (*bêche de mer*) is found mostly in Hokkaido and on the north-eastern coast of Honshiu, and a whitish variety (the Japanese species is black) is caught in the South Pacific seas. As is well known it is highly relished by the Chinese. Another dainty among the people of the Middle Kingdom is shark-fin, and sharks are caught in considerable quantities off Oita and Yamaguchi with the object of securing this delicacy.

Chief among the sea-weeds used as food is that known as 'Kombu' (*Laminaria*). It grows mostly on the shores of Hokkaido and the south-east of Honshiu, and is eaten sliced into very thin shreds. 'Kanten' is made by dissolving the weed *Tengusa* in water and exposing the resulting gelatinous infusion to the action of cold by night and the sun by day. Only the Chinese use it as food, however; in the West it is a substitute for gelatine, isinglass, starch, and the like. Other sea-weeds are used as paste.

As shown by figures quoted above, fur seals have practically disappeared from the shores of the Kuriles. Every year, however, about thirty sealers are fitted out for a season's operations along the coast of Alaska and Kamchatka, and in 1909 their catch included 10,246 seals and 164 sea-otters.

The right-whales, sulphur bottom and hump-back whales that formerly frequented in large numbers the seas off the coasts of Kiushiu and Shikoku, are now protected by an ordinance issued at the end of 1909,

whereby the number of whaling-vessels (steamers or sailers) permitted to engage in the business is limited to thirty. The principal whaling-grounds in Japan proper are off the Kinkanzan Island in summer, as far south as Tokyo Bay and off Nagato, Tosa, Kishu, and Kiushiu in winter, but the authorities may at any time restrict the fishable area or prohibit the hunting altogether. These preservative measures, though taken none too soon, may possibly revive the occupation in the waters near the coasts.

An industry of great antiquity and some importance in Japan is that of salt-refining. Rock-salt being practically absent from the mineral list of Japan, most of the salt used is extracted from sea-water either by natural or by artificial heat, the former agency being employed in Formosa in particular on account of that island's constant high temperature. The methods in vogue in both cases have remained unaltered for ages, and consist of the building at ebb-tide of a low circular wall on the foreshore, in which sea-water is half-evaporated. The mixture of brine and sand is then removed, and the evaporation process is completed, in Japan proper, in pans or other receptacles over a fire of faggots.

The salt-refining industry is now a Government monopoly, and a somewhat unpopular one, but it is well that a mineral of such importance in all countries should be exploited to its best advantage, and this could not be expected from the crude, slow methods of thousands of small manufacturers in every part of the Empire. Since 1898 several model salt-refineries have been established by the Government, in Chiba, Hiroshima, and other prefectures. The main source of supply in Japan proper are the coasts of the Inland Sea, but a great quantity is imported from Formosa.

The total production in Japan proper during the year ending March, 1910, was 587,000 tons. The industry now occupies 27,017 manufacturers (who sell their produce to the Government) and 114,411 employees, working an aggregate area of 19,264 acres of salt-grounds.

CHAPTER XVI

MINERAL RESOURCES

ALTHOUGH Japan does not excel as a mineral country from the point of view of production or export, she undoubtedly contains in greater or less abundance most of the species of the mineral kingdom, with the exception of precious stones. From the seventh or in any case the eighth century she has yielded gold and silver; Marco Polo reported that gold ores were plentiful in Japan, and there is some ground for the belief that the primary object of Columbus in sailing westward was to prospect for Japan's precious metals, yellow and white. Later in Japan's history, when she had left the age of wars behind her and was at peace under the Tokugawa Shogunate, we hear of the opening of mines which are famous to-day—the Kosaka silver and copper mines, the copper mines of Ashio and Besshi, the coal-mines of Miike and Takashima, and certain others. In those days, however, the working of mines was conducted largely upon a retail basis.

Opening
of famous
mines.

But with the dramatic change that followed Japan's abandonment of the policy of exclusion; with the phenomenal development of her shipping trade, of her railways, and of all her industries; with the clamorous demand of the new era for coal to transform into power and metals to forge into machines, and finally by the energetic action of an enlightened Government, the mining craft was raised within a few strenuous years from a blind groping for the

earth's buried treasure to a scientific search conducted in the light shed by technical knowledge; and the mining industry advanced in status from being the casual pursuit of a few hundreds to forming the sole and constant occupation of many thousands. With marvellous rapidity eager learners in a new school absorbed all the mining lore that foreign engineers, geological surveyors, and other experts, engaged by the Government when it took over the working of the principal mines, could impart to them, and the State pioneer undertakings worked by these students became thriving and well-ordered modern concerns, models to the private enterprises which soon sprang up in nearly every district of Japan.

The mining industry is to-day a factor of consequence in the national economy. There are in all 9,586 mines in Japan proper, and they occupy an area of 2,058,132 acres; they employ 233,827 workers and possess between them 1,236 miles of railways and 100 miles of wire-rope tramway, while such as produce oil have laid down 160 miles of pipes for its conveyance. With these agents they extracted in 1910 minerals to the value of £11,452,847.

Such are the bases of the present importance of the mining industry in Japan. To estimate its possibilities and its capacity for expansion in the future it will be necessary to examine into the extent and variety of the resources with which it can reckon.

The most important of Japan's minerals is a non-metal-coal. The anthracite mined in Amakusa is of excellent quality, somewhat similar to Welsh, and it is also found in Kii and Nagato, but only some £52,000 worth was produced in 1909. Brown bituminous coal of fair quality is the predominant type and occurs in large deposits in Hokkaido and Kiushiu; in the

latter island one big colliery, the above-mentioned Miike in Kumamoto, works two main layers, one 20 feet thick in parts, and produces about a million and a half tons yearly,¹ and there are some twenty mines in the Fukuoka district. The principal coal-field in Hokkaido is in the Ishikari district, and is 50 miles long by 12 miles broad. Honshiu has coal-fields at Iwaki and elsewhere, but the quality of the mineral is not so good. The best coal in Japan is produced at the Takashima mine near Nagasaki.

A total of 11,763,045 tons was mined in all Japan proper, representing an increase of 3,116,284 tons since 1900, and the supply, according to geological surveys, is enormous. The valuable Fushun mines in South Manchuria are dealt with in the chapter on Manchuria.

Copper is next in importance as a mineral product, Copper. and it occurs in deposits of two distinct kinds. The first and richest is as a vein in tuff or other volcanic rocks, the ore containing sometimes as much as 30 per cent. of copper. Deposits of this nature are worked by such mines as the Ashio in Tochigi and the Kosaka in Akita, by mines in Niigata and Fukushima, and by most of the others in the north of Honshiu generally. The second form of deposit, in which the percentage of copper rarely reaches 10 per cent. and is often as low as 2 per cent., occurs in the beds of crystalline schists which form the basis of Japan's geological structure, in veins 6 to 8 feet thick. Miyazaki, on the east coast of Kiushiu, is the principal district for this type of deposit, but with the exception of Saitaura, Shizuoka, Toyama, Oita, and Kagoshima, copper is mined in every district of Japan

¹ Thirty-five years ago only one colliery employed steam-power, and Japan's total output of coal was less than 200,000 tons a year.

proper, and the total output in 1909 reached a value of close upon two and a half millions sterling.

Of late years petroleum has become an important product of Japan's mineral kingdom. The petro-liferous strata apparently extend throughout the country from Karafuto to Taiwan in a narrow vein following the western coasts of the islands, and occur in tertiary rocks of the same geological epoch as those of Galicia, California, and Baku; but prospecting has had somewhat disappointing results, and the yield at present is almost entirely confined to the Niitsu, Higashiyama, Nishiyama, and Kubiki oil-fields in Niigata, from which, in 1909, oil and oil products were extracted to the value of over £700,000.

Gold occurs in three types of deposits, the most important of which is contained in quartz veins in volcanic rocks such as obtain in north Formosa generally and in Honshiu at Niigata and Sado (north-west), Fukushima (north-east), Hyogo (south-west), and other districts. Alluvial gold is found chiefly in Hokkaido, and to a lesser extent in Ishikawa (north central Honshiu), and in its third form (quartz veins in schists and palaeozoic rocks) gold exists in Shikoku, in the vicinity of the river Yoshino, and in the districts of Kesen in Hokkaido (Rikuchiu province). Gold, however, is produced in one form or another in nearly every *fu* and *ken* of Japan proper, Shiga, Miye, Wakayama, Nara, Osaka, Hiroshima, Tokushima, and Kumamoto being the exceptions. Kago-shima is by far the richest district, and next in importance are Niigata, Akita, Hokkaido (Shiribeshi and elsewhere), and Hyogo. The total value of the annual yield of Japan proper does not greatly exceed half-a-million sterling, but the extraction of gold increases steadily from year to year.

Silver is chiefly found in the form of sulphides in Silver-tuff and other volcanic rocks, and usually in association with gold, copper, lead, and zinc. The Kosaka mine and the Tsubaki mine in Akita (north Honshiu) each produced over a million ounces in 1909, and there are very few districts in which the white metal is not mined.

Iron occurs in considerable quantities in the form of Iron-sulphides (which, however, are not used), and as oxides, in which form it is worked chiefly for reduction purposes. Magnetite is the principal oxide, and the largest known deposit is at Yamawata, near Wakamatsu Harbour in Kiushiu, the site of the Government iron works. Smaller deposits of magnetite occur at Kamaishi in Iwate (north-east Honshiu) and many other places, and the total output of iron in 1909 was worth about £254,000. Hematite is found at Akadani and Kamo (north central Honshiu), Senninsan (Hokkaido), and elsewhere, and limonite, or hydrated oxide, occurs in small quantities in many places. Iron pyrite exists in large quantities in Akita, Gumma, and Ibaraki, and to a still greater extent in Yamanashi and Okayama in south Honshiu, but the value of the 1909 yield was under £11,000.

In comparison with her needs Japan is exceedingly poor in iron, there being but three iron-mines in the country; and the bulk of the raw material from which some 150,000 tons of pig iron are annually produced in Japan comes from the famous Taiya mines in China. But Japan is relatively rich in sand-iron, from which much is hoped and expected, not without good reason. Experiments have been successfully carried out in conjunction with the Armstrong & Vickers firms at the Muroran Steel Foundry of the Hokkaido Colliery and Steamship Company, and they have shown (1) that the proportion of sand-iron to the ores used that can be

satisfactorily melted is no less than 60 per cent., (2) that the sand-iron which the foundry will use contains, as compared with the Taiya ores, an appreciably smaller percentage of injurious ingredients such as phosphorus and copper, and (3) that sand-iron frequently contains the rare metal, palladium. The principal districts in which sand-iron occurs are Hokkaido, in the vicinity of Volcanic Bay, and central Japan generally.

In point of value sulphur is next on the list, and it is but natural that in so volcanic a country large deposits should be found. It is worked in Hokkaido, from which island comes about 70 per cent. of the total yield, and in Fukushima and the 'head' of the main island generally. Small quantities are produced in Kiushiu, in the districts of Kagoshima and Oita. Sulphur is one of the oldest of Japan's mineral exports, for it was shipped to Holland and China as far back as the fifteenth century. In 1909 over 33,000 tons were mined, worth about £82,000.

Zinc occurs in many veins as zinc blende, generally with other metallic sulphides. The Gifu district in central Honshiu is the richest, Fukushima being next in importance, but there are small mines in all the districts of the 'head' of the main island with the exception of Miyagi on the east coast. It exists also in Ishikawa and Toyama, on the west coast of central Honshiu, and there is a deposit of some little importance near Nagasaki, but the value of the total yield in 1909 was under £50,000. For lack of suitable smelting machinery zinc ores are shipped to Germany for refining.

Lead occurs as sulphides, containing more or less silver, in tuff and other volcanic rocks. Gifu again is the most productive district, the yield of the workings

in Niigata, Toyama, Shinane, and Okayama (north central Honshiu) being at present insignificant. In all, some £43,000 worth was produced in 1909.

Practically the only district at present producing tin ^{Tin.} is Kagoshima, though a very little is also found in Gifu and Ibaraki. The 1909 output of the Suzuyama mine in Kagoshima was valued at about £2,500, an unimportant sum, but sufficient to show that the metal exists in Japan.

The existence of antimony, at present worked almost ^{Anti-}exclusively in the district of Yehime in north-west ^{mony.} Shikoku, is another not unimportant source of mineral wealth in Japan. It is also found in Nara, near Osaka, and in Miyazaki (south-east Kiushiu) but to a very limited extent. In all, some £4,000 worth was mined in 1909.

Manganese ore occurs in Hokkaido and in several ^{Man-}districts of the other islands. About half of the total ^{ganese}yield in 1909 came from Aomori, the northernmost ^{ore.} district of the mainland, and it is mined in the Tochigi and Kyoto districts of Honshiu, in Kochi (south Shikoku), in Miyazaki, and elsewhere in negligible quantities. The value of the manganese ore produced in 1909 was approximately £5,200, but the yield for 1910 is estimated at a much lower figure.

An asphalt deposit occurs in the district of Akita ^{Asphalt.} and yielded over £9,000 worth of this substance in 1909. Graphite is found principally in Iwate (north Honshiu) ^{Graphite.} and in Hokkaido, Gifu, Toyama and Kagoshima, but only about £1,000 worth was mined in 1909.

The catalogue of the minerals which are known to exist in Japan may be completed by the bare enumeration of such as are produced at present in quantities too insignificant to mention. Phosphate ore, for ^{Other}instance, is found in the Tokyo and Ishikawa districts; ^{minerals.}

tungsten in Ibaraki; chrome iron ore in Okayama and Tottori (north central Honshu) and in Kumamoto (Kyuushu); arsenic in Niigata; molybdenite in Shimada (north-west Honshu) and in Gifu, and a very little mercury in Tokushima.

To the value of the total yield in 1909 of the minerals of Japan proper (i. e. excluding Formosa, Karafuto, and Korea) £5,962,536, or nearly 60 per cent., was contributed by the collieries. This preponderance of coal might be held to indicate a corresponding poverty in other mineral products, but as a matter of fact there is no single district that does not contain some mineral of value other than coal, and several of them are what might be called mineralogically rich. Moreover, the production figures are no criterion of the potential or even the actual mineral wealth of the country, for mining is perhaps the one important industry which has not kept pace with the recent industrial advance of Japan. Transport facilities are still lacking in many places where iron, for instance, is known to exist in large deposits and modern methods of extraction are not everywhere employed. When the necessary capital has been attracted to the industry it is certain that Japan's importance as a mineral country will vastly increase.

The condition of mining labour presents some singular features, not the least notable of which is, to English eyes, the absence of strikes and the workers' contentment with their wages and treatment, which, for those whose occupation is underground, are better than in the case of operatives in other industries. The coal miner (underground) earns about 2s. 1d. and the shaft worker approximately 1s. 10d. per day, which must be compared with the gardener's 1s. 6d., the fisherman's 1s., and the

bricklayer's 2s. 0½d. (to take examples at random); and the workers in other mines receive on an average 1s. 5½d. as miners and shaft hands and 1s. 1d. as sorters in metallic mines. Some of the men are natives of the district in which they work, but the majority come from neighbouring provinces, marry, settle down, and make a home near their mine, living in creditable cleanliness in thatched or tile-roofed dwellings provided by their employers. The unmarried men live together in large common-rooms. In many cases rice and other provisions are supplied by the mine owners at less than cost price, and the fact that the all-important item of food is assured to them undoubtedly contributes to the miners' satisfaction with their lot.

Mine owners bear the expense of hospital treatment in case of accidents, of pay during disablement and of compensation for permanent disablement or death, in which last event they also contribute towards the funeral expenses. Of such expenditure no statistics are available, but the sums disbursed by the large mines are considerable. In 1909 the accidents in all the mines of Japan proper numbered 14,803 and resulted in the deaths of 673 employees above and below the surface, severe injury to 496 and slight injury to 14,160, a casualty list aggregating 15,329.

The miners of the principal concerns have their Mutual Aid Associations, to whose funds the mine owners also contribute; and the miners' children are educated either at schools established by the mine owners, or at institutions subsidized by them, in which case the fee for tuition is, of course, reduced. The workers themselves are, on the whole, orderly and amenable to authority, though amongst them are certain undesirables, itinerant miners who never stay

Mine
owners'
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bilities to
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Acci-
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Miners'
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long in any district, and are constantly promoting disturbances.

A peculiarity of the mining labour class is the authority wielded by the gang-bosses, whose orders, whether right or wrong, are obeyed unquestioningly, and the essentially fraternal spirit which animates and unites all engaged in the extraction of minerals. If a man for some reason leaves a mine and seeks work in another, the mere mention of his gang-boss's name is sufficient to ensure him at least a friendly and charitable reception. On the other hand, a quarrel between one chief and another is promptly taken up by all the underlings of each, with the result that a small personal question frequently assumes the proportions of a riot. But this is practically the only kind of disturbance that involves suspension of work.

Five Mining Inspection Offices exercise control over such matters as ventilation, building, the use of explosives, provisions against accidents, and the like. One has jurisdiction over Hokkaido, another over Kiushiu, and the remainder control Shikoku and the three Honshiu districts. Each concessionaire must prepare and submit to the competent Office a set of rules for his workmen, stating the number of working hours, the nature of the work, the scale of compensation for injury, and so on, the object being to prevent harsh treatment of employees by employers, and thus to lessen the risk of disturbances.

Mining legislation in Japan, at no very remote date, prevented a foreigner both from working a mine himself and from becoming a member of a mine-operating concern, thus effectively preserving the industry for the people of the country. Since 1900, however, a foreign company has enjoyed equal rights under the

Japanese laws with a concern formed of the subjects of His Imperial Majesty. The Mining Regulations of 1890, found defective in several ways, were superseded by the Mining Law of 1905, which empowered the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce to grant, cancel, or suspend mining or prospecting rights, and also to delegate part of his authority to the directors of Mine Inspection Offices. As the regulations now stand the area of a mining 'set' must be, for collieries, not less than 50,000 *tsubo* (about 41 acres) nor less, for other mines, than 5,000 *tsubo*; and the area for mines of all kinds must not exceed 1,000,000 *tsubo* (about 820 acres). The Law of 1905 put a term to the practice of occupying a concession for an unlimited period without attempting to develop it, and the prospecting rights are now granted only for two years from the date of registration. A mine in operation pays an annual tax of 1 per cent. on the value of the products, except in the case of gold, silver, and iron ores. An unusual feature of Japanese mining law is that the owner of land is not *de facto* the owner of the minerals which it may contain; he must make his application for prospecting rights in the proper form, or in default the first applicant may supplant him on his own estate.

As to the conditions under which mines are worked in Japan at the present day, there is still room for improvement, but it may be said that lack of capital is responsible for most of the backwardness. Quite a number of coal-mines still use Lancashire boilers, which consume from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of their output, and on the other hand concerns like the Besshi Copper Mine, which has been in the Sumitomo family's possession since an ancestor discovered it in 1690, the Ashio, Fujita, and Kosaka Copper mining companies, the Miike Coal Mine and many others,

have installed the most costly and up-to-date plant, and in most cases have reaped the reward of their enterprise. To take but two outstanding instances, the plant designed for the prevention of mineral poison, introduced by the late Ichibei Furukawa at the Ashio Mine, has no equal in the world, and in that part of the Miike coal-fields which is owned by the Mitsui Company there is one large pump which drains the mine, raising ten tons of water for every ton of coal produced.

CHAPTER XVII

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

THE manufacturing industries have continued soberly prosperous for the last fifteen years. The important industries are in a stronger position than they were in 1896. The number of mills, factories, and plants, and the capital invested in industrial enterprises, have probably increased twofold; there has been a large increase in the number of hands, and official reports show that the wages of the workers in nearly all branches of industry have doubled. Speaking generally, the industrial districts of Japan have little reason to complain of the manner in which they have progressed, and there are signs of increased prosperity in the large centres of industrial activity. It is impossible in a work dealing with the recent progress of Japan to trace the history of the particular industries, which now form the basis of her strength as a manufacturing nation. It may be said that those which did exist before the Restoration have been born again, and that whilst the introduction of new methods may in some cases have sacrificed the artistic side of Japanese manufacture, it has made it possible for the Empire to enter into competition with the other great manufacturing nations of the world. In the course of her rise as an industrial nation Japan discovered that the profits from the minor arts and crafts, for which she was so rightly celebrated, were insufficient to support modern armies and build modern navies, and that only by manufacturing

Industrial
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Modern
Japan's
attention
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staple commodities on a large scale could she hope to become a first-class Power. Hence she went shrewdly to work establishing filature plant, building spinning-mills, introducing jacquard looms, improving her methods of dyeing, building plants for the manufacture of iron and steel and shipyards to construct a navy and a merchant marine. It was impossible to initiate and carry on these modern industries without some deterioration of those arts and crafts for which Japan in common with other Eastern countries had been famous for so many centuries. When she thus began to build factories, import filature plant and spinning and weaving machinery, equip and install machine-shops, and operate railways, the European world looked askance and suggested that Japan should stick to her handicrafts, in the skilful conduct of which she stood unrivalled. The fact is that the pressure of outside events compelled both the creation of the army and the navy and the establishment of industries on a modern basis. The great military and naval organizations which have been called into existence since the war with China, and their effective qualities in the field and on the high seas, have established the reputation of Japan as a first-class fighting nation—a courageous as well as a humane people. As she has returned, it is to be hoped permanently, to peaceful and industrial pursuits, we pass to the consideration of her industrial progress and to the development of the wider field of manufacturing industry that requires a different kind of talent to that which has given the country supremacy in the domain of art; yet the ability and the skill in organization which can successfully bring the machinery for modern military and naval operations into existence and can carry them through a series of

brilliant campaigns can surely be turned to the operation of manufacturing machinery with which to accomplish peaceful conquests in the markets of the world. In the manufacturing industries Japan has been successful—more successful than some thought possible, but less successful than the Japanese themselves expected they would be when they first laid down modern plants and adopted European methods of manufacture.

The weak points in Japanese industry to-day and those which will have to be strengthened before Japan can fulfil her ambition to become a great manufacturing as well as a great military nation are apparently these:—the absence of a permanent class of skilled labour; the entire dependence of her strongest industries upon the labour of women, which labour, by the very nature of things when these industries are carried on in factories, must be more or less intermittent and irregular; the relatively unimportant part occupied in her industries by iron and steel; the lack of trained artisans, which is one of the reasons why Japan has made no headway in the woollen industry; the employment of a million or more of bright and healthy men capable of receiving an industrial education, in the performance of tasks delegated in the great manufacturing nations to horses and mechanical traction. On the other hand it may be urged that twenty-five years is a short period in which to bring to perfection any new industry. Few of the factories, including those engaged in the textile, machinery, chemical, food supply, and miscellaneous industries of Japan, have been in existence for a period longer than this, and many of them are of more recent origin. It has been a less difficult task to crystallize a nation, whose higher and educated classes have always been imbued with the spirit of

Defects of
Japanese
industry.

military achievement, into a great military organization, than to build up industrial and trading organizations from among a population whose leaders, until recent years, had been taught to look down upon such occupations as sordid and beneath the attention of the upper classes. The city of Tokyo itself was, we are told, practically brought into existence by the requirements of the military classes, who had to be supplied with necessaries. This bred a great contempt for mechanical and trading pursuits which is only slowly disappearing.

There are, however, distinct signs of a change, and finance, business, commerce, and manufacture are attracting the best minds of the country, whilst technical schools and colleges and scientific training in the Higher Universities, as we have seen in the chapters on Education, are producing young men of great ability, who will be capable of organizing these industries in a manner not inferior to the best European and American standards. Some of the factories visited during the writer's recent stay in Japan are models of good organization, and reflect credit on the engineers and experts who have inaugurated and developed them. More especially is this commendable when it is remembered that there is an insufficient supply of iron and steel works qualified to turn out machinery and that there is only one really efficient steel foundry in the country, which is, moreover, operated by the Government. The Japanese, however, are themselves aware of these conditions and efforts are at present being made to alter them. In shipbuilding, for example, as the chapter on the Navy shows, exceptionally satisfactory progress has been made, but this, again, was a matter of necessity, for without a shipbuilding industry there can be no satisfactory navy.

It may be worth while, even at the cost of introducing a table, to take a bird's-eye view of the industries carried on in factories and shops which may be assumed to be equipped with the modern plants of Japan and employing, according to the latest available official figures (1910), over 800,000 hands :—

INDUSTRIES CARRIED ON IN FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

Occupation	Total number of Operatives			Industries carried on in Factories and Shops.
	Male	Female	Total	
Textile Factories	72,231	414,277	486,508	
Raw Silk	9,839	181,722	191,561	
Spinning	21,386	81,723	103,109	
Throwing	1,500	5,346	6,846	
Floss Silk	22	95	117	
Cotton Ginning and Refining	950	1,626	2,576	
Weaving	22,622	132,624	155,246	
Bleaching, Dyeing, Finishing	11,968	2,006	13,974	
Knitting and Braiding	2,174	3,789	5,963	
Embroidery	245	1,726	1,971	
Miscellaneous	1,525	3,620	5,145	
Machine and Tool Factories	60,721	3,100	63,821	
Machine-making	13,532	156	13,688	
Shipbuilding and Carriage-making	21,124	119	21,243	
Tool-making	10,941	962	11,903	
Foundry, Metal, and Metal-ware making	15,124	1,863	16,987	
Chemical Works	51,805	26,078	77,883	
Ceramics	28,749	5,617	34,366	
Lacquer-ware	932	113	1,045	
Paper Mills	7,410	4,886	12,296	
Leather and Fur Dressing	728	68	796	
Explosives	4,975	12,136	17,111	
Oils and Waxes	2,021	366	2,387	
Medicines and Chemicals	2,529	1,047	3,576	
Gums	552	286	838	
Toilet-articles	143	333	476	
Soaps and Candles	591	536	1,127	
Dye-stuff, Paints, Varnishes, Lacquers, Pigments, Pastes, &c.	564	151	715	
Artificial Manures	1,960	264	2,224	
Miscellaneous	651	275	926	

Occupation	Total number of Operatives		
	Male	Female	Total
Food and Drink Factories . . .	64,320	24,420	88,740
Brewery	35,655	911	36,566
Sugar	1,055	116	1,171
Tobacco	3,174	14,253	17,427
Tea	7,680	4,742	12,422
Rice and Flour Mills . . .	5,829	310	6,139
Lemonade, Ice and Mineral Waters	796	561	1,357
Confectionery	3,693	477	4,170
Canning and Bottling . . .	1,008	1,144	2,152
Curing of Animal Products .	30	8	38
Curing of Fishing Products .	2,880	975	3,855
Miscellaneous	2,520	923	3,443
Miscellaneous Factories . . .	54,197	25,576	79,773
Printing and Publishing . .	18,687	2,635	21,322
Paper-ware	2,518	2,364	4,882
Wood and Bamboo Work . .	15,824	3,537	19,361
Leather-ware	1,589	140	1,729
Feather-ware	1,074	891	1,965
Matting and Straw-braids .	1,024	2,993	4,017
Articles of Precious Stones,			
Horns, &c.	1,206	60	1,266
Miscellaneous	12,275	12,956	25,231
Special Factories	3,865	47	3,912
Electrical Industry	2,307	8	2,315
Gas	398	3	401
Metal-refineries	1,160	36	1,196
Total	307,139	493,498	800,637

These figures, in which the numbers of men and women operatives stand in the proportion of about five to three, clearly indicate the preponderance of women workers. Nearly 40,000 of the total number of operatives are children under fourteen years of age, whose work it is hoped the operation of the new factory law will eliminate. The wages paid in those occupations and the hours of labour are treated in the chapter on Labour and Wages. As will be seen, the textile and allied industries rank first. Most of the really successful industries have been developed by the industry of Japanese women, and too much credit cannot be given to them. As

the home industries, such as weaving, are compelled to give way to the power loom, women will be less able to use their labour to advantage, and their places must be taken by trained men operatives, like those of Lancashire and Yorkshire. In the treatment and manufacture of silk — Japan's strongest industry — women remain supreme, but this is because the industry can be carried on in conjunction with their household duties. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the progress made in the several branches of the silk industry, and the same applies with equal force to the advance made in the cotton-spinning industry. The spinning of silk yarns from waste silk is making headway and is being carried on in a manner that would be creditable to a Bradford spinning-mill. The advantage of sending abroad 'dressed silk' at 4s. per pound and 'spun silk' at 6s. per pound instead of 'waste silk' at 1s. per pound is evident. The difference in the price is almost entirely represented by labour — and a kind of labour in which Japan excels. The Osaka district continues to push the weaving of cotton cloths, especially cotton flannel sheetings and cotton tissues.

Silk and
Cotton
spinning.

Attention must now be given to the manufacture of the finer grades of goods in which Japan should excel and of which she buys larger quantities annually from abroad. At the Nagoya Exhibition (1910) and also at the Commercial Museum in Kyoto the writer inspected examples of fine cotton yarns, cotton velvets, and some high-class goods which indicate that manufacturers are alive to advances in the industry. The hemp and flax industry has remained stationary, yet Japan should do good work in this branch of manufacture. Hardly any headway has been made in the manufacture of woollen goods, and those which

are produced are mostly woven from imported yarns. The first Japanese woollen factory was only started in 1877 by the Government, and in 1880 was transferred to the absolute control of the War Office. Other woollen enterprises have done but poorly—and yet Japan is thousands of miles nearer the Australian wool market than Europe. There are some mousseline-de-laines made in Japan, but they are not yet equal to the imported goods.

In the chapter on Population and Occupations will be found an estimate of the number of people engaged in the various occupations. The figures in the above table only give those employed in factories. For instance, about 155,000 are returned as engaged in weaving. If to this number were added those engaged in house weaving there would be found over 750,000 operatives employed in the weaving industries, and the annual value of the products is close on £25,000,000. The goods manufactured are chiefly for home consumption. House industries are still very important in Japan, and are responsible for a good deal of the manufactured output.

In industries such as machine construction, the manufacture of paper, of matting, of porcelain, and of lacquer, there has not been much change. In fifteen years the manufacture of matches, of brushes of all kinds, and of straw and chip braids, has made highly satisfactory progress, the output and exports having probably doubled since 1896. The match industry has been exceptionally successful, and the value of the export of matches has increased from £500,000 in 1896 to nearly £1,500,000 last year. The match industry is not included in the report on factories and shops. The leading match districts are in Aichi, Hyogo, and Osaka, and nearly 18,000

hands are reported as employed in this industry. Over 50 million gross of matches were exported last year. China and India are the principal markets. The refining of sugar, the brewing of *sake*, and the flour-milling industry have all increased in importance with the growth of population and with the improved capacity for consumption due to the rise in wages. The numerous minor industries of Japan—for example, the manufacture of bamboo wares, fans, and leather goods—are very prosperous.

The supply of coal in Japan is sufficient, and that Coal. supply has been reinforced by the excellent coal of the Fushun mines of South Manchuria. The production has increased from 5 million tons in 1896 to nearly 12 million tons last year (Japan proper), and will, with these new supplies, soon reach 20 million tons per annum. The production of iron is insufficient Iron. and must come from either China or Chosen, unless the utilization of iron-sand (discussed in the chapter on mineral resources) in the manufacture of steel should prove successful. Of the 450,000 tons of pig-iron consumed in Japan, only 150,000 tons were made in the country, and 60 per cent. of that amount was produced in the Government steel foundry in Wakamatsu. This pig-iron was made from the magnetic ores of the Taiya mines in China. The production of Copper. copper in Japan continues to increase. The total Mineral annual value of the output of minerals, which has output, and hands more than doubled since 1900, is estimated at nearly employed in mining £11,500,000, three-fourths of which is represented by industries. coal and copper. The total number of hands employed in the mines has increased by more than 100,000 in ten years. In 1900 the number was 131,011, and last year it had reached the total of 233,827. Of this total the coal-mines employed 152,515, metal mines

74,105, and non-metallic mines 7,207. Japan is divided into five mine inspection districts, and care is exercised to prevent accidents and protect the interests of the miners.

The hopes for a larger supply of petroleum have not been realized, and the existing wells furnish about one-third of the amount consumed.

In the basic industries, with the exception of coal and copper, the situation remains unchanged since 1896. The same is true of agriculture, the fisheries, and forestry, which industries are also treated in special chapters. The Japanese are showing great skill in the conservation of all natural resources. A Central Laboratory has been established at Tokyo for the purpose of research work. It has five sections, (1) mineral, (2) technological, (3) ceramic and machine-making, (4) dyeing, and (5) electric. The first section undertakes analyses of ores and raw materials used in manufacture, the second at present conducts experiments on lacquer wares with the object of finding proper materials for lacquering in order to prevent the cracking of the wares in Europe and America, where the climate is far drier than in Japan; the section also deals with coloured lacquers, paper and match manufacture, and the refining of fish-oils and oils contained in the pupa of silkworms. The third is carrying on experiments with the object of encouraging the use of machines among Japanese ceramists, the ceramic industry still remaining more or less in the family stage of development; it is also contriving machines adapted to the peculiar conditions of Japan. In the fourth section experiments are being made on foreign artificial indigo.

The Government has sent students abroad, in all about 300, for the purpose of acquiring practical

knowledge in relation to manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. At the present time 110 young Japanese are thus engaged. The Economic Investigation Committee is a useful adjunct to industrial work. It is composed of seventy members, including Members of Parliament, Government officials, professors, and leading manufacturers, and its object is the investigation of all matters relative to the promotion of industry and commerce. Effort is being made under the direction of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce to keep Japan ahead of the times in manufacturing and industry, and the practical way the Government has gone about this work deserves the highest praise. The result of such painstaking endeavour cannot fail to be beneficial.

Japanese artisans, though quick to learn, are said by friendly critics to lack thoroughness, and do not confine themselves to one kind of work. They like to change their occupations. Up to the present time combination among labourers is weak, and trade unions, as they are understood in England and elsewhere, are practically unknown. Labourers are therefore to a large extent at the mercy of their employers.

A serious disadvantage to which Japanese factories are subject is that the work, especially in machine construction, is not yet specialized. It is only in the making of lathes, gas and oil engines, and motors of various descriptions, milling machines, and a few other lines of industry that progress has been made in this direction. The principal reason why specialization is not so marked in Japan is because the demand for any one kind of machine is limited, both at home and in China and Chosen, and does not warrant the construction of a number of machines. Owing to a want of sufficient skill in manufacturing on a large scale, and

to the diverse methods pursued in regard to family industries, Japanese productions lack uniformity in quality. In cotton-spinning, for instance, Professor Y. Takenob, the editor of the *Japan Year Book*, a publication which every one interested in Japan should possess, says that owing to this lack of skill, and also to 'the practice of night-work, yarns spun by the same hand in the same mill are not strictly uniform in quality'. Many spinning-mills are obliged to undertake weaving as a means of disposing of their yarns. Raw silk as exported to the United States is not as acceptable to large shops as Italian productions, simply because Japanese silk lacks uniformity and is not well suited for warping. If these defects could be remedied—and every effort is being made to improve the quality of the raw silk—Japan would have no reason to fear Italian competition.

In the supply of raw materials, Mr. Takenob adds, Japanese industries are not as yet self-dependent. Cotton-spinning is carried on with cotton imported from Bombay, China, and the United States. Flour-milling is partially dependent on American wheat, for the grain produced in Japan is of poor quality and not sufficiently abundant. Machine construction depends on the iron brought over from the Taiya mines in China. The paper industry has still to rely upon the pulp coming from Scandinavia, though the pulp-mills that have been constructed in Formosa and Hokkaido may in future be expected to yield enough raw material for home requirements.

For artificial fertilizers Japan uses phosphates from the United States, South America, India, and Australia, and bean cake from Manchuria. The woollen industry is solely dependent on the tops coming from Australia

and the yarns from England. Ship building must have foreign teak and steel. All the factory and mining industries, printing, and many other trades, are worked with imported machinery. Japan is self-supporting in silk weaving, the preparation of national liquors, soy brewing, matches, porcelains, and some other articles.

Professor Takenob cannot be accused of optimism. He presents the unvarnished facts, and he is less hopeful than are many of his compatriots. Moreover, he does not share the present writer's sanguine belief in the industrial future of Japan. It is possible that the professor, dealing as he does from year to year with the statistics of the industrial progress of the Empire, does not realize how great the improvement and advance in manufacturing has been when the comparison is made over a longer period, say of fifteen or twenty years.

Japanese
opinion
upon the
industrial
situation.

We have said that the Japanese have discovered that the progress of industry cannot depend wholly upon cheap labour. Experience, skill, training, steady application, and a plentiful and easily accessible supply of raw material with cheap capital are equally important elements in the problem.

The progress during the last twenty years has been marked. It is hardly fair to expect that the same rate can be maintained. Like the human body, the growth during the earlier years is more rapid than during the later period. No objection can be urged, in view of the present protective policies of the principal nations of the world, against the ambition of the Japanese to supply their own home markets with manufactured articles and to build up their own industries. Equally laudable is the desire to supply neighbouring countries with the products of their own

factories and workshops. To do this successfully manufacturers must have cheap capital, skilled labour and good machines, and they must exercise great care and caution, not only in the organization and management of their factories, but in the maintenance of the quality of their products. This is recognized by such men as Baron Shibusawa, who has, during his long life, interested himself continuously in the material progress of Japan.

In discussing this question Baron Shibusawa said to the writer:—

‘Our industrial advancement is more encouraging but furnishes us with no reason for cessation of careful attention. Mechanical processes are gradually superseding manual crafts and subsidiary occupations, until we have now almost every manufacture to be met with in Europe and America, but the scale of our operations, and the extent of our output cannot be compared with industrial centres abroad. We are mainly lacking in skill of manipulation, perfection of execution, and capacity for output.’

That the Japanese recognize their own defects is one of the surest indications that they will eventually remedy them. They are certainly going about the problem in a sensible and practical way.

In a brief memorandum which Mr. Takenob prepared for the writer when he was in Japan he takes the ground that the average wages of skilled labourers are about one-eighth of the wages current in the United States and about one-third of the English wages. Though in point of efficiency the Japanese skilled labourer is far inferior to the skilled labourer of either of these two countries, Mr. Takenob is of opinion that the difference of capacity is less than the difference in wages. There is a satisfactory supply of labourers in

Japan for machine construction, as the workshops belonging to the Army and Navy have acted as training schools. There are, however, not enough of such labourers to enable factory owners to regulate the number of men they employ in accordance with the demands of the market. The owners are often obliged to retain the services of men when the market is slack, because if once hands are discharged it is a difficult matter, should trade revive, to procure others to fill their places. This puts the Japanese manufacturer at a great disadvantage in the matter of labour supply. On the other hand, it is contended that skilled labourers have a just grievance in the lack of appreciation of their services by their employers, many of whom still continue to regard even the managers and foremen of their factories and workshops as mere artisans, and refuse to extend to them the consideration which men in such positions receive in European countries. The result is that only a small percentage of skilled labourers of over fifty years of age remain in subordinate service. They generally resign and either set up shops of their own, or turn to some other business in which their savings can be utilized as capital.

Mr. E. P. Purvis, Professor of Naval Architecture in the Tokyo Imperial University, fully confirms what has been said above in relation to the Japanese workman, and thus describes the labour conditions in the shipyards :—

‘The labour conditions in connexion with ship-building form an interesting study. If it were possible to make a fair comparison of cost at home and abroad some curious features would be observed. The daily wage to every class of workman is well known, also the number of hours worked ; the interest taken by the individual workman in his particular job is probably as keen as in other countries ; piece-work and the

premium system have been introduced with a view to economy of cost and time. Under certain circumstances competition with England and other countries seems to be possible ; in other cases the cost of production elsewhere is no doubt largely exceeded. The want of that experience which extends, in other lands, over many generations, counterbalances, and far more than counterbalances, any advantages which Japan possesses in the form of cheap labour, a willingness to learn, and a keen zest for success. Together with his inexperience must at present be coupled the ordinary inability of a Japanese workman to appreciate that "time is money", or, indeed, the necessity in any form for that race against time which is so large a feature in our own and in some other lands.'

Mr. Takenob also takes the position—though it is doubtful whether he could sustain it if it were possible to ascertain the facts—that though the unit of efficiency of a Japanese skilled labourer is decidedly below that of a similar labourer in England or America, the woman operative, especially in mills and factories, has a higher degree of efficiency than her sister operative in Europe. He thinks one Japanese woman operative can easily turn out an amount of work equivalent to that which would require $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ hands in the West. The deft hand-work by female operatives, may, indeed, be regarded as materially contributing towards the success of many of the leading industries of Japan. The last statement is correct and has already been emphasized, but doubt exists as to the truth of Mr. Takenob's first assertion. The relative inferiority of male operatives may be partly attributed to the defective factory arrangements, and partly to the lack of the efficient organization that characterizes European and American factories.

While travelling in Japan during 1896 the writer

noticed in several of the important centres of manu-^{Com-}
facture signs of a decided awakening to the necessity^{mercial}
of governmental or other supervision of manufacturers.^{Morality.}
Japanese goods had begun to find their way abroad,
and the first samples having proved satisfactory, large
orders were received from various countries for addi-
tional supplies of goods of a similar kind and quality.
Unhappily for the honest Japanese manufacturer, those
of his compatriots who were not troubled with a
conscience sent abroad articles inferior to those ordered,
and there were many complaints of deficient weight,
shortage in length, and lack of uniformity in workman-
ship, to say nothing of poor quality of raw material
used in the manufacture. Owing to this carelessness,
and in many cases to intentionally dishonest methods
of doing business, Japanese manufactured goods lost
character in the foreign markets, and in many cases
rugs, mattings, and even textiles of certain kinds
became unsaleable. As a remedy, guilds were formed,^{Guild}
and it may be remembered that in certain flagrant^{super-}
instances of deception drastic methods of punishment^{vision.}
were adopted. These industrial guilds caused an
examination of the goods ready for shipment abroad
to be made, and where they were found to be of poor
quality and workmanship, quantities of the condemned
articles were publicly burned. This was done for the
purpose of impressing foreign purchasers with the fact
that Japan had awakened to the necessity of thorough
and honest workmanship, and that the more respon-
sible of the manufacturers would undertake, through
these organizations, to see that foreign importers were
supplied with goods of the standard and of the quality
which they had ordered.

Since that time guilds have made great progress in
all parts of the country, and as the result of investiga-

tions made by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce there have been established throughout Japan over 6,000 such guilds. They deal with agricultural, industrial, and commercial matters, and also with the fishing industry and forestry. Their influence has produced a marked improvement in the character of Japanese industry.

Fifteen years ago the critics of Japan's business morality were, in a measure, justified in their criticisms. The only excuse which could be offered for such shortcomings was that industrialism in Japan, though it had rapidly developed, was still in its infancy.

During the last ten years there has been a decided improvement in the quality of workmanship and in the business methods in vogue. Technical knowledge has increased during this period, and the wages paid for nearly all kinds of manufacturing labour are twice what they were in 1896. With increased wages comes a higher standard of living and a greater efficiency in workmanship should follow. There is no reason why Japan should not produce in those departments of industry suited to her labour a superior quality of manufactures. A better educated and more thoroughly equipped merchant is entering the fields of trade and manufacture in Japan. In the early days merchants and manufacturers were looked down upon, and were almost regarded as inferior beings—certainly inferior to the old samurai class. The development of modern industry or commerce and the increasing requirements of modern life have made it necessary for the better classes to enter these occupations. Great business enterprises are, therefore, no longer conducted by men who have little or no standing in their own country, but are in the hands of men who rank in education and social standing on an equality

with the governmental class, and who, by reason of the increasing intercourse with Western nations, are themselves becoming persons of importance, equally anxious to obtain a high character for probity abroad and to maintain their position as honourable merchants and manufacturers at home. In other words the Japanese manufacturers and the Japanese merchants are rapidly assuming positions similar to those occupied by their contemporaries in Europe and America. Other countries, as for instance Germany, have lived down their reputation for cheap and inferior goods, and there is no reason why, with proper care in the selection of raw material, the systematic use of the best machinery, and the employment of better trained and better paid labour, Japan should not, so far as quality is concerned, produce manufactured articles that will rank in the world's market equally with those of any other nation.

CHAPTER XVIII

LABOUR AND WAGES

THE working classes in Japan are, on the whole, peaceful. They are not organized and are without unions, co-operative bodies, and similar organizations for the advancement of their condition. The actual state of factory labour is not so deplorable as it is generally supposed to be, and allowances should be made for the absence, until this year, of any Factory Act. It is, however, advisable to be prepared to meet evils that may arise. Already a change has taken place in the relationship between employer and employee. The old spirit of benevolence and loyalty between master and servant is rapidly passing away. On the whole, Japanese workers are obedient and not exacting. For this reason they are all the more deserving of sympathy, and should be protected from the oppression of shortsighted and unreasonable employers. They are almost powerless, for such organizations as they have are imperfect, if not totally lacking in strength or influence. There are a few remnants of the old guilds, whilst new unions are in process of formation. These are local in character, and limited to such special trades as tailoring, carpentry, masonry, and some others. The Japanese labourer at present seems quite contented with his lot and makes little progress in improving it. There has been a steady rise in wages, and, though they are still low, they have increased at a higher ratio than the price of commodities. The factory owners are begin-

ning to realize the necessity for more efficient labour, and would like to see steadier work and shorter hours. The Japanese factory hand, they say, is too much inclined to take things easily and work and play at the same time, but as the factory system becomes more developed and the wealth of the nation increases, his attitude is bound to change, though at present the movement is very slow.

Japan has hitherto been free from strikes and trade disputes such as are common in Europe and America. It is true that labour disturbances have occurred in Japan, generally in the mining regions, a department of industry which for some time has been supervised and regulated by the Government under the Mining Act of 1905. This Act, when compared with similar legislation in Great Britain, is rather elementary. It requires that all wages shall be paid in the currency of the country, at least once a month. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce is empowered to restrict the employment of female and juvenile workers in mines, and also to exercise control over the age of workmen in general, and the Act further imposes upon mine-owners the responsibility of giving relief to the families of miners who are disabled or killed by accidents. The prevailing motive of the labour disturbances has usually been some personal grievance, and the movement has been directed against the incompetency of managers and foremen. In most instances an increase of wages and changes in the management have followed the strikes. The country is to be congratulated on the fact that, generally speaking, obedience and an old-fashioned sense of duty to masters still remain among workers. Social problems, as they are understood in Europe and America, do not yet trouble Japan—for she has no suffering poor, no millionaires (in the sense

Comparative freedom from labour disturbances.

Provisions of the Mining Act.

in which the word is understood elsewhere) and comparatively little unemployment. In one way, the Japanese are intensely communistic and very socialistic, for there are no class divisions as we understand them. Class hatred is entirely unknown, for there are no elements with which to kindle it. There is no necessity for any sharp division between capital and labour, or between high and low, which is one of the reasons why as yet there is no strong socialistic tendency in the country.

Herein lies the ground for the hope that Japan may succeed in securing an amicable and harmonious solution of the hardest problem of modern times, owing to the preservation of the good old custom of appreciation on the side of the master and loyalty on the side of the servant. If this spirit could be applied to the operation of the new Factory Law, Japan might be able to show a new way to solve social problems, by bringing into harmony the two conflicting elements—capital and labour. But should she fail in this, she will have no choice but to drift with the general tide, and thus place her industries, State, and society at the mercy of socialistic extremists, who, although at present few in number, and so far powerless, may some day assume a position not less threatening than the one they now occupy in the leading countries of Europe and America.

After his second visit to Japan in 1910 the writer in a letter to the *Times* said :—

‘For ten years efforts have been made to pass a Factory Act, but the Bill preferred at the last Session of the Diet was finally withdrawn March 23, 1910. It is believed that the Factory Bill, after further revision, will be sent to the next Session of the Japanese Diet. The sooner that the country enacts a factory law the better it will be for both the

owners and the operatives of the factories. The profits of some of these mills have been enormous, from a European point of view, and it is surprising that the owners have not seen the wisdom of doing more than they have done for the hands employed.'

On May 21, 1911, the writer received a telegram from Mr. Soyeda of Tokyo, saying that the Factory Act had passed the Diet. The law enacted was not at all what the friends of the measure desired, as concessions had to be made to the factory owners in the way of postponing its operations for certain periods in relation to the employment of women and children. Nevertheless, it is a movement in the right direction and will, when it is fully in operation, do much towards alleviating the conditions of factory life. It received only a very lukewarm reception, which, however, is not surprising. Factory organization is still only in its infancy in Japan, and naturally the views of the capitalists receive far more attention than do those of the labourers. The factory owner has always found labourers who were quite willing to accept his terms. Moreover, it must be remembered that the lower classes in Japan are used to working hard for very little pay, and consequently the conditions of factory life do not seem so bad to the Japanese themselves as they do to English visitors. Although the hours are long, work is not nearly so strenuous as in England, and in some factories the hands are kindly and liberally treated by their employers. The knowledge of this fact probably caused a great number of the members of the Diet to consider such a law unnecessary, but there is no doubt that serious abuses are prevalent in some of the smaller factories, and the Bill should afford protection to all classes of factory workers.

Japan never adopts anything in its entirety. Even some of the transplanted religions have had to be modified to suit the country. Sometimes this process improves the idea or method transplanted, and sometimes it does not. Hence, when Japan introduced the British factory system in spinning- and weaving-mills, she rejected, in spite of repeated appeals from public-spirited Japanese, the factory laws and regulations which go with it. With abundant labour at fourpence or fivepence per day, with the bright eyes and nimble fingers of operatives willing to work for twelve hours a day, and on Sundays, and without a murmur to keep the machinery running all night as well as all day, well might Manchester, New England, and the textile districts of France, Germany, and Italy recognize Japan's competition. These views found expression in Japan five years ago in the speeches of statesmen, and in the writings of the newspaper press.

What is the situation in the manufacturing districts of Japan to-day? The factories are still buzzing night and day; thousands of young girls are still contracting to live for three years in a 'compound' like so many peas in a pod, and to work in the mills for twelve hours per day one week and twelve hours per night the next.

There is over four times as much capital invested in industrial enterprises now as in 1896 (90 million *yen* in 1896, and 400 million *yen* in 1910); the number of factory operatives then was 434,332 and now is 800,637—307,139 male and 493,498 female; and twice the amount of products are manufactured. The operatives, over half of whom are engaged in the textile industries, are no doubt better cared for, and many mill owners show almost paternal solicitude for their employees' welfare. There are cases of remark-

able progress. In one instance the writer visited the mills of a concern that was organized in 1896, and which last December had over 16,000 operatives on the pay roll. In the newer mills of this company the condition of the operatives seems satisfactory. They look well fed, rosy, and happy. Their dormitories are clean, and their food is, from the Japanese point of view, wholesome and sufficient. One of these mills was situated near Tokyo and the other near Yokohama, but only a few of the operatives are drawn from these localities; nearly all of them come from the country districts, and are the daughters of small agriculturists.

The services of these girls are contracted for at prices varying from fourpence to sevenpence per day. They are furnished with lodging, medical treatment, facilities for doing their own laundry work, and with books from a common library. The younger ones receive some instruction. They are also provided with amusements, such as dancing and theatrical entertainments, within the compound, and at times they are given a holiday and are allowed to go outside. They must, however, pay for their food, which costs them three *sen* (three farthings) a meal, or $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per day. In Japan it would be impossible to keep these young girls and women in families and boarding-houses, and therefore it is useless to bemoan the evils of the industrial compounds.

Under the new factory law these compounds will be inspected and regulated, and the conditions will be greatly improved. As they are at the present time, some are comfortable, and the wants of the operatives are fairly well cared for, whilst others are bad, and the houses where these hard-working, cheerful little creatures eat, sleep, and work, are damp, comfortless,

and forlorn. The places where the food is served are little better than sheds, with leaking roofs and gaping walls, while pools of water accumulate on the earthen floor. The seats of the operatives are four-inch bare boards, and the tables two ten-inch boards nailed together. Their sleeping quarters are a trifle better; the floors are covered with tatima matting, upon which they sleep in rows, fifty, or even a hundred, in a room. In spite of this apparently harsh method of life, the operatives look well, seem contented and even cheerful, and are ever busy at their work. The above was the typical Japanese spinning-factory in 1896. There have been marked improvements in some of the concerns since then, but there are far too many of the old kind remaining.

So long as there was no factory law, and so long as this state of affairs existed, the condition of the operatives engaged in the industries of Japan could not be on a par with those of the other manufacturing countries. Big factories have arisen one after another; the rural population has begun to migrate towards industrial centres, and the evils natural to the concentration of labour are now making their appearance. On account of the low wages of minors and women, and also because of their being less troublesome to manage, there is a constantly growing demand for women and child workers. The injurious effects of over-work, of unsanitary conditions, and especially of the night work, endanger both their mental and their physical health.

But wherein lies the value of all this cheap labour, and the wisdom of working nights and days and Sundays? It does not show in the results. Cheap labour the Japanese factories may have, but they have not experienced labour nor have they sufficient

expert labour. The girls thus employed usually remain during the contract period, and then a good many of them return home. Their places must be filled by inexperienced hands. Instead of encouraging the creation of a class of skilled labour, as the term is understood in Europe and America, the present system compels the Japanese mill owner to secure his supply of labour from a class of totally untrained girls, many of them but twelve or fourteen years of age, some of whom, before they have developed into capable operatives, return home, marry, or seek other employment.

In factories, where female workers outnumber the males, the proportion of juveniles is relatively greater ^{Child labour.}—the explanation being that mothers often take their children, and sisters their younger brothers with them into factories. The fundamental reason why so many female and juvenile hands are employed seems partly to lie in the character of Japanese industries. As the country does not abound in iron, but is by nature more adapted to silk raising, the general disposition is towards spinning and weaving, for which female and child labour is best fitted. Moreover, as the factory system is not so fully developed and intensified as is the case in Europe and America, the attendant evils, it is fair to admit, are less in number and extent. Factory buildings are low, and are generally isolated in the country districts; also they are well ventilated.

Then the idea of taking children to work in factories is welcomed especially by female workers, and the family spirit is often encouraged by factory owners themselves. Nevertheless this state of things is gradually undergoing a change, as labour becomes more concentrated and intensified and competition keener. In extreme cases, especially in small and

badly-managed factories, life, it is said, is becoming so intolerable that experienced female hands would leave if they could, and it is becoming more and more difficult to obtain new hands. In others, ill-health and premature death not unfrequently remove operatives who are satisfied and who wish to retain their places.

The primary school education, though compulsory, cannot be well enforced in the case of children in factories, and the moral standard of these little workers is becoming lowered, threatening an ultimate general deterioration of the working class. Various means to obtain workers from rural districts are resorted to by factory owners. What is called 'inter-factory plundering' of workers has become common, proving that the supply of hands is far from meeting the increasing demand. The position and daily life of these dormitory operatives is frequently pitiable, though the evils arising from this system of labour are in some cases tempered, as we have already seen, by humanity and kindness.

Intelligent and thoughtful mill-owners even go so far as to make their factories homelike. Schools, libraries, bath-rooms, recreation grounds, and flower gardens are furnished, while facilities for making savings and other methods of mutual help are provided. Such owners entertain their workers with picnics and theatrical performances, using the means at their command for the comfort and encouragement of their employees. These, however, are the exceptions, and the necessity has arisen for some kind of State intervention to ameliorate extreme cases of bad management, and to control the threatening evils before they become too serious.

The principal objection heretofore urged against

factory legislation was that the only weapon Japan had to fight the keen competition of the present day was her cheap labour. To this those who have at last obtained such legislation reply :—‘The wages of labour in Japan have in most cases risen considerably of late, whilst the efficiency of labour is at a standstill, if not on the decrease, thus making meaningless the plea of the so-called cheap labour as a national weapon.’ If we go to the bottom of the question and consider what is being paid as wages and what is being obtained as the product of labour in Japan, we may find that the Japanese labour is not cheaper than that in other countries. Even granting this, however, there still remains the fact that wages in Japan are low. It may not follow that remedial legislation will cause losses to the employers. The operation of this law will most likely increase the real efficiency of labour.

The magnitude of the change in the labour market foreshadowed by the Factory Act that has recently passed the Diet is anticipated in the arrangement whereby the law will not become operative for five years, in order that there may be no sudden dislocation of industry. The prohibition of the employment of children under twelve, and the restriction that women and children under fifteen must not work more than twelve hours a day would, if suddenly enforced, disorganize a great many industries where fifteen and sixteen hours for both these classes of employees have been the rule, and particularly, for instance, the match industry, where practically the whole of the work is done by quite young children. The existing conditions of factory labour in Japan can be inferred from the provisions of this new Act, which embody principles long since accepted by countries which possess factory legislation even in its

most primitive form. The following are the chief provisions and restrictions :—

‘Night work is limited to men more than fifteen years old, except when there are two shifts a day at the machines. Two holidays a month are enforced (hitherto in some instances there has rarely been a holiday all the year round). In cases where there is night work four holidays a month must be granted. Women and children under fifteen are not allowed to work at dangerous employments or to handle dangerous materials. Men who are ill and women who expect motherhood or who recently have become mothers must not be employed. The liability of the employers is recognized by the new labour law, but the provisions under this head have not yet been worked out.’

Mr. Charles V. Sale in an exhaustive paper read March 21, 1911, before the Royal Statistical Society, wisely suggests caution in estimating the economic progress of Japan in money values. This applies with equal force when dealing with the increase of wages. As will be seen in the chapter on currency, in 1871 the coinage system was remodelled, but further changes occurred in the ratio between the two metals in consequence of the world-wide fall in the price of silver. In 1858 the ratio was 8 of silver to 1 of gold; in 1859, 15 or 16 of silver; in 1871, 16 to 1; and in 1879, 32 to 1. The large increase, therefore, of the money proceeds from taxation does not imply a corresponding augmentation in the individual burden: nor does the increase in wages and prices of staple commodities, as shown in the following table borrowed from Mr. Sale’s paper, imply an actual improvement in purchasing power :—

	1887	1897	1907	1908
Taxes and stamp receipts	100	138	413	412
Price of foodstuffs—				
Rice	100	251	340	324
Barley	100	207	231	260
Wheat	100	203	252	245
Wages—				
Farm labour (daily)	100	204	261	282
Carpenter	100	194	335	361
Blacksmith	100	182	300	313

The corollary of this reduction in the currency unit of gold to one-fourth of its original weight would be a corresponding increase in prices and wages. There has been, however, after making due allowance for the fluctuation in currency, an actual increase of wages during the period when currency has remained unchanged, as will be seen by the following comparisons which the writer compiled when in Japan last year, showing the daily wages paid in a number of industries in 1895 and in 1910 :—

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	1895	1910
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
Carpenter	0.312	0.810
Plasterer	0.313	0.840
Stone-cutter	0.359	0.960
Sawyer	0.307	0.780
Shingle-roofer	0.293	0.790
Tile-roofer	0.325	0.970
Brickmaker	0.380	0.740
Bricklayer		1.060
Floor-mat maker	0.297	0.740
Screen and door maker	0.304	0.780
Paperhanger	0.283	0.740
Cabinet maker	0.296	0.710
Cooper	0.253	0.570
Shoemaker	0.315	0.680
Harness maker	0.298	0.680
Cartwright	0.279	0.670
Tailor (for Japanese dress)	0.252	0.540
Tailor (for European dress)	0.384	0.770
Dyer	0.237	0.460
Blacksmith	0.280	0.680
Jeweller	0.296	0.620
Founder	0.307	0.660
Potter	0.217	0.660
Lacquerer	0.278	0.640

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	1895	1910
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
Paper-maker	0.186	0.440
Tobacco-cutter	0.249	0.580
Confectioner	0.206	0.390
Compositor	0.239	0.510
Printer	0.236	0.470
Shipwright	0.322	0.830
Gardener	0.291	0.690
Farm labourer (male)	0.185	0.390
(female)	0.114	0.230
" " Sericultural labourer (male)	0.192	0.420
(female)	0.125	0.270
Silk spinner (female)	0.135	0.250
Weaver (male)	0.182	0.440
(female)	0.115	0.240
Fisherman	0.232	0.510
Day labourer	0.223	0.530
Male servant (monthly contract)	1.710	4.040
Female servant	0.930	2.830
Farm labourer (male) yearly contract	21.930	46.220
(female) " " " "	12.180	28.750

Roughly speaking it may be said that wages in certain industries have, as we have seen, doubled in Japan since 1895, but this is not so in all. The labour of operatives under fourteen years of age is still very poorly paid. In the raw silk industry the pay is 12 *sen* per day, or 3*d.* In tobacco factories, tea factories, confectionery canning and bottling, printing and publishing, the manufacture of paper ware, feather ware, matting, straw braids, lacquer ware and metal refining there are children employed at from 2½*d.* to 3*d.* per day. In these occupations 5*d.* to 7½*d.* per day still remains the average wage for women. As a rule the very low wages will be found in the household industries, the standards of payment in the factories and shops being generally higher.

Against this rise in wages we must place the increased cost of living, for during the period under consideration there has been a marked rise of prices of commodities and necessary items of living. Until the passage of the Mining Act and the Factory Act

of this year Japan has done practically nothing for the working classes. It is only just to say, however, that the Government, which itself in certain industries employs in its factories more than a fourth of the male operatives of the Empire, treats its employees with more consideration than private capitalists. The hours are less and the pay is higher. There are something like 125,000 thus employed in the manufacture of army cloth, woollen fabrics and tobacco, and in paper printing, and other industries. Even the Government employs a few children under twelve years of age and several thousand under fourteen. But the hours of labour as a rule are ten per day, and seldom exceed twelve. In private concerns the hours seldom fall below twelve, and in weaving sometimes range between thirteen and sixteen.

Condi-
tions of
Govern-
ment
work.

The first results of a general system of compulsory education have, as in all countries, contributed to an unsettled condition of the labour market. There is a disinclination to engage in manual work on the part of those who are well able to read and write, yet in whose education the practical and technical branches of learning have not been sufficiently emphasized.

A question has arisen in Japan with which Western nations of late years have become more or less familiar, namely, the difficulty of finding employment or rather of finding situations for the young men who have been trained for clerical work and occupations other than those of a mechanical nature. A series of articles on this subject has recently been written by Mr. K. Uematsu, editor of the *Toyo Keisai*: Mr. Uematsu estimates the number of Government officials, officials of companies, and others whose work requires brain labour as distinguished from work that is mainly manual, roughly at 900,000, and drawing an example from the actual

General
Education
—its
influence
upon the
labour
question.

conditions of official life, he subdivides the total of 900,000 higher officials, clerks, and employees as follows :—

		Estimated Mortality 5%
1. High officials or their equivalents . . .	45,000	2,250
2. Clerks or their equivalents . . .	135,000	6,750
3. Employees or their equivalents . . .	720,000	36,000
Total . . .	<u>900,000</u>	<u>45,000</u>

With regard to the number of young men who finish their schooling every year, both secondary and higher grade, the following figures for 1908 are given :—

Graduates of schools equal in status to Middle Schools . . .	40,351
„ Normal Schools . . .	6,611
„ Government higher institutions . . .	4,608
„ Private higher institutions . . .	2,309
„ Middle Schools not entering higher institutions . . .	8,374
	<u>62,253</u>

Thus against the 45,000 vacancies there are 62,253 candidates who compete for the posts, leaving 17,253 to shift for themselves. As this surplus goes on increasing at a uniform geometrical ratio, the outlook must be considered somewhat serious.

Conservative spirits in Japan naturally fear that from this large army of educated unemployed may arise strong socialistic tendencies. So far socialistic ideas have made little progress in Japan. The Government has succeeded in checking the movement when it assumed a threatening aspect, such, for example, as an anti-war movement. The socialistic spirit is not at work yet in Japan among the labouring classes. Lately there was a slight Nihilistic movement, but it was almost entirely limited to the educated classes in a very small section of the country. Political activities on the part of the socialistic organizations have

been frowned upon by the Government and socialistic newspapers and propaganda have been suppressed. Notwithstanding this a list of the works on socialism published in Japan would fill a page in the present volume, and their tendency must contribute to the spread of socialism in Japan. Professor Isoh Abe of the Waseda University, who contributed the article on 'Socialism in Japan' in Count Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan*, concludes his review of the question as follows:—

‘Socialistic ideas have been widely diffused throughout the empire in the past few years, and an increasing number of scholars and statesmen now devote themselves to its study, while many students take an interest in the subject. It would be a great mistake to judge of the influence of Socialism from the yet small number of professed Socialists only. The Socialistic spirit is afloat everywhere. To what then, is attributable the fact that the political movement of Socialists is as yet very insignificant in influence? Certainly to the narrow limitation of the suffrage, by virtue of which the large number of Socialists have no qualification to participate in the Parliamentary elections. But some day, when the limits of the suffrage are enlarged, their activities will be brilliant. It is for this reason that Socialists are crying out for the adoption of the popular suffrage system. How Socialism will develop in this country in the future is still problematical, but we cannot doubt that it will become a very powerful factor in politics when such extension takes place.’

It is hardly to be expected that in assuming the other burdens peculiar to the Great Powers of the world Japan should escape the responsibility of the troubles arising from socialism. True the Government of Japan is paternal enough to win the admiration of Mr. Bernard Shaw, but in this particular instance her paternalism appears to have been the

cause of her undoing. In her efforts to give the benefits of higher education to her sons she has created an army of educated unemployed that may become more troublesome than those armies of unemployed with which we are more familiar. However, the time has not yet come for Japan to deal seriously with this question, and there will be time enough for her to cross that bridge when she comes to it.

CHAPTER XIX

TRADE—COMMERCE—SHIPPING

THE industry and commerce of a country are closely allied. It is, therefore, necessary to consider some features in conjunction with each other. To understand better the scope of an inquiry into the foreign trade and commerce of Japan the following extract showing the relative importance and distribution of her industries is quoted from the writer's *Commerce and Industries of Japan*, published in 1896, after his first visit to that country :—

‘My inquiry was more limited than I wished, and I was unable to cover all the ground in the time given for the work. The best results were invariably secured in districts like that of Fukui, where railways had not penetrated (the road from Tsuruga to Fukui will be open for travel this year) and in districts away from the large centres. To cover this ground thoroughly one should travel in jinrikishas, live at the native hotels, which I found comfortable, and take plenty of time. Time is not so valuable in Japan as it is with us, and the Japanese will not be hurried. They are ever ready and willing to oblige, but they prefer to take their own way of doing things. In spite of limitations, the present inquiry may fairly be said to have dealt with the important manufacturing points of the main island and Shikoku Island, and to have covered an area with which 35,000,000 Japanese out of 45,000,000, the total population of the Empire,¹ are concerned.

Scope of
Japanese
Industry.

¹ Inclusive of Formosa.

Taking Tokyo as the centre of operations, I journeyed northward through the silk-growing districts of Gumba, Tochigi, and Fukushima, and at Nikko visited the famous copper mines of Ashio, employing nearly 10,000 hands. Then I went to Nagano, probably the most important centre of silk culture and filature. Returning via the cotton-cloth district of Saitama, I made a special study of the large spinning-mill and other industries of Tokyo, and then of the somewhat diversified manufacturing enterprises of Kanagawa, in which district Yokohama is located. After a short time at Enoshima, where I realized the vast importance of the fishing interests of the island, I proceeded through the picturesque tea districts of Shizuoka. From here it is an easy journey to Aichi, the most important cotton cloth weaving district of Japan. The famous old city of Nagoya, with its ancient castle and gold dolphins, has been converted into as neat and bustling a city of weavers and clockmakers as can be found anywhere. Even the farmers round Nagoya take a hand in manufacturing, and to their skill we are largely indebted for the cloisonné ware of modern times. Nara, Wakayama, Osaka, and Saitama, in the north, and Ehime in the island of Shikoku are also cotton cloth and yarn producing districts, Osaka, of course, being the seat of cotton-spinning.

While silk culture, the preparation of the filature, spinning and weaving, are perhaps more generally distributed over Japan than any other industry save that of rice growing, the tendency is towards centralization.

In the north I visited the cities of Nagano, Kiryu, Utsumiyu and Ashikaga; in the vicinity of Tokyo, Hachijo and sundry smaller villages; in the south Kyoto, and the districts around it and Fukui. In Sakai I had an opportunity of studying rug-making and also a score of other important Japanese industries, such as the manufacture of straw hats, bead blinds, bamboo blinds, surgical instruments, and hardware, and, in Osaka, tooth-brushes, matches, porcelain,

linoleum, clocks, umbrellas, glass, paper, woollen goods, leather goods and all sorts of minor commodities. I was greatly interested in the Okayama and Hiroshima districts, which stand first in the growing of rushes, and the manufacture of the Japanese matting, now exported to the United States in such large quantities. Fukuoka and Oita also produce in lesser quantities varieties of this matting for which Japan has become famous.

The district that interested me most in Japan was that around the Bay of Osaka, including the cities of Hyogo, Kyoto, and Osaka, which altogether have a population of 3,750,000. From this district the great city growing up at the head of the Inland Seas can draw its supply of cheap labour. Within a hundred miles north and south, Osaka and the great commercial port of Kobe have a population of over 16,000,000, and within this radius may be found (excepting Tokyo and Yokohama) all the large cities of Japan. Cross the bay, only sixty miles away, and you have the island of Shikoku, with 3,000,000 more. Here is a tributary population greater than that around London, and compared with which New York and its environments seem a thinly-settled country, and Chicago an unsettled area. For this centre of industrial energy Japan has a splendid outlet through the Inland Seas, and can supply China, now open to commerce and manufactures, rapidly developing Korea and Formosa, which the Japanese are civilizing; and when the great Siberian railway is completed Osaka can send its goods direct to London from Vladivostock by a water journey of a few days. Surely the possibilities of this part of New Japan are full of hope and forecast future prosperity for the Empire.'

A glance at the list on the following page indicates that speaking generally the principal industries of the Empire were in 1896 distributed in the following manner:—

Situation
of prin-
cipal in-
dustries.

Books and Paper .	Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo.
Camphor . . .	Shikoku Island, Kiushiu. It is believed that as soon as law and order are assured in Formosa, large quantities of camphor will be obtained from there. In fact this is regarded as the future source of supply.
Sulphur . . .	Hokkaido Island.
Marine products .	Of fish oil, which goes to France, Germany, and Great Britain, over seven-tenths comes from Hokkaido. Other marine products go mostly to China.
Rice	Kiushiu and main island west of Osaka ; Niigata, Hyogo, Toyama.
Mushrooms .	Shikoku, Kiushiu, Wakayama and Shizuoka prefecture.
Sugar	Beet : Hokkaido. Crystallized and unrefined : Kagawa and Kagoshima. Refined : Tokushima. (Raw sugar of Okinawa or Riukiu group of islands between Japan and Formosa is of specially excellent quality. Formosa has heretofore furnished the greater part of the imports.)
Metals	<i>Copper</i> : Ashio mine, near Nikko ; Besshi mine. <i>Gold</i> : Akita and Kagoshima. <i>Silver</i> : Akita, Innai mine. <i>Iron</i> : Iwate—Kawaishi and Sennin mines, Shimane, Hiroshima and Tottori. Niigata—Akadani mine. Hokkaido—Yamako-shinai mine.
Coal	Kiushiu—Fukuoka prefecture. Miike—Namazuda mines. Hokkaido—Poronai, Ikushumbetsu, Yubari and Sorachi mines. Nagasaki—Takashima mine.
Petroleum . . .	Hokkaido, Ugo, Echigo, Shimane and Totomi.
Raw silk . . .	Yamagata, Fukushima, Miyazaki, Tochigi, Gunma, Nagano, Saitama, Yamanashi, Gifu, Miye.
Silk manufacture	Gunma, Tochigi, Fukushima, Fukui, Tokyo, and Kyoto.
Cotton-spinning .	Osaka, Tokyo, Miye, Okayama, Aichi, Hyogo.

Cotton-weaving .	Aichi, Ehime, Osaka, Nara, Wakayama, Kyoto, Okayama, Tochigi.
Floor mattings .	Okayama, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Oita.
Rugs and mats .	Sakai, Osaka Fu, Hyogo Ken.
Wooden and bamboo ware	Districts adjoining Kobe.
Straw stalks and braids	Tokyo, Saitama, Okayama, Aichi, Wakayama, Osaka, Tottori, Kumamoto, Kanegawa.
Porcelain . .	Kiushiu—Kagoshima, Nagasaki and Kumamoto. Shikoku—Ehime, Hyogo, Kyoto, Nagoya, Gifu, Ishikawa, Fukushima.
Cloisonné . .	Aichi, Kanegawa.
Lacquer . .	Aomori, Akita, Fukushima, Ishikawa, Wakayama, Shizuoka.
Oils and wax .	Hyogo, Shiga, Aichi, Miye, Osaka, Fukui.
Glass-wares .	Tokyo, Osaka, Nagasaki.
Matches . .	Hyogo, Osaka, Aichi, Tokyo.

Since the above was written much water has passed under the mill. The Tsuruga railway has long been in operation; Korea is now part of Japan; Formosa, according to the last census returns, is half civilized; the Siberian railway is an established fact, and the Japanese are in possession of two out of the three termini—those of Dairen and Antung. Notwithstanding these changes, the distribution of industry upon which the commerce of Japan is based remains substantially as it was in 1896.

If we except the regions of silk production, which is primarily an agricultural industry, the basic strength of the country, so far as its foreign trade is concerned, may be found in the manufacturing centres. The Japanese, as we find them to-day, are ambitious to be the controlling industrial and commercial as well as the commanding political nation of the Far East. They are also hopeful of becoming a great commercial and maritime power—the Great Britain of the Pacific. The events of the last fifteen years have encouraged this belief. Now that the Treaty of Alliance with Great

Japan's
aim to
achieve
industrial
and com-
mercial
supre-
macy.

Britain has been renewed and commercial treaties concluded with nearly all the other important Powers, Japan is well on the road to gratify her laudable ambitions. The people of the country appear to be absorbed in industrial and commercial questions, and these questions are almost as popular subjects of discussion, both in the press and by public speakers, as the most urgent political questions, whether foreign or domestic. Among the matters continually discussed are the extension and broadening of existing steam routes, the results of treaty revision on trade, the improvement of chambers of commerce and of the existing system of guilds, the dispatch of commissioners to study commercial and industrial conditions abroad, and the effect on Japanese trade of the opening of the Panamá Canal. Except perhaps the United States, no country will receive more benefit from the completion of this titanic enterprise than will Japan. The Government of Japan is fully alive to the necessity of extending the trade of the Empire, and whatever success may have been attained in the past, her competitors may be sure that Japan will not be found lacking in seizing the opportunities of the future. Her legislators, no longer subject to outside control in tariff rates, may make mistakes, but may be trusted to rectify these if diminution of business should follow increased rates of duties. The trade returns for the present year (1911) are sufficiently encouraging to warrant the estimate of a total foreign trade of £100,000,000. Even should it fall short of this substantial figure, Japan will have little to complain of respecting the development and growth of her foreign trade. The progress of trade for a series of years has been satisfactory. Twenty-five years ago (1885) the total value was then a trifle over $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, the exports slightly exceeding the

imports. Ten years later, in 1895, the value had increased to $26\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of which 13 millions represented imports and $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions exports. The total foreign trade for 1910 shows a threefold increase over the figures of 1895, though of late years, owing to the large foreign purchases after the Chinese War and during and subsequent to the Russian War, the value of imported merchandise has greatly exceeded the value of domestic exports. There are indications that the new tariff will have the effect of reducing the importations, especially of such articles as Japan is now beginning to manufacture for herself. The increases so far this year have been in imports, and undoubtedly have been due to the fact that importers have taken their last opportunity of profiting by the lower rates which existed prior to the operation of the new tariff.

A thirteenfold increase in twenty-five years in the trade and commerce of the nation should satisfy the ambition of the Japanese. It may serve to remind her statesmen that such an achievement has followed from the fact that the relations between Japan and the countries with which she has been trading have been fairly satisfactory. Her future prosperity depends largely upon her foreign trade, and it is, therefore, to be hoped that the new tariff has not in any way jeopardized the expansion of trade.

The high-water mark of Japanese foreign trade was reached in 1907, when it was nearly £95,000,000. For two years (1908-9) it dropped about £10,000,000, but fully recovered in 1910, when, including Chosen, the foreign trade exceeded the total of the year 1907. There are, however, signs of better times ahead, and the decrease in trade of 1908 and 1909 may be regarded as a temporary decline, common to the commercial history of the most prosperous countries.

There has been but little change during the last fifteen years in the distribution of Japanese trade, with the exception that the trade with the Far East is naturally growing at a more rapid rate than that with Europe and America.

The following table shows the great strides Japan has made during the last five years in the export to China of plain cottons—shirtings, sheetings, drills, jeans and T-cloths, &c. :—

Nationality	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
	Pieces	Pieces	Pieces	Pieces	Pieces
British	10,785,227	8,224,951	8,993,534	10,391,448	6,511,126
United States	8,544,165	578,647	1,586,989	3,856,231	1,385,819
Japanese	733,436	840,401	986,982	1,396,297	2,389,693
Indian	85,003	67,905	141,812	133,855	147,952

British manufacturers are fully alive to the gravity of the situation created by the growth of Japanese competition in the piece-goods trade of China. In the production of the better class of goods the Japanese, in spite of a marked improvement in quality, are still behind British manufacturers. In the cheaper lines of cotton goods they are faced with the growing competition of Chinese mills. According to a recent report there are now 33 cotton mills working in China, and the number of spindles has risen from 780,000 at the end of 1909 to 903,000 at the end of 1910, with 3,808 looms. In spite of the fact that the British higher grade goods and the Chinese lower grade goods appear unlikely to be ousted from the Chinese market, there is no reason why, with improving methods of manufacture and the economies which experience will suggest, the Japanese manufacturer should not hold his own in this constantly enlarging market.

It is now proposed briefly to review the foreign trade of Japan for thirty-five years. To avoid detail the total values of the exports and the imports are given for 1876 and for 1886. From 1896 to 1910 the values for each year and the proportion per head of total population have been compiled from the official returns :—

	Exports		Imports		Total of exports and imports	
	Total value Yen	Per head	Total value Yen	Per head	Total value Yen	Per head
1876	27,711,528	0.81	23,964,679	0.70	51,676,207	1.51
1886	48,876,313	1.27	32,168,432	0.84	81,044,745	2.11
1896	117,842,761	2.76	171,674,474	4.02	289,517,235	6.78
1897	163,135,077	3.77	219,300,772	5.08	382,435,849	8.85
1898	165,753,753	3.79	277,502,157	6.34	443,255,910	10.13
1899	214,929,894	4.86	220,401,926	4.98	435,331,820	9.84
1900	204,429,994	4.56	287,261,846	6.41	491,691,840	10.97
1901	252,349,543	5.55	255,816,645	5.61	508,166,188	11.16
1902	258,303,065	5.61	271,731,259	5.90	530,034,324	11.51
1903	289,502,442	6.19	317,135,518	6.79	606,637,960	12.98
1904	319,260,896	6.76	371,360,738	7.87	690,621,634	14.63
1905	321,533,610	6.74	488,538,017	10.25	810,071,627	16.99
1906	423,754,892	8.80	418,784,108	8.70	842,539,000	17.50
1907	432,412,873	8.86	494,467,346	10.13	926,880,219	18.99
1908	378,245,673	7.63	436,257,462	8.80	814,503,135	16.43
1909	413,112,511	8.21	394,198,843	7.84	807,311,354	16.05
1910	458,428,996	9.00	464,233,808	9.11	922,662,804	18.11

Since September, 1910, Chosen, being part of Japan, is not included in foreign trade tables.

The above table tells the story of Japanese trade. Speaking roundly the growth in value has been from a little over five million sterling to over ninety-two million—and probably this year foreign trade figures will reach the hundred million sterling point. An increase of twentyfold within a generation indicates great possibilities for the future. Taking the last fifteen years, the period with which the present volume is dealing more particularly, it is seen that the value of the exports has nearly quadrupled,

the imports have increased two and a half times, and the total trade last year was over three times as great in value of commodities as it was in 1896. These tables have not been changed into pounds sterling because the *yen* (2s. 0½*d.*) answers just as well for comparative purposes, and division by ten will give the reader roughly the amounts in sterling.

The following table gives the values of the exports in 1910 according to commodities. To indicate those commodities in the production of which a great expansion has taken place and which may be regarded as showing very fair prospects of future development, the values of their exports in 1897 are also given :—

EXPORTS

	1897	1910
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
Grain and Seeds	6,290,984	7,418,677
Tea	7,860,460	14,542,334
Marine Products	4,495,804	9,107,390
Beverages and Comestibles	2,026,632	18,910,313
Tobacco	351,740	1,256,659
Animal Products (skins, bones, &c.)	972,535	2,811,093
Drugs, chemicals, dyes, &c.	2,913,447	8,745,867
Oil and Waxes	1,437,614	5,110,358
Tissues, yarns and materials thereof:		
Of Silk	72,384,799	179,387,322
Of Cotton	16,575,160	68,927,518
All Other	1,046,966	6,618,569
Clothing and Accessories	949,012	14,042,989
Paper, and Manufactures thereof	1,092,929	5,025,218
Metals, and Manufactures thereof	7,221,810	27,173,667
Machineries		3,511,648
Ores and Minerals		17,634,845
Miscellaneous	37,515,185	68,204,529
	163,135,077	458,428,996

This table shows that Japan has done particularly well in silk and cotton goods, and that in some other industries her sales abroad have more than doubled. The exports of metals and manufactures have increased nearly fourfold, and of beverages and comestibles ninefold.

Comparing the imports in the same way, the results are as follows :—

Develop-
ment of
the
Import
trade.

IMPORTS		
	1897	1910
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
Grain and Seeds	28,482,933	24,875,872
Beverages and Comestibles	23,999,235	21,766,749
Animal Products (skins, bones, &c.)	2,325,981	7,314,239
Drugs, Chemicals, and Medicines	4,634,816	22,032,765
Dyes, Pigments, Paints	4,023,416	9,948,898
Oils and Waxes	8,606,992	19,933,339
Tissues, Yarns, and materials thereof		
Of Cotton	63,165,518	173,474,600
Of Wool	12,009,902	31,969,967
Of Silk	1,479,556	2,202,175
Of Flax, Hemp, &c.	1,060,681	4,582,709
All other	1,658,979	4,508,016
Clothing and Accessories	866,960	1,817,594
Paper and Stationery	2,096,549	8,848,098
Ores and Minerals	—	9,027,050
Metals and Manufactures thereof :		
Iron and Steel	17,368,454	43,578,399
All other	2,938,387	9,498,450
Earthenware, Glass, and manufactures	698,245	3,173,941
Machines and Machinery	21,897,971	23,619,138
Miscellaneous	21,986,197	42,066,809
	219,300,772	464,233,808

Imports have likewise more than doubled during the period under consideration, the greatest increases being in textile materials and yarns, whilst the imports of iron and steel have doubled. In some other commodities the Japanese have been able to keep the imports down, and the increase has not been so great.

Having noted what Japan buys and what she sells we may next enumerate the countries which buy her commodities and the countries whence her imports come. The principal exports from Japan to the British Possessions and other countries, for the year 1910, were as follows :—

Exports
and
Imports
classified
according
to coun-
tries.

Great Britain	25,781,364	5 $\frac{8}{8}$ %
Hongkong	23,459,911	5%
Straits Settlements	6,549,661	1 $\frac{3}{8}$ %
British India	18,712,918	4 $\frac{1}{8}$ %
British America	4,261,792	1%
Australia	6,552,457	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
Total	85,318,103	18 $\frac{5}{8}$ %
U.S. of America and Dependencies	152,076,320	33 $\frac{1}{8}$ %
Holland and Dutch Indies	3,859,550	$\frac{1}{8}$ %
France and French Indo-China	45,266,812	10%
Russia and Asiatic Russia	4,814,759	1%
Germany	11,167,773	2 $\frac{3}{8}$ %
Austria-Hungary	1,159,587	$\frac{1}{4}$ %
Belgium	3,464,839	$\frac{1}{4}$ %
Italy	16,834,878	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ %
China	109,185,810	23 $\frac{3}{4}$ %
Other countries	25,780,565	5 $\frac{5}{8}$ %
Total	458,428,996	100

The principal imports from the same countries are as follows :—

Great Britain	94,700,911	20 $\frac{3}{8}$ %
Hongkong	674,651	$\frac{1}{8}$ %
Straits Settlements	4,615,981	1%
British India	106,361,497	23%
British America	850,126	$\frac{1}{8}$ %
Australia	7,601,681	1 $\frac{5}{8}$ %
Total	214,804,847	46 $\frac{1}{4}$ %
U.S. of America and Dependencies	55,498,898	12%
Holland and Dutch Indies	19,798,708	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ %
France and French Indo-China	9,842,982	2 $\frac{1}{8}$ %
Russia and Asiatic Russia	970,625	$\frac{1}{4}$ %
Germany	43,946,478	9 $\frac{3}{8}$ %
Austria-Hungary	2,782,032	$\frac{1}{8}$ %
Belgium	9,409,075	2%
Italy	591,502	$\frac{1}{8}$ %
China	78,309,701	16 $\frac{7}{8}$ %
Other countries	28,278,960	6%
Total	464,233,808	100

The summary of the foreign trade of Japan for 1910 will be found on the following page :—

Great Britain	120,482,275	13%
Hongkong	24,134,562	2%
Straits Settlements	11,165,642	1%
British India	125,074,415	13%
British America	5,111,918	5%
Australia	14,154,138	1%
Total	300,122,950	32%
U.S. of America and Dependencies	207,575,218	22%
Holland and Dutch Indies	23,658,258	2%
France and French Indo-China	55,109,794	6%
Russia and Asiatic Russia	5,285,384	5%
Germany	55,114,251	5%
Austria-Hungary	3,941,619	1%
Belgium	12,873,914	1%
Italy	17,426,380	1%
China	187,495,511	20%
Other countries	54,059,525	5%
Total	922,662,804	100

The United States is Japan's best customer, China ranking next and the British Possessions third. On the purchase side of the Imperial ledger Great Britain and her Possessions rank first, supplying nearly half of all that Japan buys. Of the total trade, which last year nearly reached the sum of 923 million *yen*, Great Britain and her Possessions supplied about one-third, the United States nearly a quarter, and Italy one-fifth. These tables indicate that Japan is a good customer not only of Great Britain, but also of her colonies, for of India alone she purchased in 1910 almost two-thirds of her supply of raw cotton, valued at over ten million sterling.

The returns of Japanese trade for last year show that the period of recuperation has ended and that there has been a complete recovery. The total volume of import and export trade in 1910 was, as we have seen, 922,662,804 *yen* (£94,503,737), being an increase of 115,351,450 *yen* (£11,814,872) or 14 per cent. on the total trade of 1909, which amounted to 807,311,354 *yen* (£82,688,865). This total, after making allowance

for the omission, since the annexation of Chosen, of her trade figures from the foreign trade returns, is the largest in the whole history of Japan :—

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Exports in millions of <i>yen</i>	319	321	423	432	378	413	458
Imports in millions of <i>yen</i>	371	488	418	494	436	394	464
	690	809	841	926	814	807	922

If we include the amount of trade with Chosen, which is shown in the returns for other years, to the above total for 1910 must be added 22,726,437 *yen* (£2,327,754), which brings the total trade of the year up to 945,389,241 *yen* (£96,831,491), marking an increase of 17 per cent. on the preceding year and reaching the high prosperity mark of Japanese trade. The next achievement will be the 1,000 million *yen* total. The increase in trade for 1910 is in a measure attributable to the favourable condition of business throughout the world. The silk industry was particularly prosperous, and the demand for manufactures for the Chinese market shows improvement compared with the preceding years. The trade with foreign countries has been given in detail above and requires no recapitulation here. The exports of manufactures increased in almost every branch, and so did the exports of agricultural and marine products, fish-oil, sugar, and hides. It would be difficult to imagine a more satisfactory improvement, because the increased exports were spread over an infinite variety of articles and, therefore, the benefits obtained must have been distributed throughout nearly all the industrial districts of the Empire. The increase in the value of imported

merchandise may be largely traced to the increased imports of raw material, raw cotton alone amounting to 159,221,808 *yen* (£16,308,293), or more than one-third of the total value of imports. Of the total amount imported, 63 per cent. came from British India, 21 per cent. from China, and less than 11 per cent. from the United States. These figures indicate that the Far East will soon be self-dependent as regards the supply of raw cotton. The other imports were largely commodities like wool, woollen yarns, and cloths (most of which came from England and Australia), manufactures of iron and steel and other imports with which Japan is as yet unable to supply herself—the bulk, however, being raw material for use in her own manufactures.

Looking at the export trade, we find that in 1895 America held the first place, but that now she occupies the second. The trade, however, has more than doubled, but the trade with Asia, including the Kwantung Province, has quadrupled, and therefore outranks that of America. The average value of the exports to Asia for the first three years of this period was about £4,500,000, and of the last three years over £17,000,000, a decidedly satisfactory increase. In trade with Europe and America the change is less marked, but in both cases the total exports have more than doubled. Whilst Japan has always purchased more from Great Britain than from any other country with the exception of British India, the United Kingdom has for many years bought less of Japan than France and much less than Japan's best customer, America.

Between 1895 and last year there has been, however, a threefold increase in exports to Great Britain, whilst the exports to France have barely doubled.

The export trade both with Germany and Italy shows a marked increase. The exports to Australia have quadrupled, and those to Hawaii have increased ten-fold. For the last three years Japan's export trade has averaged £42,000,000, and, speaking roughly, £17,000,000 has gone to Asia, £14,000,000 to America, and £10,000,000 to Europe; the remainder, £1,000,000, going to Australia, Egypt, Hawaii, and to unenumerated countries. Asia, America, Australia, Egypt, and Hawaii may be said to take nearly 32 out of the 41 million sterling of exports. Competition is evidently too strong for Japan at present to make headway in the European markets. Though her exports have been practically doubled during the period under consideration, the progress is chiefly to be noted in the markets of Asia and America, while the United States takes the greater portion of her raw silk.

In the value of commodities imported Great Britain has always held and still retains the first position (except British India). This position, however, is being sharply contested by both Germany and the United States and, with the new tariff in operation, by the Japanese themselves. From 1895 to the present time the imports from the United States have increased more than eightfold and those from Germany nearly fourfold, whilst the values of the commodities coming from England have rather more than doubled. Those from France have remained stationary. It should be stated, however, that in 1895 the value of British imports was five times greater than those from the United States, and nearly four times greater than those from Germany. Now Great Britain only outstrips America by one-third and Germany by a little more than one-half. The exports and imports to Asia about balance, but the increase in imports has been

nearly fourfold. The same relative proportion holds good in Australia, Egypt, and Hawaii, which are classified in one group. Speaking generally nearly half the foreign trade of Japan has been and will continue to be with Asia, Australia, Egypt, and Hawaii. In these countries may be found her best customers, and from them Japan will continue to purchase more and more. Her iron and steel must for some time to come be imported from Great Britain and the United States, the latter country having the advantage in time, but the former in price and quality. Of course, the United States is Japan's best individual customer, and it is only natural that Japan should favour that country in the purchase of such commodities as America supplies as cheaply as Europe.

Of cotton goods, including the raw material, Japan ^{Trade in Cotton and Wool.} still buys more than she sells, and, of course, this is equally true of wool. Every effort is being made to manufacture the finer yarns and to weave more cotton cloth in order to make Japan self-supporting. To help in building up these industries she has resorted to a higher tariff. The importation of sugar will decline as the Formosan product increases, and ultimately Japan may be an exporter instead of an importer of sugar. In the manufacture of chemicals she has still much to learn, but she is sending her young men to Germany, England, and America to study modern methods of manufacture, and with the additional tariff duties her manufacturers say that the imports under this heading may be reduced. Ten million sterling for iron and steel and machinery of various kinds seems an immense sum to the Japanese to send abroad. Every effort is being made to equip machine shops, and to start plants that will produce the needed railway equipment. In this work a large British firm is

interested. The chapter on Industries deals with the subject and shows what Japan is doing in this direction.

The Japanese are exerting every effort to control their own trade and commerce. The latest figures show that in the matter of exports Japanese merchants control about 40 per cent., Germans 17 per cent., Chinese 16 per cent., British 15 per cent., Americans 9 per cent., the rest being divided among the French, Dutch, Austrians, and others. In the import business the Japanese make even a better showing, controlling 57·7 per cent., while the British controlled 16 per cent., the Germans 10 per cent., the Chinese 7 per cent., and the Americans 4 per cent.

With regard to the prospects for the future of Japanese commerce and industry, it is believed that industrial production is relatively increasing. This claim is based on an analysis of the trade which specifies the commercial and industrial articles under five classes:—(a) technical, (b) agricultural, (c) mining, (d) fishery, (e) forestry.

The figures show that agricultural products in 1893 represented over 40 per cent. of the total amount of the export, while those of technical industries amounted to 30 per cent. and those of mining to 10 per cent. The ratio is now $48\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for industry and 31 per cent. for agricultural products.

On the import side the figures indicate that the import of technical articles for 1893 was 60 per cent. of the total imports, and that of agricultural articles 28 per cent., while at present the technical articles are 49 per cent. of the total import, and agricultural products 33 per cent. . These facts tend to prove that industry is making satisfactory progress, and that besides satisfying the domestic demand her manu-

facturers are developing an export trade to foreign countries.

The Japanese, like the British, have the maritime Shipping instinct. The configuration of their country demanded easy means of communication. In the modern era, Japan has made steady progress towards securing the supremacy of her own flag in her own seas, and her ships traverse all the great ocean highways. In 1897 Japan only carried one-fifth of her imports and one-seventh of her exports in her own ships. She will soon carry half of her trade in Japanese bottoms.

The efficiency of Japanese seamanship is recognized by all who care to probe beneath the surface. A mistaken idea has prevailed in many quarters, owing to the employment of a number of foreigners as executive officers on ocean liners. This, however, has, in latter days, at least, been largely a concession to the prejudice of Western nations, for in her naval personnel Japan has long since shown that she has no need to go outside the ranks of her own subjects. With regard to the development of the mercantile marine which has taken place during recent years, statistics were furnished the writer when in Tokyo for the purpose of this review by Mr. Rempei Kondo, the President of the Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon Yusen Kaisha).

In the year 1871 Japan's mercantile marine comprised 46 ships with a tonnage of 17,948, while last year the number and tonnage were 8,937 and 1,647,629. The progress which has been made cannot, however, be revealed by so bald a comparison. It is necessary to take cognizance of other factors. There has been a considerable increase during the last twenty years in the carrying capacities of the ships, and the 67 iron ships of 1886 have to be compared with over 400

Statistics
of ton-
nage.

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steel and iron ships in 1910. The following tables have been prepared and kindly forwarded from Tokyo by the Department of Communications :—

NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS, 1910.

	Steamers		Sailing-Ships		Total	
	Number	Gross tonnage	Number	Gross tonnage	Number	Gross tonnage
Registered Vessels .	1,703	1,224,091	4,958	390,796	6,661	1,614,887
Unregistered Vessels .	842	9,818	1,434	22,924	2,276	32,742
	2,545	1,233,909	6,392	413,720	8,937	1,647,629

Note:—The unregistered steamers are those having a gross tonnage of less than 20 tons, and the unregistered sailing-ships those whose gross tonnage is from 5 tons to 20 tons.

NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF STEAM VESSELS BELONGING TO THE PRINCIPAL COMPANIES (REGISTERED), 1910

Name of Companies	Authorized Capital	Vessels		Earnings and Bounties	
		No.	Gross Tonnage	Earnings	Shipping subsidies and Bounties
	<i>Yen</i>		<i>Tons</i>	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
Awa Joint Steamship Co. .	500,000	6	2,058	259,049	11,995
Chiuyetsu Steamship Co. .	300,000	5	9,002	325,850	—
Dai Nippon Joint Shipping Co.	500,000	111	2,840	89,957	—
Essa Steamship Co. .	500,000	7	1,814	128,796	7,000
Higo Steamship Co. .	300,000	11	1,238	84,920	2,250
Kagoshima Steamship Co. .	1,500,000	5	4,130	329,168	5,400
Naoyetsu Mercantile Steamship Co.	300,000	5	2,810	179,330	—
Nippon Yusen Kaisha .	22,000,000	106	289,784	19,842,592	6,129,879
Nippon Mercantile Steamship Co.	469,000	4	10,442	222,626	—
Nisshin Steamship Co. .	8,100,000	48	28,783	1,945,821	799,159
Ojiro Steamship Co. .	500,000	4	10,172	223,029	—
Oriental Steamship Co. .	13,000,000	12	70,099	3,602,497	2,530,847
Osaka Mercantile Steamship Co.	16,500,000	134	136,430	11,914,897	2,084,982
San-riku Steamship Co. .	300,000	6	883	75,755	6,000
Tatsuma Steamship Co. .	350,000	5	10,829	275,291	—
Tokyo-wan Steamship Co.	800,000	48	8,108	581,984	7,560
Uwajima Shipping Co. .	300,000	6	2,350	232,238	—
Total . . .	66,219,000	523	591,772	40,313,800	11,585,072

The dividend paid by these companies ranges from 4 to 10 per cent., the average dividend for last year being a trifle over $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

As stated above, the lack of skilled Japanese navigators is more apparent than real. In 1876 the Japanese licensed mariners numbered but 74, of whom only four were Japanese subjects; there are now 22,154 certificated mariners, of whom 21,803 are Japanese subjects.

In 1870 the first line of modern ships was started, and the Kaiso Kaisha established a service between Tokyo and Osaka. In 1875 the Mitsubishi Company opened the Yokohama-Shanghai line, and afterwards bought the goodwill of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company on the same route. A new era was initiated in 1885, when the formation of the Japan Mail Steamship Company, which has now a greater tonnage than the Cunard Company, put an end to fierce competition, and progress has been rapid since that date. In 1885, there were only four regular services abroad, the Yokohama-Shanghai, the Nagasaki-Vladivostock, the Nagasaki-Chemulpo line, and the Kobe-North China service. Within a few years were established the Japan-Bombay line and the Japan-Australia and Japan-Europe services, the ships of the last-named line running fortnightly from Yokohama to London, Antwerp, and Middlesborough. The steamers of the Oriental Company are principally engaged in the American trade, both North and South. There are now nearly a score of regular services in operation by arrangement with the Central Government, while other lines have been inaugurated by agreement with various local authorities. Some of the ships in the foreign service have, since the year 1897, been under the command of Japanese captains, one of the lines

Modern
Passenger
Steam-
ship Com-
panies.

in the European service having been in charge of a Japanese commodore since 1906. The Japan Mail Steamship Company is building new vessels for the European service.

The average gross tonnage of the vessels employed in the services to Europe and America is from 6,000 upwards, the largest and fastest boats being those running to San Francisco and having a tonnage of between 13,000 and 14,000, and a speed of from 18 to 20 knots. The passenger vessels in the foreign service have qualified for the shipping subsidies, the revised regulations concerning which came into force this year. The subsidized open-sea routes are the European, North American, South American, and Australian. The vessels must have a speed of over 12 knots and the percentage paid rises with the speed but declines with the age of the vessel; it is not paid on ships over fifteen years old. Under the law to encourage shipbuilding there will have been paid at the close of 1911 in general bounty on vessels not on subsidized routes, on those on subsidized routes, or as shipbuilding bounty, nearly £10,000,000. The shipbuilding bounty alone will have reached very close upon three-quarters of a million sterling. That the mercantile marine should have been progressive under such stimulus is not surprising. But Japan has great ambition in this direction, and many things point to the fact that her ambition is well founded. When once fairly started, her mercantile fleets certainly should be able to compete with the similar fleets of other maritime nations, for she has capable navigators, good seamen, and the instinct of economy in management. Added to this she will have the lion's share of the benefits arising from the Panamá Canal, for which she has paid nothing.

To receive the full subsidy the vessels must have been built in Japanese shipyards, foreign-built ships receiving only one-half. For vessels built to special plans an extra 25 per cent. subsidy is granted.

The Tokyo Mercantile Marine College plays an important part in Japanese shipping in supplying qualified officers and engineers. The control of Japanese and foreign ships within the Empire is vested in the Ship Superintending Bureau, which inspects vessels, examines mariners, and exercises general powers of control, such as are vested in Lloyd's Register. In the world's mercantile marine Japan ranks sixth when tonnage is made the basis, but among steamship companies the Nippon Yusen Kaisha stands higher on the list than famous lines such as the Union-Castle, the Cunard, and the Elder-Dempster. During the war with Russia the maritime strength of the country was shown by the manner in which men and materials were transported to the seat of operations. The growth of Japanese trade points the way to a rapid increase in her mercantile marine, and the nation looks forward to the day when her aggregate tonnage will be half that of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW TARIFF

A COUNTRY that wanted no intercourse with foreigners was at least spared the discussion of Tariff Reform. Until 1859 the people of the Island Kingdom appear to have lived happily and contentedly without those disagreeable and not infrequently detested international barriers known as custom-houses. In that year, however, custom-houses were for the first time established and custom-duties levied at a few open ports selected for the purpose at a time when most of the early commercial treaties with the Western powers had been concluded. The history of the Japanese tariff until the present year may be found embodied in her commercial treaties with foreign Powers.

In 1866 the whole tariff was revised by treaties. This revision kept the tariff practically unchanged for a generation, and it remained in force until 1899, when the treaties of commerce and navigation which expired July 16, 1911, came into operation. In 1899 export duties were entirely abolished. The operation of the revised commercial treaties of 1899 made it possible to bring into operation the general tariff which, combined with the conventional tariffs, formed the customs tariff of Japan. The urgent needs of the war led to the imposition of a special sur-tax on custom-duties, and on the restoration of peace to the partial revision of 1906. The conventional tariffs between Japan and several foreign countries expired

July 16, 1911, and the next day the new tariff took their place.

The number of articles enumerated in the existing tariff is 647. They are classified into seventeen groups, and are further subdivided according to the incidence of duties that are as far as possible made specific—that is payable on quantities rather than on valuation. Raw materials largely used in the manufacturing industries are wisely admitted duty free; upon half-manufactured materials lighter rates of duties are levied. Upon manufactured goods the rates range from 15 to 40 per cent. Articles of luxury are rated at 50 per cent.

The new tariff came into operation on July 17, 1911. Before that date the imports had been very large in all articles of merchandise on which the rates have now been increased, and unless the imports take a sudden fall during the last five months of the year, the total trade for 1911, as heretofore intimated, may reach one hundred million sterling. It will not be possible to comment on the effect of the new tariff either on the commerce or on the industries of the country until it has been in operation for a few years.

In 1896, the average rate of customs duties collected by Japan was not over 5 per cent., and the receipts from customs had never reached a million sterling.

As Great Britain was the largest importer, the British merchants at Yokohama and Kobe were prosperous. Since then the rates have been steadily increased, and wherever it was possible without injury to Japanese industries, articles from the free list have been transferred to the dutiable schedules. In 1900 the rate of duty had increased to $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and for the last five years it has averaged about 15 per cent. Of course, fifteen is three times five, but as tariffs go the new Japanese tariff is by no means one of the

The new
Tariff.

Increase
in the
rates of
duty.

worst. In 1910 nearly £24,000,000 in value came in dutiable, and over £23,000,000 free of duty; the receipts from Customs were about £3,600,000, nearly five times what they were in 1896, and the average rate of duty was nearly 16 per cent. The average percentage including dutiable and free was nearly 8 per cent. The estimates for 1911 and 1912 indicate that more revenue is expected—a total of £4,500,000 and 55,000,000 respectively—from the new tariff, but, of course, it is difficult to forecast what revenue a new tariff will produce.

The imports and exports of 1910 will mark the close of the fiscal period which was to some extent controlled by the provisions of the old treaties. The progress of trade from 1910 will be closely studied by those interested in Japanese foreign trade. If it continues to increase, the wisdom of enacting the new tariff will be demonstrated, for it is quite certain that the effect of the new fiscal policy will be to stimulate home manufactures. The first result will be almost certain to reduce the imports of some lines of British and American manufacture. What the final effect will be it is impossible to predict at present.

The clearest and most precise statement of the attitude of the Government in relation to the new tariff may be found in the following address of Marquis Komura, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, made in the House of Representatives last year. Marquis Komura said :—

‘The present measure embodies the proposed revision of the Tariff amended in 1906, and is to supersede the existing Conventional Tariff expected to cease operation between July and August, 1911. When the Conventional Tariff was elaborated it was impossible for Japan, owing to the various Treaty restrictions

by which she was tied, to determine the rates according to the requirements which the interests of Japan might demand. All such restrictions being no longer binding, Japan is left free to determine the rates on her own judgment. When the existing Statutory Tariff was amended some years ago rates were raised for not a few imports, but in the presence of the Conventional Tariff at the same time the new rates were a dead letter as applied to the goods coming from the countries under the Conventional Tariff. With the coming into force of the proposed Statutory Tariff such an anomaly will disappear, and the tariff will be operative on all imports coming from all countries. The question as to what influence the proposed tariff will have on Japanese economic affairs therefore received due consideration from the authorities when framing the present draft. The underlying principle was to give the greatest importance to all matters touching national economics. The condition of Japanese industries also received proper consideration, and this was also the case with regard to commercial relations with other countries. So far as circumstances permitted the rates were fixed proportionally. The question of the proper harmony between different industries was also considered.'

The difficulty which arose between Japan and Great Britain in relation to the adoption of this tariff was largely due to the entirely different points of view from which the two countries approached the subject. The British merchant compared new schedules with the expiring conventional tariff and the Japanese Government with the existing statutory tariff. The latter from the British point of view was inoperative so far as British goods were concerned, but from the Japanese point of view, so far from being inoperative, it was a real binding system, yielding 89 per cent. of the customs revenues.

The difficulty with Great Britain.

As Japan had for many years been bound by these unilateral conventional tariffs she could not, until 1911, formulate and put in force any industrial policy to her own satisfaction which would meet the requirements of the country. For this reason she was determined to abolish these impediments to tariff autonomy. There was no desire on her part to enact exorbitant rates of customs duty which would be tantamount to prohibitive rates, but she did want to have such a tariff as would cover her financial requirements and meet her economic necessities. As to the protective features of the measure, they are easily disposed of by the Japanese who, regarding the industries of the country as still in their infancy, are able to produce innumerable precedents showing that the fostering of trade and industry is admissible, especially for the purpose of revenue.

The question of revenue with Japan is inevitable not only for carrying on the Government but for continuing the heroic policy inaugurated of paying off the war debts. The redemption of Japan's old loans, as will be seen in the chapter on Finance, is proceeding satisfactorily. In order to be free from liabilities Japan must have a substantial revenue, and although there may be many undesirable features in customs duties, and in internal taxes, the country has to be a little patient until its debts are paid off. So long as Japan does not go in for extreme protection on the one hand, and intolerable internal taxation on the other hand, there is not much to be said even by those who believe in free trade. The payment of debts is the first care and on this point there is unanimity of opinion. Japan wants money. The Government must raise revenue somehow or recede from her position as a first-class nation. If the internal taxes are increased

financiers and industrialists object. If the tariff rates are raised the importers complain.

Fortunately the Japanese Government has been able to reach a satisfactory arrangement with Great Britain, the greatest grumbler, and before the year is out settlements will have been reached with other countries. These arrangements are based on the modern idea of reciprocity. The commercial treaty with England provides for reductions of the new Japanese Tariff on certain important classes of manufactured articles, mainly textile and iron and steel goods, of special interest to British trade when imported into Japan.

Broadly speaking, the effect is that, in the case of cotton tissues of the classes which specially interest British trade, the new duties on grey tissues are reduced by proportions varying from one-third to one-fourth, with consequential reductions on other kinds; in the case of the more important classes of tissues of pure wool, by proportions varying from one-fourth to one-fifth; in that of tissues of wool and cotton mixed, and of linen yarns, by about one-fifth; in that of certain classes of iron and steel plates and sheets, including galvanized sheets and tinned plates, by amounts varying from two-ninths to two-fifths; in that of pig-iron, by about one-sixth; and in the case of paints, by one-third.

The imports of the above articles from the United Kingdom into Japan are valued at about £3,500,000 per annum, representing over 80 per cent. of the imports of the like articles from all sources.

The Schedule enumerates certain articles of Japanese production which are to continue to be admitted free of duty into the United Kingdom. These articles are either materials for industry or

specialities of Japanese manufacture. The total value of these articles imported into the United Kingdom from Japan is about £2,150,000 per annum.

An article of the Treaty which is of special interest is No. 26, which provides that :—

‘ The stipulations of the present Treaty shall not be applicable to any of his Britannic Majesty’s Dominions, Colonies, Possessions, or Protectorates beyond the seas, unless notice of adhesion shall have been given on behalf of any such Dominion, Colony, Possession, or Protectorate by his Britannic Majesty’s Representative at Tokio before the expiration of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty.’

The ten articles of import from Japan to the United Kingdom affected by the Treaty are :—habutae of pure silk, not dyed or printed ; handkerchiefs of habutae of pure silk, not dyed or printed ; copper, unwrought, in ingots and slabs ; plaiting of straw and other materials ; camphor and camphor oil ; baskets (including trunks) and basketware of bamboo ; mats and matting of rush ; lacquered wares, coated with Japanese lacquer (*urushi*) ; rapeseed oil ; and cloisonné wares.

The articles of export from the United Kingdom to Japan affected by the Treaty are :—prints ; linen yarns, tissues of cotton, including velvets and plushes ; tissues of wool and mixed tissues of wool and cotton, of wool and silk or of wool, cotton, or silk ; iron and steel, including lumps, ingots, blooms, billets, and slabs ; pig-iron ; plates and sheets, coated with metals, tinned or galvanized, corrugated or not. When it is remembered that Great Britain stands alone as the one great Power that enters into the arena of international exchange with no weapon with which to trade, the Japanese Government appears to have acted quite

fairly. The familiar saying that there is no friendship in business does not apply here. England could not threaten Japan with higher rates of customs duty on her imports. All that the British Government could do was to point out that England was the most generous of all nations in the treatment of foreign merchandise, and that she was the special friend and ally of Japan. The Japanese statesmen, for purely sentimental reasons, recognized the fairness of the appeal and granted the concessions.

The new tariff is the first Japanese tariff that applies to all countries alike, subject, of course, to reciprocal arrangements such as the one with Great Britain. It is reasonable as to rates, admirably arranged in its administrative features and intelligently considerate in many of its exemptions from duty, which is more than can be said of the tariffs of at least four European countries or of the tariff of the United States.

CHAPTER XXI

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS

IN the process of national transformation which has astonished the world the methods of local administration had to be remodelled. The change from communal government to central governmental supervision has been wisely accomplished without obliterating the communal spirit, and there still exists in Japanese cities and towns a good deal of civic pride. The local officials are elected and left more or less to do as they please subject only to certain checks by the National Government, which, as will be shown, are now rarely used, but which were thought necessary as precautions against local uprisings when the feudal system was abolished. Under present conditions these checks are really unnecessary, and, as a matter of fact, the control exercised by the Central Government in municipal affairs is not onerous, and except in the election of mayors, which must be approved by the Emperor, amounts to little more than the supervision of the Local Government Board in the case of British cities. The municipal authorities of Japan are subject to far less interference from the central authorities than is the local administration of South American cities, which are, as a rule, hotbeds of party politics. In the municipal trading corporations of the United Kingdom we are familiar with the political influence of that official-of-all-work, the town clerk, and we have heard of the power he sometimes exercises in parliamentary elections. The restraining influence of national or state

government in financial matters is undoubtedly wise, and in the United States, where local self-government may be said to exist to a greater degree than in most other countries, it has been found necessary to enact laws placing a limitation on the powers of the local authorities to create indebtedness. Practically all the recent state constitutions of the United States have a clause limiting local indebtedness to a certain percentage of the taxable value of the property. The Japanese Government is too practical and sensible to allow its cities unrestricted borrowing powers, and the loans that have been made abroad for municipal purposes have all had the sanction of the Government. Several important municipal loans have been made by the Industrial Bank of Japan, a financial institution endorsed by the Government and established for the purpose of protecting both the foreign bondholder and the Japanese creditor. Loans made through this bank are sound in every respect. The money derived from such loans has been uniformly spent on important and greatly needed public improvements.

Local
indebted-
ness.

A further increase of local municipal bonds is inevitable, in view of the fact that the people, dissatisfied with the civilization attained in the past, aspire to bring the supply of water, condition of the roads, and sanitation, to a state of perfection. In the issue of local municipal bonds every precaution should be adopted to prevent extravagance and excessive borrowing. There is no country in the world in which the Government is more economically conducted than in Japan, and there is no Government that has so much to show in the way of public works, for the amount of money expended. This not only applies to the public works department of Japan proper, Formosa, Chosen, and Manchuria, but also to the public works depart-

ments of the larger cities. The one thing that astonishes the inquirer is the excellent results obtained for the small amounts expended. Of course labour is still cheap, in spite of the fact that it has practically doubled in cost since 1896. Even more important is the fact that the administration of national or local affairs in Japan is thoroughly honest. Whatever may have been urged against the morals of the Japanese traders in the past, it is impossible to impugn the honesty of the Japanese official, national, colonial, or local.

Hence the great changes that have been in course of progress during the last few years in the cities and towns of Japan have been brought about honestly and efficiently. There has scarcely been any 'grafting' or peculation. Old cities have taken new life and new cities have come into existence. Public works of great magnitude, such as waterworks, sewage systems, harbours, the opening of new streets, the laying out of parks, and the erection of public buildings have been successfully carried out without a scandal, and, it may be added, without a charge of extravagance. Education, sanitation, surgical and medical treatment for the poorer classes, trade, industry, and commerce have not been neglected. Excellent schools and hospitals have been established in all the important cities. Technical colleges, local museums devoted to the industries of the districts, and Boards of Trade and Commerce to watch over and assist the industrial and commercial development of the various centres of industrial energy have been encouraged, and the work thus accomplished may be described as altogether admirable. Whilst the National Government has supervised these local enterprises it has in no way interfered. Visitors to the cities where great improve-

ments have been carried on will find local civic spirit as strong as it is in the cities and towns of Great Britain and of the United States. Indeed, so much has been accomplished in these directions that it is feared that the space which it is proposed to devote to municipal progress in Japan will be inadequate to do justice to the subject.

In the olden days Japan enjoyed a system of communal government as complete and as efficient as that to be found in any country. The Restoration, however, brought about governmental supervision of these affairs, and administrative officers, whose salaries were paid by the Government, undertook the management of local matters. The fact, however, that these officials were elected by the villages and had to sacrifice themselves for the good of their constituents as occasion demanded, indicates that all the communal spirit was not swept away by the more centralized system of government. Professor S. Shimiyu, probably one of the best authorities on local government in Japan, thinks that at the Restoration, if things had been left to take their natural course, a system of communal government peculiar to Japan would have been evolved. But communal government disappeared with many other institutions, and when the necessity for local self-government again arose, the present system came into existence. As this chapter deals especially with municipal progress, it is impossible to do more than designate the civil divisions as they exist at present. They are *ku* or *cho* (towns), *son* (villages), *gun* (subdivisions of a province), *fu* (urban prefectures), and *ken* (prefectures). There are in Japan proper 47 prefectures, 637 rural districts, 66 cities, 1,174 towns, and 11,155 villages. An additional 26 prefectures and 421 rural districts must be considered if we are dealing with

Changes in local government effected at Restoration.
Existing Civil divisions of country.

Chosen, Taiwan, and Saghalien. These constitute the local civil divisions.

For a period immediately following the Restoration no local government system was in existence. In 1876 regulations relating to the public borrowing of money by towns and villages were issued, and from that time onwards the present system of local government may be said to have begun. In 1878 a law was promulgated for the organization of *gun*, *ku*, and *cho*, and villages were also empowered to organize assemblies. The regulations or the code for governing these assemblies may be regarded as forming the basis of the town and village enactments now in operation. Both French and German advice appears to have been sought in the drafting of these regulations, and it is easy to trace in the local government system of Japan both French and German influence.

Town and village affairs, it is true, are partially in the hands of officials elected by the people, but they are never free from Government supervision and interference. The government of the towns and villages is, however, left pretty much to the local officials, but the politicians of Japan were not willing to allow the chief officials, in the case of the large cities, to be freely elected lest—according to some—the result should have been to bring to the front exceptionally strong and independent men. It was, therefore, decided that the Municipal Assembly or City Council, as it is called sometimes, should nominate three candidates and should report the nomination to the Emperor, petitioning his Majesty at the same time to choose one of the three as the chief official of the city. This precautionary measure prevents the selection of a socialistic mayor or of a man likely to be inimical to the Government. The Emperor invariably selects the

candidate who has received the highest number of votes, and this system of choice has furnished excellent officials. The cities of Japan are, in a measure, self-governing, for they elect their own aldermen and municipal assemblies, and the latter elect the mayor; the final choice, however, is vested nominally in the Emperor, and in reality in the Central Government. In the minor civil divisions some of the old communal spirit has been revived, and the government is largely left in the hands of the people, the Central Government only undertaking to supervise matters that have a bearing on national affairs. For a time the three cities, Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka, were subject to special regulations providing for the tenure of the two chief municipal offices, those of the mayor and vice-mayor, by the municipal governor and secretary respectively, an arrangement which may be said to have accomplished the views of those who urged that the chief municipal appointment should be in the hands of the Government. Such strenuous opposition to these exceptions from urban regulations was persisted in by the three cities concerned, with continuous support from the Lower House of the Diet, that in 1898 the objections encountered in the Upper House and in the municipalities were overcome, and the ordinary city regulations became applicable to Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka.

As a whole both the central and the local government of Japan are honestly and intelligently administered, and the functions with which the Government officials are invested seem to work for the general good of the community. There is certainly no wholesale corruption, such as that with which we have become familiar in the United States, nor even the milder sort from which we are not wholly free in England. During

Freedom
from
'graft'.

the writer's stay in Japan charges of 'grafting' were filed against certain municipal officials of Osaka and vigorous prosecution and conviction followed. The general indignation aroused by the prominence given in the press to this case of municipal corruption following upon what are known as the Sugar Frauds, for their implication in which certain members of the Diet are now undergoing sentence of imprisonment, points to the rarity of such occurrences. Indeed, when one looks over a list of the innumerable undertakings, industries, and enterprises in which the Japanese Government is interested, it is surprising that one hears of so little dishonesty and 'graft'.

The system of Imperial selection from among these candidates nominated by the Municipal Assembly has certainly given to Tokyo a capable mayor. Mr. Yukio Ozaki, M.P., Mayor of Tokyo, is exceptionally well informed on all matters relating to municipal progress in Japan. The writer is indebted to him, not only for much valuable information relating to the capital of the Empire, but also for facts as to other cities, and likewise for reports and documents referring more especially to what the Mayor of Tokyo aptly calls 'the epoch of municipal improvement'. There is so much of interest to write about the individual cities of Japan that the six periods into which the history of municipal progress has been divided must be passed over briefly. These are : (a) the early formation period, (b) the period when the centre of administrative authority was in the south, (c) the period when the centre was in the north, (d) the non-centralized period, (e) the period when the feudal system was perfected, and (f) the period when the prefecture or county system was introduced.

The first of these two periods is altogether too mythical for profitable discussion in a volume dealing

with modern economic progress. The second period is of passing interest because it deals with Nara which was the first regular political capital, and is to-day one of the most lovely and fascinating cities in all Japan. The Japanese have always entertained a great respect for reports, so it is not surprising to find one dated A.D. 724 describing 'the grandeur of the city of Nara' in that primitive stage of her existence. The following extract will interest those who have a fancy for picturesque red-tiled roofs: 'The capital where the Emperor reigns and the world comes to pay homage, should well represent the Imperial augustness. Edifices, roofed with straw, a remnant of earlier days, require much labour and are of short durability. To avoid such a waste of money, measures should be taken to order every official not lower than the fifth rank, and those equal to the expense, to have their domiciles tiled, and painted either red or white.'

In the very early days the capital never remained long in one place, as according to strict Shinto ethics it was not seemly for an Emperor to reside in a city polluted by the death of his predecessor, and it is recorded that during forty-two reigns there were no less than fifty changes of the capital. After the ascendancy of Nara the capital was transferred to Kyoto and remained there until the supremacy drifted to Northern Japan and the Shogunate Government was established at Kamakura in 1186. For two centuries and a half (1336-1580) the country was without a centre of authority. About 1540, according to Mr. Ozaki, Japan entered into trade relations with Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch merchants, which resulted in a rise of commercial cities, and the period has been called the 'Age of Local Autonomy'. Of the cities thus brought into existence Sakai, perhaps,

Nara as
the
capital.

Capital
trans-
ferred to
Kyoto.

Age of
Local
Auto-
nomy'.

was the most typical and certainly is the only one recognized as of any importance to-day.

The age of the feudal system brought about the revival of the then fading city of Kyoto. In this period many of the well-known cities of Japan changed from unimportant towns and villages into cities destined to take an important part in the country's government and industries and commerce. Those which come to mind are Yedo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kanagawa, Sendai, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, and Nagasaki. The great ports of Kobe, Yokohama, and Hakodate do not appear in this list, for these places only began to be important after Commodore Perry's epoch-making visit in 1853. Together with the historic city of Nagasaki and the promising port of Moji (of even later development) these ports have all grown into important and prosperous trading centres.

It is now proposed to deal with the last-named period or 'epoch of municipal improvement'. Before the Restoration the cities of Japan were controlled and ruled by the daimyos, their prosperity being more or less bound up with the fortunes of their respective rulers. The process of perfecting the prefectural and district administrations brought a measure of self-government to the great towns and transformed such cities as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Nagasaki into independent communities, capable of expansion and soon able to undertake the responsibility of municipal government. It furthermore developed what, as we have seen, were practically new cities, like Yokohama, Kobe, Hakodate, Sapporo, Otaru, Hiroshima, and Moji, into important commercial and trading centres, adding greatly to the wealth and prosperity of Japan. The names of some of these cities are already famous throughout the world, and details of their

present economic position will be found in subsequent chapters. These accounts for the most part show the municipal, industrial, and commercial progress of the principal Japanese cities during the last 15 or 20 years. It will be found that in the aggregate this progress has been very striking.

It may be truthfully said that in no department of civil life has Japan made greater advance than in that of the government, extension, and improvement of her cities. During the last few years municipal life has been distinctly ameliorated. Handsomely built, sanitary modern cities are coming into existence where once were found mere conglomerations of population packed so thickly into wooden houses in narrow streets that sanitation was impossible, and the privacy of decent home life unknown.

Students of Japanese economics can find no more significant index to the prosperity of commerce and industry in Japan than the rapid increase in the population of cities during the modern period. There are twenty-nine cities in Japan with populations numbering over 50,000, and another thirty with populations over 30,000. The following table shows the most striking increases of population that have taken place between the writer's first and recent visits to Japan :—

City	Population	
	1895	1909
Tokyo . . .	1,242,224	2,186,079
Osaka . . .	488,937	1,226,590
Kyoto . . .	328,411	442,462
Yokohama . .	160,439	394,303
Nagoya . . .	206,742	378,231
Kobe . . .	158,993	378,197
Nagasaki . . .	67,481	176,480
Hiroshima . .	91,985	142,763
Otaru . . .	39,644	91,281
Hakodate . . .	66,333	87,875
Shimonoseki .	36,000	58,254
Moji . . .	8,000	55,682
	2,895,189	5,618,197

Increase
of popula-
tion in
cities.

The significance of this increase is confirmed by personal observation of the improved conditions of life and the growth of municipal spirit in these cities visited in 1896 and again in 1910. The people are better dressed, have the appearance of being better fed, and are as busy and industrious as ever. The improved condition of the people is in part due to the rise in wages which, speaking roughly, are in nearly all occupations twice as much as they were fifteen years ago. The higher cost of living, due to the rise in the price of rice and other food supplies, and the increase in the burden of taxation in part neutralizes the advance in wages, but after making allowances for this, a distinct improvement is evident in all these places where the population has largely increased and the trade and manufacturing may be said to have doubled.

The cities themselves are better governed—indeed some of them had no local government in 1896—the health and comfort of the people are more carefully looked after. Waterworks have been built, modern sewerage has been introduced in several cases, new streets have been laid out and old ones have been widened, harbours improved and gas and electric lighting plants established, and additional space has been allotted for parks and playgrounds for children. Excellent systems of electric tramways have been inaugurated where no modern means of transit existed before. Those who knew Japan just after the Japan-China war, and who now revisit the country will require no tables of statistics to convince them that the progress in urban life has been both substantial and real.

But belief in this progress does not rest upon personal observation alone. Reference to official facts

and figures—in providing which the Japanese are especially apt and intelligent—verifies all that has been said above. The publication of English translations of official reports shows a courtesy and an abundance of zeal that experience of obtaining statistical information in other countries proves to be quite unique.

The steady growth of the expenditure for prefectures, cities, towns, and villages since the writer's first visit to Japan in 1896, shows the increasing progress and activity of local government. That the largely increased revenues, supplemented as they have been by local loans, have been honestly and judiciously expended it is impossible to doubt. There was not a city visited fifteen years ago by the writer and revisited last year wherein the evidence of improvement and progress was not manifest. The work of making these cities more habitable and of improving the condition of the citizens has not been accomplished without sacrifice on the part of the taxpayers, as will be seen from the following table:—

Financial Year	Revenue <i>Yen</i>	Expenditure <i>Yen</i>
1896-97	84,495,485	69,737,397
1897-98	100,568,096	88,817,838
1898-99	109,642,244	96,442,250
1899-00	130,563,418	114,054,230
1900-01	147,302,786	130,663,877
1901-02	160,947,571	143,170,547
1902-03	173,717,741	154,642,274
1903-04	175,229,741	157,743,053
1904-05	141,651,768	128,078,177
1905-06	144,413,695	130,784,971
1906-07	192,152,644	166,113,031
1907-08	227,816,731	198,933,976
1908-09	256,585,669	227,295,978
1909-10	223,614,652	220,295,978
1910-11	264,053,514	240,132,288

A threefold increase of taxation in fifteen years cannot be regarded as a light increase of financial burdens, especially when to this must be added an extraordinary expenditure in Imperial taxation in consequence of war, and for the purpose of strengthening national defence. The amount of local loans shows an even greater ratio of increase :—

At the end of	Grand Total
	<i>Yen</i>
1896 . .	10,518,414
1897 . .	16,852,814
1898 . .	23,483,997
1899 . .	31,858,203
1900 . .	42,739,920
1901 . .	51,240,972
1902 . .	61,110,355
1903 . .	67,111,747
1904 . .	64,992,508
1905 . .	62,569,183
1906 . .	77,585,360
1907 . .	89,266,115
1908 . .	99,823,624
1909 . .	162,933,734
1910 . .	168,002,562

From just over 1 to nearly 17 million sterling in fifteen years is a jump in local indebtedness that might arrest the attention of the municipal trading councils of Great Britain and even cause the ‘grafting’ aldermen of American cities to pause and wonder if the patient taxpayer had not reached the limit of his burden. In Japan, however, the money has been well spent for purposes, as the following table shows, that will improve the health and add to the revenues of the cities and towns :—

	<i>Yen</i>
Education . . .	12,520,052
Sanitation . . .	23,423,565
Industry . . .	9,258,057
Public Works . .	54,728,402
Redemption of old loans	65,068,496
Other purposes .	3,003,896
Total . .	<u>168,002,468</u>

The Japanese seem to have laid down very strict and wise regulations in regard to the flotation, rate of interest and redemption of all their local loans. Government sanction is required for the greater part of this borrowing; of the total amount of local indebtedness quoted above over fifteen and a half million sterling represents loans that have Government sanction for their issue. These relate to loans to cities, towns, and villages which are to be redeemed within three years, and to district loans so long as their total amount for the district in question does not exceed £100, though the permission of the Governor of the prefecture in which the district is situated is required, and for prefectural loans so long as the total amount for the prefecture in question does not exceed £5,000.

Regulations in regard to flotation, &c., of local loans.

In April of this year there was, however, a revision of the limits within which loans do not require the permission of the competent authorities, i. e. Ministers of Finance and Home Affairs (and Minister of Education when educational matters are involved), the restrictions relative to the first and last periods for the redemption of city, town, and village loans being removed and the Government sanction being enforced for these loans even when they may be redeemable within three years.

Some of the cities of Japan, notably Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, and Kobe, have obtained money by loans from abroad as follows :—

¹ The redemption must commence not later than three years after the date of the loan, and the annual rate of redemption must be so fixed as to complete the redemption not later than thirty years after the issue of the loans.

Cities	Object of Loan	Amount authorized
		<i>Yen</i>
Tokyo .	Loan for consolidation of old debts, improvement of city, &c.	14,580,000
Kyoto .	Loan for stream utilization, electric enterprises, &c.	17,550,000
Osaka .	Harbour works, electric railways, and waterworks .	47,258,000
Yokohama	Waterworks, harbour improvements and Reclamation scheme, Gas	12,812,400
Nagoya .	Waterworks	7,816,000
		100,016,400

The functions pertaining to the municipality, town, and village cannot be understood without a rough outline of the system of local government of which they are units. The largest divisions of the country are the prefectures (*fu* and *ken*); these are again subdivided into districts (*gun*); cities, towns, and villages form subdivisions of the latter. Hokkaido, the Okinawa Prefecture, Formosa, and some other islands do not, however, form part of this system, owing to differences in the general method of government.

Prefectures are not only the seats of local self-government, but are administrative divisions of the country including within their administrative areas districts, cities, and islands.

District associations also are administrative bodies under the prefectures, and their areas contain towns and villages.

Cities alone are independent of the district wherein they stand, and differ again, in respect of organization, from towns and villages belonging to the area of their districts. The systems and scope of these various kinds of self-governing corporations are of different kinds. The two higher classes have two bodies—the representative and deliberative assembly and the

administrative council, presided over by the Governor in the case of prefectures and the District Headman in the case of districts. Both these officials have dual functions, as representing national and local administration. The powers of a district assembly, besides being more local in application, are not so wide as those of prefectural assemblies, which are stewards for the Government, being charged with the imposition and collection of taxes for national and prefectural purposes (the latter in accordance with definite limits that may not be overstepped without the sanction of the Finance Minister or Minister for Home Affairs), and with the execution of the Government policy upon all affairs throughout their district, including the distribution of grants and subsidies from the National Treasury. The Governor himself is a national official, but his assistants are paid out of prefectural funds.

The lines of prefectural taxation are very clearly defined. The taxes are levied either as supplementary Pre-fectural taxation. to the direct national taxes or upon specially selected items of prefectural taxation. Some of these latter are often transferred by the prefectural assembly to the decision of the city, town, or village assembly concerned. Except those taxes defined by law, prefectural taxes must be brought before the prefectural assembly.

There is a similar division of deliberative and executive functions in the cities, towns, and villages. In the two latter the headmen take the place of the city council and, in the event of disagreement between the two branches of the administration, the prefectural council in the case of cities and the district council in the case of towns and villages have to be referred to. The mayor and the headman of the town or village hold the same position to their respective executive

bodies as do the prefectural governor and district headman to prefectural and district assemblies.

Cities, towns, and villages manage their own affairs under governmental regulations and initiate work and improvements according to local requirements, in addition to the work such as the establishment of common schools, vaccination and other duties entrusted to them by Government.

Local revenue may be divided into two classes—that which accrues to the prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and villages from their particular properties, commissions, rents, fines, and other sources allocated to them by law or ordinance, and that which accrues from taxation and rates. The prefectures' powers of direct taxation have been referred to; such as belong to the two lower classes of self-governing bodies in order to meet a deficit are confined to a district assembly's power of levying contributions from towns and villages, and to a city, town, or village's power of rating or requisitioning labour and commodities. The total revenues of prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and villages for 1910 were 26·4 million sterling as compared with 8·4 million in 1896, but the expenditure for last year amounted in all to 24 million, an increase of 17 million over the expenditure of fourteen years ago. The first class of revenue, i. e. that accruing from receipts from sources other than rates and taxes amounted in all to between 11 and 12 million sterling, so that though these figures show a great increase of late years in what are known as foundation properties, there is each year an increasing expenditure that has to be met by particular taxation and the issue of loans.

The scope of prefectural administration is shown by the chief items of prefectural expenditure in the

Budget of last year. These comprise, in addition to prefectural and district official expenditure (involving the official expenses, salaries of officials, and the cost incurred in the collection of taxes, and amounting to about £800,000), public works expenditure and subsidies, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling; educational expenditure and subsidies, £1,400,000; police, £1,260,000; industrial encouragement expenditure and subsidies, £742,000; public health and hospitals and subsidies, £240,000; relief expenditure, reformatories, river works, and other items, another million sterling. An equally valuable guide to the scope of all local administration is afforded by the Budget's classification of the amounts devoted by cities, towns, and villages to the main items of their expenditure. Of these education absorbs five and a half million sterling—over two-thirds of the total expenditure incurred. Public works and hygiene are next in importance, but the outlay upon these together does not amount to much more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling. Evidently the provision of education ranks foremost in the minds of local administrators.

The spirit that has prompted municipal reform and organization has shown itself again in the foundation of chambers of commerce in nearly all the important cities of Japan. Tokyo and Osaka started these organizations, and to-day chambers of commerce are found in sixty principal cities. The members elected to govern these associations are prominent men of business, who present their views to the authorities concerning the revision of laws and institutions, reply to questions put to them by the authorities, act as arbitrators in commercial and industrial disputes, and investigate commercial and industrial conditions, besides publishing necessary statistics and rendering protection to

Chambers
of Com-
merce.

domestic commerce and industry. There are in addition various guilds formed in connexion with the manufacture and disposal of articles of commerce, and numerous commercial organs, the Exchange being the largest of them all. There are exchanges for rice, negotiable bonds, and for various sorts of produce, numbering fifty-one in all; two of these have membership corporations, the others are based on the joint-stock company system.

In no branch of administration do the cities of Japan present more useful and effective work than in the organization of their museums and exhibitions. These organizations have become of real force in the encouragement both of home industries and foreign trade. At the end of 1910 there were no fewer than seventy commercial museums and exhibitions in various Japanese cities. The object is to exhibit articles suitable for foreign trade, to help to investigate important matters relating to commerce and industry, and to give general information regarding the market conditions at home and abroad. Most of these are museums managed by the prefectures, but the Imperial Commercial Museum at Tokyo is under the direct control of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. It was established in 1896 with a view to making it a central bureau that should stimulate existing home trade as well as watch every opportunity for the extension of foreign trade. It exhibits trade samples of foreign and Japanese merchants, undertakes the distribution and introduction of these to the home market, gives lectures on commercial and industrial subjects, and issues a museum bulletin containing reports and correspondence relating to commerce and industries at home and abroad. Many foreign merchants, especially those who go to Japan

for the purpose of observing her commercial and trade conditions, look upon a visit to this museum as an essential preliminary to their investigations. The general visitors as well as those directly interested in the exhibits have of late much increased, and the total number during 1910 was 131,554.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LARGER CITIES—TOKYO

‘Monday, November 23rd, 1857. At eight this morning I start on my journey to Yedo. We started in the following order: My avant-courier was Kikuna, a military officer with a rank corresponding to captain; he had his horse, and norimono, and the usual bearers and attendants, but before him went three lads, each bearing a wand of bamboo, with strips of paper attached to the top; they cried out alternately, “shi-ta-ni-iro!” that is “Sit down”, “sit down”; they kept some four hundred yards in advance, and their cry sounded quite musical.

‘Next to Kikuna came the American flag guarded by two of my guards. Then I came on horseback with six guards; next my norimono, with its twelve bearers, and their head men, bearers of my shoes, &c.; then Mr. Heusken, on horseback with two guards, then his norimono, bearers, &c. Next followed a long retinue bearing packages containing my bedding, chairs, food, trunks and packages containing presents; my cook and his following.

‘The vice-governor of Shimoda followed with his train, then the Mayor of Kakizaki, and lastly the private secretary of the Governor of Shimoda. A Dutch interpreter was carried in a kago in Mr. Heusken’s rear. The whole train numbered some three hundred and fifty persons.’

In this way ‘the first diplomatic representative ever received in Yedo’ entered that city a little more than half a century ago. Positive orders had been issued by the Government prohibiting any travel over the roads during Mr. Harris’s journey from Shimoda to

what is now Tokyo. Arriving at Yedo he found that strong stockades, similar to the barricades used in London for the recent Coronation, had been erected to control the crowd, and that for the same reason all the inner gates of the city had been closed the previous night. Mr. Harris was informed that the Government had been in a fever of anxiety all day for fear of some accident: that the people were wild with curiosity to see his entry, and that had the Government not used the most stringent measures, the people would have rushed to Yedo 'by millions' to see him.

To-day, the American Ambassador or the Ambassador from this country could alight at the Shinbashi railway station, Tokyo, step into an electric tram and ride up to the Foreign Office and call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Uchida or on Mr. Ishii, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, without attracting the slightest attention, and with less ceremony than is necessary for such a visit to Downing Street. Mr. Harris's account of his journey not only illustrates the changes that have taken place in Japan during the lifetime of the present generation; it gives also some idea of the progress of Tokyo, which was then the seat of the Shogunate and the residence of the Tai-kun or Shogun.

The first audience of the Shogun was indeed a pageant. In reply to Mr. Harris's address expressing the sincere wishes of the President of the United States, the Tai-kun said, in 'a pleased and firm voice', what was interpreted as follows:—

Treaty negotiated
by Mr.
Townsend
Harris.

'Pleased with the letter sent with the Ambassador from a far distant country, and likewise pleased with his discourse. Intercourse shall be continued for ever.'

The treaty that was the outcome of Mr. Harris's mission came as a rude awakening from a long cherished dream to exclude for ever foreign nations from Japan. The possibilities of opening the country to foreign trade and intercourse caused alarm, and a strong agitation followed against the Shogun's act to which the Emperor's sanction had not been given. The enemies of the Yedo Government saw their opportunity, and the incident above described in the autobiography of Townsend Harris led to the restoration of the Emperor. Though the Shogun had been denounced for his friendly attitude towards foreigners, the new Government, as subsequent events showed, was even more cordially disposed towards them. The advisers of the Emperor had realized at this early day that the preservation of the independence of their country and its establishment in the family of nations lay in a different course of action. Then commenced that process of national renovation that has astonished the world.

The last fifty years have brought about a great change not only in Tokyo but in Japan. The Shogunate has 'vanished like flame-shrivelled tinder', Japan has entered the comity of nations as a first-class Power, whilst Tokyo is rapidly becoming a progressive modern city with an ambition to show the world a few years hence what New Japan can do in the way of an International Exhibition.

A little over ten years after the events above chronicled took place the Emperor of Japan left the ancient city of Kyoto, where his ancestors had for centuries lived in seclusion, and made Yedo, the Shogun's stronghold, his new home and the seat of Government. It was then (1868) that the name was changed to Tokyo, or the Eastern capital, to distinguish

it from Kyoto. The chief reason for this move was to safeguard the newly constituted administration against reactionary insurrection rendered probable by the existence of a considerable number of discontented partisans of the Shogun so long as the Emperor remained in the old capital.

Yedo itself was no stranger to the responsibilities of a seat of Government. Up to mediaeval times it was no more than a seaside hamlet, but since the end of the sixteenth century, when the daimyo Iyeyasu's attention was first directed to Yedo's strategic advantages and the possibility of developing its castle, built some hundred years before by a warrior, Otta-Dokan, into an impregnable fortress, its fortunes had been linked to the fortunes of the Shoguns. The long predominance of the Iyeyasu Shogunate (extending over two centuries and a half) had associated Yedo with a régime established to a great extent upon its founder's skilful design of so apportioning the various territories among the daimyos and the Shogun's own followers, that coalition between the former with a view to insurrection was difficult, and easy access to the capital and control of the movements of the Emperor and of the Imperial Court was always maintained. Another circumstance that contributed to the importance and prosperity of Yedo was the obligation imposed upon each daimyo to live there for a fixed period during alternate years. All the daimyos, some two hundred and fifty in number, had houses in Yedo, many of which still constitute the finest sights of Tokyo, and the building and upkeep of these and their subsidiary establishments were a constant source of income to the city. Moreover, Yedo won the crown of a capital city's ambition—all other cities of the Empire looked up to it for example, for the daimyos

History of
Yedo: its
associa-
tion with
the
Shogun-
ate.

tried to make their own castle towns reflect as far as possible the magnificence of that city which exacted residence from them.

In conspicuous contrast to the palaces and mansions of the daimyos, who vied with one another as to who should possess the most stately edifice and the largest park, the dwellings and shops of the citizens were of the humblest kind—wooden structures, insignificant and even contemptible. The dread of conflagrations which periodically devastated the city, and of earthquakes, which, though seldom destructive, were always a menace, effectually checked architectural enterprise.

But neither earthquake nor fire would have wrought such wholesale mischief as did the abolition of feudalism in the early days of the Meiji Restoration. For, with the fall of the Shogunate, with the disappearance of the fiefs, the mansions erected by the feudatories in Yedo were demolished, and the noble parks in which they stood, parks created by the combined efforts of art and nature working through three centuries, were, according to one historian, with very few exceptions 'literally torn to pieces, so that the places they had adorned became vacant and desolate regions; blots breaking the continuity of the populous city'.

All this destruction, says a writer who visited Tokyo in 1867,¹ was wrought with lightning rapidity. He then found a metropolis thickly packed with buildings and parks, its streets resonant with the tramp of armed samurai entering or emerging from long low lines of solid barracks that flanked the gates of the feudal yashiki, and its markets thronged with busy tradesmen. Any one visiting it five years later would have received the impression of a town much too

¹ Captain Brinkley.

spacious for its citizens, 'a town populous in spots and desolate in spots, but wearing altogether an aspect of obvious decadence.'

But this desolation was only temporary. As the feudal system had been concentrated in Yedo, so Tokyo became the centre of the newly-organized Government. The Emperor had made it his capital, and to Tokyo flocked all those who had helped to overthrow the Shogunate. Men seeking office hurried to it, students entered its schools, trades and professions seemed at first only to thrive there. The reorganization of local government, consequent upon the abolition of the clan system and the division of the country into prefectures, threw a very great number of well-paid honourable posts upon the market and, according to Jukichi Inouye, the admirable historian of Tokyo, the superabundance of officials, men newly appointed and men aspiring to appointment, in the early days in Tokyo, and the results, direct or indirect, of this friendly invasion, contributed largely to the city's increased prosperity.

By the middle of the seventeenth century Yedo, by its method of forced citizenship, probably had 150,000 inhabitants, and in 1721, when the first trustworthy census was taken, had a population of half a million.

The municipal census of 1908 gave the settled population as 1,622,856, though most of the official documents now give the population, including transient people and the dwellers outside the administrative limits, as over 2,000,000. Tokyo has, therefore, become one of the world's great cities, but owing to its teeming streets and the fact that most of its population seem to live in the streets it gives the impression of being an even greater city than it really is. The houses and shops are at the most but two stories in height and

hence spread over a good deal of space. The extreme length of Tokyo from north-east to south-west is about eight miles. The area is 18,482 acres, or nearly twenty-nine square miles. Though many of the streets have been widened since the writer's first visit to Tokyo fifteen years ago, the majority of the streets are still narrow and without sidewalks. There are six hundred miles of streets with a width ranging from a few feet to fifty yards, the average width being nine yards. Three hundred miles of these streets are ultimately to be widened and the work goes on slowly. The authorities have had to suffer for not anticipating at the outset the march of events and acquiring land for street-widening purposes when, owing to the fall of the Shogunate and the desertion of the daimyos' properties, it could have been had almost for the asking. Now the high price of land in Tokyo hampers such enterprise, and money can only be spared when the congestion of traffic in a particular street makes the purchase of land for widening imperative or when the devastation of an area by fire—and this occurs quite often owing to the inflammable materials used in the construction of houses—relieves the authorities of the necessity of paying compensation for the removal of houses.

There are 100 miles of electric tramways, and the company controlling the undertaking has a franchise for 140 miles. As the city grows in wealth and becomes more and more the centre of a great empire the vacant spots in Tokyo will be built on and a fine modern city evolved. There are parks and bathing-places and spacious drilling-grounds. The planting of cherry-trees along the streets and the river banks, in the parks and squares, embellishes the thoroughfares and gives an attractiveness to the appearance of Tokyo

during the cherry blossom season in April which can be found in no other large city of the world. Tokyo has certainly lost some of its old-time charm and is no longer a typical Japanese city, such as Kyoto for example, yet much remains to be done before it can rank as a modern city. Perhaps nowhere else in Japan can the old life and the new be seen in such close juxtaposition. For if in one street are visible only 'wooden houses of immemorial style, lowly, sombre, and unattractive, annexes of unshapely fire-proof warehouses', in the next are to be found 'handsome lofty edifices of brick and stone, such as would be called imposing anywhere'; if all along the sides of one thoroughfare the shops have the open front and unalluring arrangement of mediaeval fashions, those in the adjoining street are resplendent with plate-glass windows and glittering displays of foreign wares or native works of art. The factory chimney, too, is among the recent acquisitions of the city, and already it has begun 'to stain the crystalline purity of the atmosphere that enfolded Yedo in pre-Meiji times'. In many respects Tokyo has advanced less than the Government of Japan, which, as we have seen, is rapidly becoming twentieth-century in all its departments.

The municipal administration of Tokyo is efficient and quite up-to-date. The city is managed upon an economical basis, the total expenditure not exceeding £400,000, and the local taxes being less than two *yen* or four shillings per capita. The amount of income tax paid by the people of Tokyo is £650,000 divided among nearly 70,000 citizens. There is also a business tax which reaches £500,000. Of course, the proceeds of these taxes are used for national as well as local purposes. The business tax is levied on

The Contrasts of Tokyo.

Local Administration and Taxation.

the sale of goods, banking, insurance, money-lending, manufacturing, transportation, printing, innkeeping, and a variety of other businesses. There are over 4,000 members of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, and the body is a useful and enterprising one, publishing a valuable annual statistical report from which some of the above statements have been obtained.

The people of Tokyo are chiefly engaged in commerce, and of the 750,000 returned as employed in various occupations nearly 250,000, or one-third, earn a living in commercial pursuits. Industry, including manufacturing, claims about 120,000, whilst 220,000 are returned as occupied in 'other pursuits' which, of course, includes the large army of officials, professional people, and those engaged in personal service. There are some new textile factories in the vicinity of Tokyo, and these employ about 60,000 operatives, 35,000 male and 25,000 female—less than 10 per cent. of the total number of factory operatives employed in the Empire. The town is excellently policed and fairly well lighted, has a sufficient water supply, and a public school system that will rank with those of most European cities. Three essentials are still wanted: a good drainage system to fulfil the aim of its comprehensive sanitary regulations, a commodious station, better streets and side-walks. It will not be long, however, before the second of these is realized. Looking from almost any direction towards the heart of Tokyo, a huge steel frame, like the skeleton of some mammoth structure, strikes the eye. It is the steel frame of the new Central Station into which all the railroads entering the metropolis will converge, and its completion is assured by 1914 in good time to ensure its being in proper working order for the Grand Exhibition to be held in the capital in 1917. The

estimated cost of this great station is about a quarter of a million sterling.

Apart from the narrowness of so many of the streets, which to Western ideas often seem no more than the merest slips of alleys, to say that their condition in other respects leaves room for improvement is to pass over a characteristic of Tokyo that illustrates perhaps more than any other feature the real points of difference between the old and the metamorphosized civilization. As in the old days the narrowness of the streets did not interfere with such traffic as was carried on, and was as much a part of the recognized condition of things as were the instincts of the common people to give way before a daimyo procession or to expect no consideration from those palanquin riders or horsemen in whose way they found themselves, so the convenience of the pedestrian was the very last thing that was studied in the making of the roads. Indeed the work of road levelling was left, as it is now, entirely to the long-suffering public, who pursue their weary task of grinding in the rough pebbles, the scattering of which over the highway constitutes the municipality's sole function as a road maker, until a path is beaten in and has become hollow (all traffic, even on a broad stone-covered road, naturally choosing this line of least resistance), when more pebbles are flung down and the public begin anew the patient task of road levelling. Heavy rains, too, co-operate with pedestrians or add to the wretched state of the roads by turning them into quagmires, and the frequent but spasmodic waterings that are indulged in by the municipality and private people on the part of the road facing their houses make the use of the phrase 'travel stained' in Tokyo something more than a metaphorical expression.

The
Streets
of the
Capital.

The surface tramways and elevated railways are admirable and the fares remarkably low. The new methods of travel have reduced the work of jinrikishas during the last ten years, but these men have found other employment. No one seems to be idle in Tokyo. The general impression is a hive of busy humanity living in houses that look into the streets where most of the business seems to be transacted. Moreover, Tokyo is a city of a single European hotel. At least this deficiency must be remedied before it is possible to hold an International Exhibition and bid foreigners welcome to the capital of Japan.

The thanks of the writer for many of the historical facts relating to Tokyo are due to Mr. Jukichi Inouye, who in sending a copy of his interesting little book on Tokyo added a message to the effect that any information it contained might be freely used.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LARGER CITIES—OSAKA

THE tendencies to excessive centralization that brought at first such a pressure of population to bear upon Tokyo soon began to be overruled by the necessity of granting a certain extent of local self-government to provinces and towns, and by the development of great fields for commercial and industrial enterprise. The realization of industrial development, as perhaps the primary factor in the achievement and preservation of national importance that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have brought, has for ever dissipated that contempt of mercantile life which for so long set a social barrier between such cities as Tokyo and Osaka—the latter extremely mercantile, and the former entirely opposed to mercantile pursuits.

In the olden days the ‘sworded people’ of the capital took pride in spending the sums earned and amassed by the manufacturers and merchants of the great industrial centre. The political and militant classes looked upon Osaka as a sort of reservoir of food products, equipments, and money, the primary importance of which was to supply the Shoguns with the sinews of war. ‘Its position towards Yedo,’ remarks one historian, ‘was exactly that of a kitchen towards a hall in a dwelling.’ Such a sentiment would hardly find utterance in these times in military circles, and it certainly would not meet with the approval of politicians. Osaka is much too important a centre of in-

dustry and trade to be looked down upon, while statesmen and soldiers alike allow no opportunity to pass of doing honour to this ancient and historic city. For in spite of its manufacturing and commercial proclivities, and of its importance as the focus of communication of the Empire, and the site of its greatest industrial activities, Osaka is the possessor of a history reaching back to the days of Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor of Japan.

The city may be proud of its spinning-mills, steel works, copper refineries, type foundries, engineering establishments, carpet, brush, bicycle, and other factories, but it has reason also to be proud of its antiquity, which will bear comparison with that of Yedo itself. Nearly fifteen centuries ago this mercantile city could boast a 'Korokwan' or State Hall, where Chinese Ambassadors were received; before that (A.D. 300) the Emperor Nintoku established his palace at Osaka, and for several generations subsequently this city was the capital of the Empire. Osaka in its day has been the centre of propaganda of a new religion, and around its famous castle not a few severe battles have been waged. It has produced, moreover, dramatists and literary celebrities, and it is the birth-place of Japan's first successful newspaper, the *Asahi Shimbun*, now published both in Tokyo and Osaka. Olden times in Osaka have been celebrated in the dramas of Chikamatsu, the Shakespeare of Japan, as his countrymen delight to call him, as also in the novels of Saikaku, a resident of Osaka, who founded a new school of popular though not particularly refined writing in the seventeenth century. Many of his works, suppressed during his lifetime, have only recently been permitted to appear in a new edition.

Whilst economy, thrift, and industry may have

played important parts in the history of Osaka, it will be seen that it is unfair to state that these by no means despicable virtues were placed above everything else. In one sense Osaka may be compared to Chicago. Two centuries before that great granary was heard of, the importance of Osaka was established as the warehouse or emporium in which the daimyo stored his grain. From this central depôt the sales were made, and the wants of the daimyo and his vassals were supplied. Osaka, with its excellent outlet to the Inland Sea, could in those days of small boats easily market its surplus products, and it thus became a grain centre as well as a focus of industrial activity.

In 1625 the population of Osaka was nearly 300,000, and it had increased to 400,000 in 1662. In 1661 the population of London was only 179,000. Whilst a few years later the Plague and the Fire may have temporarily reduced the number of inhabitants, the population of London increased very rapidly towards the close of the seventeenth century, and it may at that time have caught up with Osaka. Nevertheless, Osaka was a place of considerable importance at a period when many of the great European cities were still in the making. A century later the Japanese Government depended largely upon the riches of Osaka to tide over its financial emergencies; thrice in two months calls upon its citizens were made for large loans, and these were as promptly responded to, the money being supplied by an astonishingly small number of capitalists.

Like other cities, Osaka has not always been prosperous. With the abolition of feudalism it lost its main source of wealth—the sale of the daimyos' commodities. Leading houses went into bankruptcy, and only a few firms sustained the shock. Hence, fifty

Osaka
compared
with
Chicago.

Popula-
tion
greater
than Lon-
don in
1625.

The Mint.

years ago it had to begin its career all over again, and it was then that it started on a new basis as a modern manufacturing and commercial city. It was no longer the emporium of the daimyos' grain, but with the establishment of the Mint it produced, and became the storehouse of the nation's specie money.

In appearance Osaka presents some striking contrasts. From the windows of the railway carriage it might be regarded as a foreign Sheffield, or even a Manchester. Its innumerable tall chimneys send forth the blackest of smoke, and its factories and mills are built of red brick after the plan of our own, except that, on account of earthquakes, they are not more than one or two stories high. The immediately surrounding country is flat for miles, affording ample room for a city of five millions. It was on account of this open situation, and because all the roads of the empire naturally extended to Osaka, that Hideyoshi built the Osaka Castle, and determined to make it the national capital. The picturesque hills and mountains in the distance loom up as shadowy background in this vast plain. Its factories and mills are suggestive of some of our own cities, while the several branches of the river, and the innumerable canals call to mind Amsterdam and Venice, and obtain for it the name of the 'City of Water'.

Osaka is not only surrounded by water, but canals, some of great width, run through the busiest districts, and are interwoven among its streets. From the bay and river eastward there are at least ten canals, all communicating with the central one, which runs north and south through the heart of the city, and forms the boundary between the west and east ends. The eastern district is again divided by a canal fed

from the branch of the river running through the northern district of Osaka, and connected by two arms with the other north and south branch. This network of canals, laden with barges and boats of every sort and kind, relieves the streets of the pressure caused by the traffic, and transports the fabrics of the mills, shops, and factories, together with the provisions for the millions of people depending for their supplies upon the Osaka district. It is the city of boats and bridges, the latter numbering 444 in all, not little wooden structures, but many of them well-built, substantial erections of iron, stone, or timber. Projecting over the canals are thousands of closely packed dwelling-houses.

The streets and canals of Osaka are thronged with busy multitudes of people. The stores and shops are also workshops and warehouses. Clerks, designers, artisans, packers, carters, sellers, and buyers are so mixed up that the wonder is how they manage to unravel themselves and evolve order out of the chaos which seems to reign supreme. In this respect one is reminded of the descriptions of the cities of the ancient world before the days of capitalization and centralization of industrial energy, when every man had a handicraft of his own. The inhabitants ply their various trades alongside the avenues of traffic, and even in boats on the canals. Now you pass through a long street given over to pottery and porcelain; next through one devoted to umbrellas and fans. There are emporiums of cotton fabrics, of rugs, of brushes, of leather goods, of bronze and metal work, of provisions, and of clothing.

Methods and implements are as varied as are the occupations. Here are men with their bronze skin bare, save for a breechcloth round the loins, pounding

rice with a long wooden pole. Next door a dozen operatives are making garments with the latest American sewing-machines. Over the Rice Exchange they are waving the quotations from hill to hill and peak to peak by means of flags. Within a stone's throw in the imposing modern Post Office building may be heard the click of the telegraph instrument, and the 'Are you there?' of the telephone. You may within a few minutes view in operation the oldest and most primitive spinning-wheel, and the most intricate modern Jacquard machine.

A delirium of work would seem to pervade the people. In their eagerness to take part in the conflict, the Osaka industrial army has simply caught up every implement at hand, and with surprising deftness is producing an infinite variety of excellent articles. Poorly equipped some of the labourers may be, but nevertheless they work. The industrial army of Japan is not waiting for the last man to be fully equipped with the latest modern device, but it is pushing to the front with what it has, discarding the old implements only when better are obtainable. Herein lies its strength and hope for the future. The Japanese are artisans by nature, and by generations of experience. They know their hand trades thoroughly, and have no thought beyond the persistent endeavour to make the best of the situation, and to cause Japan's influence to be felt in the industry and commerce of the world. Those who have sometimes gazed at the Pyramids and wondered how they were built without modern appliances should walk the streets of Osaka and see the obstacles encountered and overcome by hand labour.

A few ancient looking bulls with great rings in their noses are the only beasts of burden visible here. All else is moved by human muscle, except, of course,

the machinery of the cotton mills, and the recently installed electric tramways, which are taking the place of thousands of jinrikishas.

The Municipal Office of Osaka now produces ^{The Municipal Govern-} a yearly statistical abstract, the study of which gives ^{ment.} an excellent idea of the social and economic aspect of the city.

Like many important cities of the world Osaka has had its 'Great Fire', and will soon have a large debt as another evidence of its progress. Osaka city bonds are quoted on the European bourses, and if one may judge by the efficiency and honesty of the administration of municipal affairs they should be a safe and profitable investment.

In matters of education, public health, communica- ^{Progress in fifteen years.} tions, lighting, harbour works, commerce, and industry Osaka has made remarkable progress, not only since the writer's first visit to the district in 1896, but in the last five years. It would be tedious in a chapter like this to publish columns of figures, but a brief review of this excellent statistical abstract, last published in March, 1911, not only shows the progress of the city and the district, but points to the advance which the Japanese are making in the collection and interpretation of statistics.

The latest Census returns give Osaka a population ^{Popula- tion.} of about a million and a quarter (ranking it next to Tokyo), of which 31,000 men and some 22,500 women are employed in factories and mills. There are in all about 6,500 industrial establishments, and the annual value of the products amounts to £20,000,000.

The foreign population of Osaka is not large, and although a number of foreign firms have offices in the city, in many cases their staffs live in Kobe, which is healthier and better situated than Osaka.

Almost every form of industrial enterprise may be ^{Manu- factures.}

found in Osaka on a large or small scale. There are spinning-mills, iron-works, paper mills, flour mills, leather factories, brick and tile factories, brush works, electrical engineering works, chemical works, bicycle factories, boot factories, button makers, candle makers, cement works, copper refining factories, glass works, ice works, rubber works, lamp makers, match factories, rope works, carpet factories, soap works, type foundries—in fact, it would be difficult to name any industry which is not represented somewhere in Osaka. It must be remembered, however, that the majority of these enterprises are worked only on a small scale.

It is impossible to avoid giving tables in showing the amounts and items of a city's commerce. The foreign trade of Osaka is of quite different proportions to that of ten years ago. First of all, not only has the total tonnage of ships entering Osaka increased a hundred-fold, but the average tonnage of ships has doubled itself. The extraordinary development of Osaka's foreign trade is shown by the following table:—

	Exports <i>Yen</i>	Imports <i>Yen</i>	Total <i>Yen</i>
1900	9,626,595	9,741,437	19,368,032
1901	12,646,293	10,246,750	22,893,043
1902	15,050,519	11,875,730	26,926,249
1903	18,394,998	16,506,488	34,901,486
1904	30,790,252	16,977,392	47,767,644
1905	55,938,208	18,499,831	74,438,039
1906	59,910,227	24,878,715	84,788,942
1907	60,037,587	34,431,642	94,469,229
1908	45,948,347	26,870,884	72,819,231
1909	47,148,028	25,873,610	73,021,638
1910	53,482,450	30,695,577	84,178,027

Here we have a growth that one might expect in the United States or Canada or in some of the more prosperous South American Republics, but it is difficult to realize such a progress in an older country like Japan. Yet it is just such changes as these and the rise of such great ports as Yokohama or Kobe that make

the industrial and economic progress of Japan worth studying. An interesting comparison, too, may be made between the foreign trade of Osaka and Kobe, which shows how the former, a great manufacturing district like Manchester, exporting its own goods, has gained gradually upon a port which has commerce but not manufacture. In 1902, when the total trade of both ports amounted to two million sterling, Kobe's trade was more than twice that of Osaka; from 1905, the first year that Osaka drew ahead of Kobe, to 1909, of the total trade of the two, varying between seven and eight million sterling, Osaka has maintained an annual average lead of nearly one million sterling, while in 1910 her trade exceeded that of Kobe by a million and a half sterling.

Osaka's chief manufactures are cotton yarns, the export of which has increased from 1,959,067 *yen* in 1900 to 13,734,889 *yen* in 1910; cotton cloth, the export of which in 1910 shows an increase of eight million *yen* over that of 1900; refined sugar, a trade practically begun since Formosa came into the possession of Japan and developing during the last five years from nothing to 1,120,529 *yen*.

A glance at what Osaka buys shows a similar increase—the total of her imports is now three times what it was in 1900, chief among the items being cotton, rice, sugar, beans, hemp.

Where does Japan find markets for this enormous increase of produce, of which Osaka's export trade is but a sample? The answer is China (the Central and Northern districts taking the bulk), since the Japan-China war, and Korea, where the exports have steadily increased since Japan took the place of China in the 'Hermit Kingdom', and they will probably be greater now that Korea has been annexed. The following table

Trade of
Osaka
and Kobe,
com-
pared.

Trade
with the
Far East.

shows the demands of these new quarters of supply so strikingly that it requires no comment:—

	China	Kwantung Province	Korea
1900	1,105,257	—	7,462,610
1901	3,319,897	—	8,718,068
1902	6,107,891	—	8,045,437
1903	9,435,496	—	8,046,531
1904	16,226,710	—	13,738,147
1905	35,098,497	—	19,114,138
1906	38,081,044	—	15,705,874
1907	28,095,449	9,630,557	19,673,962
1908	20,327,296	7,403,133	14,839,360
1909	26,256,461	8,003,758	11,178,742
1910	31,494,424	9,121,243	11,113,349

In the import trade to Osaka, British India, Korea, and China stand first in the proportion of 4 : 2 : 1—the first in 1910 nearly doubling the figures for the previous year, which on that occasion showed an increase of over 3,000,000 *yen*.

With regard to the total Japanese trade with China, amounting in 1910 to £9,000,000, Kobe and Osaka furnished between them over £6,000,000, Yokohama, Moji, Nagasaki, Hakodate, and other ports being responsible for the remainder. For imports Kobe appears the chief port, receiving in 1910 33,728,164 *yen* out of a total of 68,569,541 *yen*. Yokohama is next with 17,156,776 *yen*, while Osaka stands for 3,970,390 *yen*.

In the trade with Korea, Osaka is by far the most important port, both with regard to exports and imports, which together amount to more than one-third of the whole Korean trade. The total Japanese trade with China and Korea amounted last year to over twenty millions sterling, so that it is not too optimistic to say that in these markets lies Japan's industrial and commercial future.

The Osaka Clearing House was the first to be established in Japan, having been founded in 1879. The city was the centre of trade for many years before the

Meiji era, and cheques and bills were in use in Osaka long before the Restoration in 1868. It was, therefore, in the natural order of things that Osaka, as the leading trade centre, should have been the first to establish a Clearing House. In 1909 the amount of bills cleared at Osaka was 1,635 million *yen*, out of a total of 6,307 million *yen* cleared at the six Clearing Houses in the Empire. The number of associated banks in Osaka passing bills through the Clearing House is sixty.

In 1909 a large district of the city was burnt down. Fire in Osaka, 1909. The improvement and the widening of the streets following this catastrophe, when Imperial grants were made for the relief of the homeless, were undertaken with commendable energy and speed; and the rapid increase in the population, which has been no less than 5,000 per annum during the last few years, has necessitated extensive building operations and the opening up of new streets in addition to the rebuilding and reconstruction of the burnt section of the city. Various restrictions have been placed upon the design of the house to be put up. These must in all cases be well lighted and well ventilated; in order to prevent the invasion of rats the whole area of ground for houses is to be cemented or concreted, and all small apertures in the houses have to be covered with wire netting. There are also some limitations imposed as to the height and size of windows, and the width of staircase is regulated so as to prevent danger in emergencies, besides which certain conditions as to the slopes of roofs and the height of floors are imposed by law.

The rivulet known as the Shijimi-gawa has been filled up with the débris of the fire, while old streets have been widened and new streets have been laid out. A wide street from Fukushima to Temma Kushin Cho in one straight line is to be opened, and an electric

tramway will be constructed along it. These are all evidences that municipal progress in Japan, like that of Europe and America, means the improvement of both streets and buildings whenever opportunity offers.

Osaka has been a self-governing community for 300 years. The Governor of Osaka Prefecture and the Home Minister supervise the affairs of the Prefecture, but a City Municipal Council, consisting of a mayor, two deputy mayors, and nine aldermen, regulate all municipal matters and are responsible for the government of the city. There is also a City Assembly composed of sixty members elected by the citizens, whose approval is necessary for the adoption of the Budget. The amount of outstanding municipal debt is upwards of £5,000,000, and the revenue of the city is about £400,000. At the present time the city has on hand the enlargement of the waterworks, which will be made capable of supplying the wants of a population of 2,000,000. These works will cost £1,000,000 and will be completed in ten years' time. About £1,800,000 will be expended on the completion of the tramway system, while a large amount of money (nearly £2,000,000) has been raised for harbour improvements, which have been in progress since 1887. A good deal of ground was reclaimed, and two large stone breakwaters have been built. Osaka is not a natural harbour like Kobe, and the unfinished works may not be completed on the scale at first proposed. The amount of the total foreign trade of Japan passing through Osaka is about 10 per cent., and although the port stands third on the list of foreign ports, Yokohama and Kobe last year were credited with $41\frac{1}{2}$ and $35\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively of the total foreign trade of the country. Osaka is particularly well provided with electric trams. In addition to the service which

traverses the city, there is a line which runs to Kobe, twenty miles distant, another which serves Kyoto, about thirty miles long, and yet another which runs to Mino and other well-known inland resorts among the mountains about a dozen miles from Osaka. These last two lines have only recently been opened, and during the summer months they are greatly patronized by holiday-makers. Mention must also be made of the Government scheme for a railway connecting the harbour with the central station at Osaka.

The continuous growth of the city involves the constant introduction of new features in administration and civic enterprise—the history of the last five years of municipal work is one of continuous progress and activity and forecasts in some measure the future that lies before it. Apart from the enterprises already referred to, a good deal is being done for education, especially for technical schools and colleges. There is a first-class municipal library, and there are many temples, shrines, and Christian churches. With pleasure resorts and theatres Osaka is well supplied, and of the latter there are fifteen, whilst many famous actors claim Osaka as their birthplace. There are few more interesting museums than the one at Osaka, which is a gallery of fine arts, and at the same time an exhibition of the manufactures and products of the district.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LARGER CITIES—KYOTO

KYOTO takes its place in the chapters on the larger cities of Japan not only for sentimental considerations, but because, measuring by population, it ranks third among Japanese cities. It seems fitting, too, that Tokyo, the new capital, Osaka, the economic capital, and Kyoto, the ancient capital, should be grouped together, since their very different characteristics reflect the many-sidedness of Japanese life, and serve to emphasize that combination of radicalism and conservatism that has particularly to be noticed in reviewing the progress of Japan.

Kyoto is one of the few places that can be introduced to the world as having been founded by an Emperor. Antiquity and Imperial dignity Kyoto possesses in a marked degree, as well as great natural beauty and innumerable monuments of the fine arts, many of them as rare and as attractive of their kind as can be found in any part of the country. It would be difficult to imagine a more superbly situated city than the ancient capital of Japan. It is guarded on three sides by well-wooded mountains, one range of which separates it from the famous Lake Biwa, and it is built upon a fertile plain, which, beginning with Kyoto, extends southwards to the Bay of Osaka.

A glance at an illuminated map of Kyoto suggests that fully half of the area occupied by the city is given over to palaces, pleasure-grounds, and temples of all kinds. The Japanese delight to build their temples in

the groves and clumps of trees on the hillsides, and in the nooks and corners of mountain ranges. Upon the scene of busy commercial and industrial life in Kyoto these red, gold, copper and burnished temples and shrines, surrounded by the dark green cryptomerias, and enlivened with rich foliage of flowering shrubs, look down perhaps with contempt. But what do people want with business in Kyoto, or with economic studies of any kind? Was it not in the olden times called 'Heianjo', or the 'citadel of tranquillity'? and down to the present date at least, it cannot be said to have forfeited its ancient reputation. The driest statistician could hardly pursue his studies in the mountainside hotel of Kyoto. From its bridges, lantern-hung verandahs, and sliding windows, the outlook is indescribably lovely. Below the gables and spires and corrugated roofs of the oriental city, the swift-running silvery waters of the Kamo, the canal from Lake Biwa, and the numerous picturesque bridges are discernible. Then the palace grounds, the once powerful Shogun's palace, the temple, the castle, and the foliage meet the view. Beyond all these the mighty walls of well-wooded mountains, decked with gay shrines and temple gates, close in the scene. Kyoto itself stands 162 feet above the level of the sea and covers an area of 18 square miles, the maximum distance from east to west being about 8 miles, and from north to south a trifle over 5 miles. The Kamo river, running from north to south at the base of a chain of hills studded with temples, passes through the city. On the west runs the Katsura, while the Takase river flows between. There is a population within the city of 440,000, the number having nearly doubled in the last quarter of a century.

The city
of tran-
quillity.

Kyoto has changed less than any other large city in

Japan. It retains its former delightful attractions, not even marred by hotels on 'the European plan'. The old and picturesque Yaami Hotel has been partially destroyed by fire, but the Miyako Hotel, similarly situated on hilly ground in a park of 25 acres and surrounded by a tastefully arranged Japanese garden, has taken its place. The style of architecture is Japanese and lends itself agreeably to the surrounding scenery as well as to Kyoto itself. There is another good hotel—the Kyoto Hotel—in the centre of the town. 'This is Japan at last,' was the expression heard on reaching Kyoto, when it was found that Japanese girls in their native costume were employed as waiters and attendants, instead of Japanese men, as in the hotels of other large cities. Kyoto is practically unchanged. The railway station is still on the outskirts of the town, and now, as heretofore, it takes forty minutes in a jinrikisha to climb the hill to the hotel, and the joy and exhilaration of the downward journey are just the same as ever.

Although it was conceived and laid out so many centuries ago, those responsible for planning Kyoto seem to have followed an arrangement which, if it resembled the city as we find it to-day, has much in common with the plans of the new towns as laid out in Canada and the United States. The streets run with great regularity at right angles. The Imperial palace and parks, the castle, with its surrounding grounds, the Chion-in and the Maruyama Park, and all the important temples and shrines, are located with such regularity of purpose that one is amazed to think he is contemplating the plan of an ancient and not of a modern city.

The beauty of Kyoto comes from its surrounding hills, and perhaps its original promoters, recognizing

the labyrinths of roadways and pathways necessary to travel in the upper parts of the city, thought that, by way of contrast, people would enjoy the straight and narrow paths in the centre. Most of the streets are narrow in Kyoto, and hence the difficulty—perhaps a cause for rejoicing rather than for regret—of building a satisfactory tramway system. There is an electric tramway in Kyoto, but it is not a very good one. It is proposed, however, to build one or two electric funicular railways to enable people to reach the hills, where the walks are fascinating and the air is bracing.

The
beauty of
the sur-
rounding
hills.

Though it is true that commerce and industry seem rather harsh words to use in connexion with Kyoto, one is none the less obliged to admit that the most interesting, uniquely printed and bound little history of the city is one issued by the Kyoto Commercial Museum. To this work the writer is indebted for some of the striking facts in the history of Kyoto. To write a history of the city would in a measure be to write the whole history of Japan from the time that the Emperor Kammu founded Kyoto until the ascent to the throne of the present Emperor. It is impossible, therefore, to do more than mention some of the events which have added so much to the historical interest of Kyoto. Peace and prosperity seem to have followed the establishment of the 'City of Tranquillity', but the Imperial prestige was weakened later by the usurpation of the Fujiwara family, and subsequently by the war of Gen-Pei in the twelfth century which finally led to the founding of the feudal system. Kyoto began to decline after this until it became merely a nominal capital, ruled by the delegates of the Shogun when the military government was established at Kamakura.

The
history
of Kyoto.

The Kamakura Government, however, was abolished

in 1333, and the restoration of the Crown had just commenced when a great civil war broke out in which the Imperial line was divided into the Northern Court and the Southern Court. For fifty-seven years terrible battles were fought, with Kyoto as a centre, and during this time the city was reduced to waste.

At the close of the fourteenth century the Shogunate fell to the Ashikaga family, who continued in power for 180 years, during which period the city was the scene of many disasters. The greatest of these was the Onin war, which, beginning in 1467, and lasting more than six years reduced almost the entire city to ashes. Ultimately, Toyotomi Hideyoshi subdued the rebellious feudal lords and reunited the country under one Government. At the same time he reconstructed the city, restored the destroyed temples and dilapidated shrines, and built a permanent residence for the emperors. At his death, in 1598, he was succeeded by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who laid the foundation of the Shogunate in Yedo, now Tokyo.

Under the Tokugawa dynasty peace reigned for nearly three centuries. Then the question of foreign intercourse brought royalists to Kyoto to protect the Emperor and to effect the downfall of the Shogunate. In 1864 a fierce battle raged round the imperial palace, causing the destruction of the greater part of the city by fire, and in 1868 the castle of Yedo surrendered to the royal army and the present Emperor ascended the throne. The imperial residence was at that time removed to Yedo, the name of which city was changed to Tokyo, meaning 'Eastern Capital'. Kyoto began to decline in importance, though the establishment of lines of communication, the development of various industries, the beauty of the place, and the historical charm of the city, all combined to bring back

much of its ancient glory, and to cause it to prosper as a centre of the art industries of the Empire.

Kyoto, before the days of railways, was very well provided with the means of communication by its rivers and the Lake Biwa Canal. Now, three <sup>Improve-
ment of
communi-
cations.</sup> Government railways unite there, and an electric tramway connects Kyoto with Osaka. In time, this beautiful city should become a residential centre for the rich merchants and manufacturers of the Osaka districts, and it is to be hoped that the time required to travel between these points may be materially reduced. Kyoto is well lighted with electricity, and is admirably governed; the taxes paid by its citizens amount to nearly £500,000 per annum. A loan of £1,700,000 has recently been obtained from a French company for the purpose of constructing a new waterworks, of broadening the canals, of widening the avenues and streets, and to extend the tramway lines. It may be called, for Japan, a wealthy city, for its inhabitants, whilst not so enterprising perhaps as those of a place like Osaka or Nagoya, are, nevertheless, prosperous, and when awakened to the needs of their city, show a good deal of public spirit.

The Chamber of Commerce is an especially energetic <sup>The
Chamber
of Com-
merce.</sup> body of men anxious to promote the commerce and industry of the city. There are many Government and public institutions in Kyoto. By far the most interesting among these is the Commercial Museum in Okazaki Park. It would be difficult to imagine a building better adapted for the purpose of displaying the beautiful products of the district, which include ceramics, embroideries, tapestry, and exquisite silk brocades and fabrics. In short, every possible effort is apparently being made, not only to secure and retain for the benefit of the public the fine examples of

early Japanese arts and crafts, but also to improve by the aid of scientific and experimental institutions, the production of all classes of modern Japanese manufactures, some of the most attractive of which are still carried on in this city.

As examples of the rich fabrics produced at Kyoto, mention may here be made of the splendid silk brocades manufactured by Messrs. Kawashima & Company in whose establishment the writer spent many hours with great pleasure and profit. As woven fabrics, the so-called Tsuzure-Nishiki embroideries no doubt stand in the foremost rank, and may be employed with advantage for the decoration of the walls and ceilings of palatial apartments. Four silken pictures, each over 10 feet in height, and varying from 20 feet to 24 feet in length, depict all the chief birds and flowers known in Japan—as many as 100 specimens of each are here seen woven in their true colours—while the panel for the ceiling represents a flight of 100 birds in beautiful and natural attitudes. These specimens are veritable masterpieces of the art of weaving. One of the steel looms possessed by this firm is 60 feet wide, and is capable of manufacturing fabrics having a breadth of 50 feet. Some rare specimens of the work of Messrs. Kawashima were sent to the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition, and from the results of displays made at previous international exhibitions, the firm are confident of being able to hold their own in competition with the finest European factories. Some of the panels represent episodes of ancient history, and there are many beautiful arrangements of flowers and landscape scenery. In addition to these more costly objects silken fabrics in great variety are woven at these works.

The aim of the Commercial Museum is a high one.

First, it proposes to promote local industry and to establish closer business relations with other parts of the world, for the products of Kyoto must seek a market outside of Japan. It has this unique crest:—



THE MUSEUM'S CREST



On asking the secretary the meaning of the crest the writer was told the three petals indicated the hearts of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the consumer respectively. The union of the petal shows the harmony of these three, so essential to the perfect development of business. It is one of the aims of this institution 'to bring manufacturers, merchants, and consumers together, and to keep them in harmonious relations, acting as their common medium. An excellent idea, it must be admitted, and rather neatly symbolized. The exhibits displayed in the museum consist mainly of articles manufactured in Kyoto, including samples or specimens of commodities which can be supplied according to need.

In order to provide opportunities for the manufacturers to improve their goods by comparison with others, the museum collects and exhibits samples of articles produced in other parts of the world. Moreover, public lectures are given from time to time under the auspices of the museum. Horticulture in the form of an outdoor exhibition is one of the features of the museum, and genuine Japanese gardens designed and made by the Landscape Gardening Society of Japan have been laid out in the museum grounds. The beautiful and artistic arrangement of the trees, ponds, and bridges, and the variety of landscapes introduced are indeed a surprise to visitors.

The above will serve to show conclusively that

whilst Kyoto is a city of historical temples and old palaces and many other attractions of a similar character, it also has another side distinctively its own, and is a centre for the production of what may be called the more artistic manufactures of the Empire. There are at the present time about 125,000 men and women engaged in the practice of various trades and industries in this city. The factories and workshops in which these people are employed are by no means all of them small buildings, attached to the operators' residences, as will be noted in the case of the Kawashima factory. Numerous companies or corporations exist in Kyoto which manufacture these beautiful products on a larger scale. In these enterprises a sum of nearly four millions sterling is invested. Although the family industrial system still prevails, there are at present nearly 200 factories in operation, one-third of which use motive power in one form or another, and these factories employ from 7,000 to 8,000 workmen.

As the history of Kyoto as an Imperial residence is practically an epitome of the history of Japan, so the industrial history of Kyoto would, if comprehensively written, be a history of the textile fabrics of the Empire. They are said to have been in a flourishing condition when the capital was moved to Kyoto in the year 794. With various ups and downs, the manufacture of these fabrics continued until the nineteenth century, when the political disturbances seem to have greatly depressed and injured the manufacturers, especially those producing the finer grades of textiles. A blow was also struck at the weavers when the present Emperor removed the seat of Government to Tokyo at the beginning of the Meiji, for they then not only lost the support and patronage

of the court nobles, but the Government subsidy was likewise withdrawn.

The new era of prosperity would seem to have begun with the introduction of Jacquard looms between 1869 and 1872 by Baron Makimura, the Governor of Kyoto, who apparently made a public-spirited effort to revive the textile industries. It was not, however, until 1886 that the Jacquard system was fairly introduced into the workshops of Kyoto. Since then the production of textile fabrics has continued to increase, until at the present time their annual value amounts to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. The present industries of Kyoto, as has been said, are embroidery, cord-knitting, and lace work, ceramics, the manufacture and production of which in this city date back many centuries, the manufacture of lacquer work, which had a beginning in Kyoto as far back as the ninth century and of which some of the best varieties are still to be found among the productions of Kyoto artists. Nearly a million pieces of lacquer were made in Kyoto during last year.

Kyoto is also a great centre for the manufacture of fans, especially those of the better quality. Metal-working, cloisonné enamels, the manufacture of dolls and toys, boxes, trays, screens, playing-cards, drawn work, willow baskets, gold and silver foil, tinned goods, umbrellas, needles, paper, copper wire and copper sheeting, bamboo work, and artificial flowers may all be named as important productions of this community—not that these things are produced exclusively in Kyoto—but it is safe to assert that the best quality in nearly all of these lines of small but artistic industries will be found to be of Kyoto origin. A good deal of attention has also been given to horticulture, especially to landscape gardening.

CHAPTER XXV

PORTS AND OTHER CITIES

To many travellers the first vivid impressions of Japan are embodied in the name of Yokohama—impressions that as Japan proceeds with the task of Europeanizing herself must be more and more destructive of the imaginative illusions of the Sentimental Traveller as regards the Island Empire. A long, low-lying city, with a background of hills, guarded by the bluff and ridge of Nogo—such is Yokohama from the sea. Almost before the traveller sets foot on shore he comes in contact with active trade, for the harbour is crowded with traffic all significant of the position that Yokohama holds as the premier port of Japan. Last year the trade of Yokohama (imports and exports) amounted to £38,867,051, 41 per cent. of the total trade of the country, and the whole of the raw silk, one of the principal articles of Japanese export, and 89 per cent. of the *habutae* went through this port to foreign countries. And yet the development of Yokohama from a mere collection of mud huts to its present important dimensions has been spread over a period of less than fifty years, for though the treaty that opened the port to foreign trade was signed in 1859, the great fire of 1867 set the clock of progress back several years. It laid waste a great part of the city, and we have it on the authority of Mr. James Pender Mollison, one of the oldest and most respected merchants of Yokohama, that when he first visited the city in 1867 he found the foreign

settlement a scene of devastation. To Mr. Mollison also is due much interesting information of social life in old Yokohama, and his lecture before a literary association of the city gave a striking picture of business conditions in those early days when there were only two mails a month, no cable services, and Ceylon was the nearest place in direct communication by wire with Europe. Mr. Mollison makes us realize very vividly the scope of the change that has taken place under the modern régime.

The population of Yokohama is now about 400,000, of which the foreign residents number nearly 10,000. There are about 6,000 Chinese and 1,500 British subjects resident in Yokohama.

Yokohama's proximity to Tokyo has of course been largely responsible for its pre-eminence as a port, and though Kobe, by reason of a growing industrial district at her back and increasing commercial relationships with China, Manchuria, and Korea, can show total trade figures almost equal to Yokohama's, yet in the matter of exports the latter has nothing to fear from this rivalry, especially having regard to the approaching opening of the Panamá Canal, which may bring about a change in trade routes by which Yokohama will benefit. Yokohama in many respects is a typically modern Japanese city. Until 1859 it was an insignificant village and consequently it lacks the interest attaching to a place that has had to surrender its old time individuality to the methods of modern civilization. Also, the earthquakes and fires that have taken place from time to time are responsible for its looking a newer city than it really is.

Yokohama presents most of the features we are accustomed to associate with a rising and important city—modern stores wherein the American window-

Social life
in the
'Sixties'.

Its com-
mercial
future.

dressings system prevails, though modified fortunately by a leavening Japanese taste—electric tramways, imposing Government and public offices, which are situated in the lower town adjoining the harbour, an energetic and progressive municipal council whose attention is never distracted from the mainspring of Yokohama's prosperity, the organization of her commerce and the necessity of adapting her harbours to the ever-growing maritime trade. The approaching opening of the Panamá Canal makes dredging operations for the accommodation of larger vessels, additional quay accommodation, and other equipment of the port matters of most urgent necessity. These have been in progress now for some time past and when completed, as it is anticipated they will be in 1914, two-thirds of the harbour, which has an area of 1,270 acres, will have a depth varying between 20 to 35 feet at low water, thus providing accommodation for vessels up to 20,000 tons. The quay extension works will result in gaining an additional 56 acres in front of the custom-house. The harbour improvement scheme has also included the improvement of the existing means of railway connexion between the harbour and the trunk lines of the country. Further, a more commodious station is to be built, and Yokohama is alive to the necessity of promoting a better railway service to and from Tokyo. In consequence of all these port and quay improvements a further expansion of trade may be confidently expected in the near future.

The present desire to stimulate trade on the part of the Yokohama authorities is in sharp contrast to their attitude of not so very long ago, when such was the desire to check commercial expansion that the Government officials gave instructions for three-fourths

of the silk cocoons to be destroyed and for other measures to be taken to repress the silk trade. But ultimately these restrictions were removed and the restoration of the Emperor and the introduction of European methods had the effect of doubling the figures for silk export in one year—£670,000 in 1867 increasing to £1,330,000 in 1868. Not, however, till between 1882 and 1892 did the exports begin to exceed the imports, and the demand for Japanese silk which was responsible for this balance of trade has gone on steadily increasing until last year it was met by silk exports to the value of nearly 18 millions sterling, the main proportion of which, as has been said, is shipped from the quays of Yokohama. The following table shows the state of Yokohama's trade during the last seven years :—

	Imports	Exports	Total
1904	£13,633,500	£17,020,900	£30,654,400
1905	13,871,500	14,558,500	33,430,000
1906	14,907,000	20,084,700	34,991,700
1907	17,248,500	20,588,800	37,837,300
1908	15,128,800	19,080,500	34,209,300
1909	13,100,000	20,516,000	33,616,000
1910	15,428,455	22,517,447	37,945,902

The Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, established in 1895, which publishes most valuable yearly reports of the commerce of the city and district (for Yokohama is a provincial capital and the seat of the prefectural office)—regulates the conditions of Japanese commerce, while at the same time there is a Chamber of Commerce devoted to the interests of the foreign colony, of much earlier foundation, to whose energies is due much of the development of Yokohama's foreign trade.

The Silk Conditioning House has been an important factor in securing a uniform quality of the silk

Value of
Silk
exports.

Foreign
trade of
Yoko-
hama.

Yoko-
hama Silk
Condi-
tioning
House.

exported, and in establishing a supervisory organization in respect to the silk industry.

The banking institutions are numerous; no fewer than twenty-four Japanese banks have their headquarters in Yokohama, and all the leading foreign banks have offices there. Here are the headquarters of the Yokohama Specie Bank of which Baron Takihasha is President, and which is the most widely known financial institution of the Empire. Wherever you find one of the branches of these banks in the Far East you may be sure of courteous and straightforward treatment. The last returns particularly emphasized the commercial character of the city, more than 15,000 houses in the city, over 21 per cent. of the total number, were returned as native mercantile houses. Native Industrial Guilds, too, are numerous.

It is no exaggeration to say that Yokohama is in touch by sea route with practically the whole world, and she can claim to have been the pioneer in Japanese railroad enterprise. The first railway in Japan, that between Tokyo and Yokohama, was opened in 1872, and Mr. Mollison, whose recollections of old Yokohama have been already referred to, remembers this opening ceremony in which, as a member of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, he took part. The Mikado and his Ministers visited Yokohama on that occasion dressed in the quaint court robes of olden times, with the flowing brocades and the curious head-gear now only to be seen in old pictures, and received a congratulatory address from a deputation headed by the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce.

The recent railway extension between Higashi and Kanagawa, opened in 1908, has facilitated the transport of silk and other merchandise to Yokohama, and

four rival schemes for a canal between the capital and its port are now occupying the attention of the Municipality. The Yokohama Chamber of Commerce has recently had under consideration important proposals for the increase of telegraphic communication between Tokyo and Yokohama, there being at present insufficient direct telegraphic service between the two cities, though, as in the case of railways, this line can boast of having been the first laid down in Japan.

In the export trade, Yokohama is likely to retain her position as principal port of Japan, but Kobe has become in recent years, especially in regard to her imports, perhaps the most important shipping and distributing centre of the Empire, and the increasing importance of Osaka is rapidly winning for Kobe the same position as Yokohama has held to Tokyo. The trade at Kobe in 1910 amounted to £36,124,382, not far short of the trade of Yokohama, and her imports exceeded those of Yokohama by about 8 million sterling. The total export and import trade of these two ports amounted last year to £74,991,434, that is 79 per cent. of the entire foreign trade of the country.

Kobe's proximity by rail to Tsuruga, and the position acquired by the latter since the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway bring Kobe within fifteen or sixteen days of London. As regards sea-communication with Europe and North and South America there is very little to choose between Yokohama and Kobe, and the latter is also as much a port of call as the former for large and small sailing and coasting vessels. Its vicinity, too, to Kyoto, Kure, Himeji, Okayama, and Hiroshima, and many small but thriving towns in the Sanyo district, is an important feature of

its position. Though Kobe's modern history only starts from the opening to foreign trade, in 1867, of Hyogo, her neighbour across the harbour, she had been an important centre of distribution since the middle of the sixteenth century when the Toyotomi family built the Osaka Castle. The growth of her modern trade is shown by the following table which sets out the trade for every tenth year between 1878 and 1908 and those for the last three years :—

	Value of Exports and Imports	Increase compared with previous year quoted	Percentage of increase
1878	£1,253,150	—	—
1888	4,297,200	£3,044,050	23
1898	19,825,300	15,528,100	31
1908	24,505,200	4,679,900	24
1909	28,484,133	3,978,933	16
1910	36,124,382	7,640,249	27

Between the trade of Yokohama and that of Kobe there are certain differences, the chief being, in Kobe's case, the preponderance of imports over exports and the varied character of both, while the bulk of Yokohama's export trade is silk. A similar feature of both ports is the extent to which the import and the export trade are in foreign hands, British firms leading the way; native feeling against such a condition of affairs is beginning to show itself, a point that no forecast of the future trade relations of Yokohama and Kobe should neglect. The new tariff which has just come into force may introduce further complications. The increase in duties on some manufactured articles is heavy and must eventually affect imports. For instance, the duties on galvanized sheets, plates, wires, rails, and tin-plates have been raised considerably, but the treaty reduction referred to in the chapter on the new tariff will reduce the rates to British importers. Japan

does not manufacture most of these in any quantity (excepting rails and plates), but it may be anticipated that with this degree of protection it will not be long before plants are laid down for their manufacture.

Kobe, too, is unlike Yokohama in that she is a manufacturing centre of some importance as well as a seaport and a centre of distribution. Her shipbuilding and repairing dockyards employ some 3,000 hands, and in the case of the Mitsu Bishi firm, are in connexion with shipbuilding establishments at Nagasaki. The Kanegafuchi spinning-works, boasting the most model organization in Japan, are here; also the Kobe steel works and a variety of other important manufacturing and industrial undertakings. As in the case of Yokohama, the great expansion in Kobe's trade of recent years has necessitated the provision of extra harbour accommodation, and the reclamation scheme to effect this has been put in hand and is now approaching completion.

After Osaka, the total trade of which amounted in 1910 to between 7 and 8 million sterling, comes in order of the volume of its trade, Moji.

The importance of Moji, which some twenty years ago was a little fishing-village of barely 400 houses, is entirely due to its affording an outlet for the vast amount of coal in the provinces of Chikuzen and Buzen. One cannot see Moji for coal; the eye of the traveller as he approaches the port is attracted by great dunes of coal on all sides, and his steamer is probably one of the fleet awaiting the services of the small sampans in the harbour to have coal brought to it. The coal trade and the wars with China and Russia have created Moji by making it a great coaling station for war-vessels and the centre of military transportation, for Moji is the nearest port to Korea

and Manchuria that can be approached by railway either from the mainland or from Kiushiu. The establishment of the Terminal Station of the Kiushiu Railway, and the very considerable immigration there during recent years, have contributed to the progress of Moji from a village to a township and finally to a free open port with a population of some 63,000. Moji's trade last year amounted to £3,500,208—the chief exports, mainly to China, being coal and yarn, and its chief imports sugar, raw cotton, and fertilizers.

Shimonoseki is an important port for communication with Chosen, and considerable trade with the newly annexed territory is carried on there. It was at Shimonoseki that the peace negotiations between China and Japan were signed in 1895. The rise of Moji and the circumstances of the Russian war certainly inflicted a severe blow on Nagasaki where trade is at the present moment fluctuating owing to the inevitable readjustments consequent upon the destruction of one of her best customers—the Russian fleet, but recent improvements in the city and public undertakings set in hand by her progressive municipality are the best indications of the spirit in which she is adapting herself to new conditions.

The Mitsu Bishi Dockyard and Engineering Works there are the most important feature of her industrial life, employing several thousand hands and extending almost the whole length of the western shore of Nagasaki Inner Harbour. The works also include a well-equipped training school and hospital, and the premises, covering an area of 114 acres, are suggestive of a prosperous community.

The wars have brought about a change in the precedence of several towns. Niigata, Hakodate, and Nagasaki used to be next in importance to Yokohama

and Kobe; now the connexion of Japan with Vladivostok and the Trans-Siberian Railway gives Tsuruga ^{Tsuruga.} the most important position on the Sea of Japan. Moji's development has also, we have seen, proceeded in great part from the wars, and the Japanese annexation of part of Saghalien and acquisition of fishing-rights in the coast provinces of the Russian territory have developed Otaru at the expense of Hakodate. Otaru has suddenly risen to greatness; like Moji she, ^{Otaru.} too, was nothing but a small fishing-village forty years ago and has now become the largest city in Hokkaido.

The fishing industry, which began to flourish in this neighbourhood at that period, gave an impetus to her trade, and later on her manifest geographical advantages over Hakodate made her the focus of the Hokkaido railway system and ensured her position as a centre of transportation. Then came the war, and the closer relationships with Kamchatka, Saghalien, and Siberia, that were the outcome of that war, served as a finishing-touch to the prosperity of Otaru.

Another city that owes its prosperity to the wars ^{Hiroshima.} is Hiroshima. It was the imperial head-quarters during the Chinese war and a centre of military transport.

No city of Japan has changed for the better so ^{Nagoya.} much as Nagoya. The capital of the Aichi Prefecture—with its fine castle built three centuries ago, and its golden dolphins—has always been an object of interest and a good stopping-place at which to break the journey between Tokyo and Kyoto. Nagoya has now developed into a modern industrial city with 400,000 inhabitants, most of whom seem busy and prosperous. Its streets have been extended on a spacious scale. Along the centre of its main thoroughfare—78 feet wide

and 7 miles long—runs a well-equipped electric tramway line. Nagoya is about 200 miles west of Tokyo, and about half that distance east of Kyoto. If Osaka is the Manchester of Japan, Nagoya is the Birmingham of the country. Besides the textile factories, which are numerous, Nagoya is the centre of the cloisonné industry, and the foremost city of the Empire in the manufacture of clocks, which are made in enormous quantities for the Asiatic market. Innumerable other small industries employ a large and very skilful population.

The shops and workshops of Nagoya are the best built, the largest, and the newest looking in Japan, and they are noted for the most wonderful array of signs to be found anywhere. Those interested in commercial and industrial matters will find several factories worth visiting as well as an excellent museum illustrating the industries of the district. At Seto, about ten miles from Nagoya, will be found 600 potteries in operation, employing over 5,000 hands. The electric tramways run to Seto. Tajimi, a little further from Nagoya, produces even more pottery than Seto. There are many notable temples and shrines, while the vicinity is replete with a wealth of beautiful scenery for excursions and walks. Nagoya is also famed for its dancing, and here will be found some of the best dancers in Japan. The origin of this particular dance dates back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The public performance of the Nagoya dance used to be given every spring, but of late years it is only given on special occasions. Last year (1910) the dance was held at the Nagoya Exhibition and a fine dancing-hall was especially constructed for the purpose in the Exhibition grounds.

There was much of interest illustrating the progress

of Japanese arts, crafts, and industries at this exhibition and it was invaluable as showing the progress of manufacturing during the last fifteen years.

The silk exhibition which covered all the phases of this important industry, was the most complete and attractive section. The display of stuffs of all kinds demonstrated that Japan is not standing still in the art of weaving. The forestry display, largely contributed by the Imperial Forestry Office, and the Formosan building contained much of interest. To those desirous of studying Japanese industrial progress the Nagoya Exhibition was of special value. A walk through its various buildings gave a good idea of what Japan was really doing, as the products of nearly all her important prefectures were displayed here. It was entirely a domestic exhibition, and from it one could learn what the people eat and drink and the form in which staple articles of food are distributed. What the country produces is no less important, and a fair idea of this could likewise be obtained. The raiment the Japanese wear was there in all its variety of brilliant colours, together with articles of personal adornment: and there, too, were the materials used in building, and the furniture employed in their houses, and all the thousand utensils used in the daily life of the people.

There are some score of other cities in Japan, all of which deserve notice in this brief survey and to each of which some short notes might be given upon its particular economic position. Nara, the capital of ^{Nara.} the Prefecture of Nara in the province of Yamato, must not be overlooked.

It was the capital of the Empire in the eighth century, when Buddhism had been exceedingly prosperous and influential for 200 years, with the result that

immense religious establishments were founded both in the city and in the surrounding province. Nearly all the early emperors were buried in the province of Yamato, including the divinely descended Jimmu Tenno, who founded in the year 660 B.C. the long line of Mikados. Nara is the chief depository of some of the rarest treasures of old Japan, and retains many architectural remains of earliest Japanese civilization.

Then there is Nikko, a place of exceptional beauty, containing the gorgeous mausoleum of the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, perhaps the most striking example of the handiwork of Hidari Jingoru, one of Japan's famous sculptors; Kanazawa, known as 'The Plains of Heaven' on account of its beautiful flowers; Kagoshima, producing the celebrated Satsumayahi porcelain; Kure, Sasebo, and Yokosuka, important naval stations; Sendai, the most prosperous town on the northern line of the Nippon railway; Fukuoka, historically important as the place where, in the thirteenth century, the Mongolian fleet sent by Kublai Khan to conquer Japan was destroyed by Shikken Hojo Tokimane; Sapporo; Tokushima; Niigata; Kumamoto, a military station; Fukui, noted for its silk industry; Kofu; Nafa, where there is a large salt industry; Aomori, the terminus of the Nippon railway; Maebashi, a great silk market; Matsuyama, where during the war with Russia several thousand Russian prisoners were confined; Otsu, on the shore of Lake Otsu whose waters supply the mills and factories of Kyoto; Takamatsu, one of the chief ports of the Inland Sea; Yamagata, garrison town; Gifu, manufacturing town; Kiryn, the centre of the silk industry; Nagano; Ashio, with the largest copper mines in the Far East, and Okazaki, famous as the birthplace of the great Tokugawa-Iyeyasu in the sixteenth century.

The visitor to Japan, unless he is travelling with a view to economic research, when his aesthetic preferences, if he has any, are necessarily overruled by severe commercial considerations, has probably felt the appeal and fascination of many other cities with which, owing to those same severe considerations this chapter cannot deal. The fleeting and intangible memories connected with towns whose charms have hitherto evaded the prosaic familiarities of the guide-book would ill harmonize with this practical catalogue of localities possessing such ostensible, commercial aims. It is wiser surely to leave these unknown towns where we may have lingered, with a decorous sense of mystery and no desire to pursue economic investigations, in the hospitable distance. And yet, after all, it is by these intangible memories that we preserve the only real impressions of places—for we can no more get a recognizable picture of a town from prosaic description and statistical information than we can visualize the face of a man who is ‘wanted’ from the details given at police stations.

Throughout this chapter the writer has been conscious of this defect and of the community of commonplace which his descriptions would seem to have established among the cities he has written of, and he can only plead that since his chief end has been to point to the commercial progress of Japanese cities he has had naturally to concentrate his attention upon the material features, lest his faith in that commercial progress should have been undermined by sentimental and aesthetic reflections.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RAILWAYS

WHILST the writer has never been convinced that railways are more efficiently administered when in the hands of the State than when under private control, he is willing to admit that Japan has carried out a policy of railway nationalization on a plan of unexampled economy and efficiency. In the first place, she obtained more than any other country for the money she paid for the railways when she took them over in 1907. In the effective pursuance of this policy she was assisted by the fact that when constructional work was originally sanctioned by private enterprise it was with a provision which allowed of ultimate acquisition on equitable terms. It is still somewhat early to judge of the wisdom of the State absorption, but it must be admitted, in justice to the officials in charge of the nationalization, that the State seems to have made a good bargain, and that the purchase was honestly conducted. Further, it will be shown that economies have been instituted under Government control, which, to say the least, are most unusual in State-managed undertakings. A public spirit has been manifested by the officials, from the highest to the lowest, in the operation of the railways, that is especially worthy of note, and which has for its chief motive the extension and improvement of the lines out of the profits; the idea being that the railways shall not only be made self-supporting, but that all extensions and improve-

ments are to be paid for out of the earnings and not from loans, the burden of which falls upon the taxpayers.

The Government has practically taken over a profitable and going concern at a price which includes the actual cost of construction and a reasonable prospective profit for the original investors. Japan does not appear to have paid either for watered stock or for promoters' profits. The owners were given domestic 5 per cent. bonds for their interests, but these bonds may be retired and exchanged for 4 per cent. bonds. This will effect a sufficient saving to enable the Railway Department to pay the interest on additional sums of money which must be borrowed for needed improvements and extensions. The total railway obligations are, according to a statement furnished to the writer by the Department of Communication, Tokyo, £62,547,000. For this expenditure the State runs 4,879 miles of railway open for traffic. Add the 506 miles (representing a capital investment of £4,676,944) remaining in the hands of private companies and the total mileage is 5,385—that is for Japan proper. The mileage has more than doubled since 1896, when the total was 2,203 miles. The total earnings since then have advanced most satisfactorily from less than £2,000,000 to nearly £9,000,000 last year. The total receipts from all sources during 1910 were £9,468,639. It is impossible to make a reliable comparison of the earnings of the State railways over a longer period than three years (they were taken over in 1907), but the increase during that time has been noteworthy. Taking State and private lines together for a period of fifteen years, the earnings and profits show healthy and steady increase, indicating that the Imperial railways as a whole will prove, under com-

petent and economical management, an extremely profitable investment.

The early history of the Japanese railway service is worth recounting. Entering the field of construction late—the first line, that between Yokohama and Tokyo, having been opened in 1872—the State profited by the experience gained by other countries as to what restrictions it was desirable in the interest of the future to place upon such enterprises. The result has been seen in the facilitation of the procedure of State acquisition and ownership.

The development of the whole system may be divided into four periods. The first of these extended from the date of the initial construction to 1887, and included the building not only of the line already mentioned, but of the lines of the Kiushiu and Nippon Railway Companies. The second period may be said to have terminated in 1893, i.e. at the commencement of the Japan-China war; the third period extended to the commencement of the war with Russia in 1904. The fourth period, including the nationalization of the railways, is still in process of evolution and is characterized by the gradual extension of the systems under the policy of State ownership.

Japan is not alone in the difficulty she is experiencing with regard to the narrow gauge that was adopted as most suitable for early traffic requirements. It has formed the subject of inquiry by a special Departmental Committee. The committee's investigations, however, were confined largely to the immediate needs of that time (1894), and, although it has been fully recognized that a change and unification are desirable, there still remains a considerable portion of the system, as originally constructed, of the 3' 6" gauge. It has remained for recent years to develop a scheme by

which greater unity and efficiency shall be secured. One of the most progressive sections of the various lines has been that from Tokyo to Shimonoseki, which has not only been doubled but improved by the addition of branches from time to time. It is now recognized, however, that the measures adopted have been of a temporary character, and that the future policy must be on bolder lines.

The three chief proposals for meeting the increased demands for transportation may be summed up as follows :—

(1) To improve the existing narrow gauge lines by the elimination of sharp curves and gradients and the construction of suitable detours, with improvements in the matter of heavier rails, the strengthening of bridges, and the extension of stations in order to allow of more rapid working. It is estimated that 100,000,000 *yen* (£10,000,000) would suffice for the carrying out of this programme.

(2) To extend the above plan in order to secure the utmost carrying capacity from the existing lines having little if any margin for expansion except by the building of new lines.

(3) To reconstruct the whole system on a 4' 8½" gauge at an outlay of about 230,000,000 *yen*.

The estimates in connexion with the reconstruction of this Tokyo-Shimonoseki section may well be considered :—

Including Rolling Stock—

		<i>Yen</i>
Cost of construction		230,000,000
Existing open mileage	798.6 miles	
Cost per mile	288,004 <i>yen</i>	
Total mileage of track	1596.7 miles	
Cost per track mile	144,047 <i>yen</i>	

Excluding Rolling Stock—

	<i>Yen</i>
Cost of construction	185,705,000
Existing open mileage.	798.6 miles
Cost per mile	232,539 <i>yen</i>
Total mileage of track.	1596.7 miles
Cost per track mile	116,305 <i>yen</i>

It is clear, therefore, that subject to financial considerations—which will be shown to be satisfactory—the reconstruction of the line to standard gauge is the better course, since not only does it relieve all existing pressure, but it opens out a channel for the accommodation of the expected increase of traffic in the near future. The whole trend of railway construction throughout the world has been towards the standard gauge and upon its adoption, as urged by the Railway Bureau, Japan will benefit by the greater knowledge which has accumulated around this particular system, not only in construction but in maintenance and organization. Nor is the cost of the reconstruction greatly in excess of that of reorganization if the charge for rolling stock be placed under a separate account.

The reconstruction of the Tokyo-Shimonoseki section is of importance and ought to be done, not only because it forms a great artery of Japan, but also because it is the line which, when the Mukden-Antung standard-gauge railway is completed next November, will form part of the world's railway highway, conveying passengers *via* Chosen and South Manchuria, with only 10 hours' sea transportation, northward (Shimonoseki to Fusan) to Harbin, where the Siberian Railway is reached and the railway journey may be continued to Europe. Along this route the mails are now carried over the 2½ feet gauge mountain railway between Antung and Mukden, and thence to Harbin. By means of these improvements the journey from

Yokohama to Harbin may ultimately be reduced to three days, and the journey around the world to thirty-five. The widening of the Tokyo-Shimonoseki line is roughly estimated to require a sum of about £18,000,000, or £3,000,000 per annum for six years. A carefully worked out financial statement shows that the property has the earning capacity to meet this charge itself, and pay for the cost of the improvements in thirty years. The whole scheme is admirably calculated, and unless something quite unforeseen occurs the necessary improvements can all be paid for out of the profits of the particular section of this State system which will be benefited.

Turning from this special account an examination of which leaves no doubt of the capacity of the Tokyo-Shimonoseki to pay its way to 'a standard gauge' and modern rolling stock, we come to the second proposal of Baron Goto, which is that the Imperial Railways have resources enough, if skilfully financed, to repay all necessary loans issued for the purpose of reconstruction of old railways or the extension of the proposed new lines. The estimate of the financial capacity of the railways taken as a whole has been elaborately worked out. Unless strikes, earthquakes or floods intervene there is no reason why these calculations should not hold good. The annual profits as shown in this document will enable the Department of Communications to pay the interest on £140,000,000, which amount will be required during the next thirty years for construction and improvement at the rate of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling per annum for the first thirteen years of the period, and about 4 millions per annum for the rest of the time. In 1941 the railway debt will have reached its maximum (£170,000,000), and the construction or

The State
financial
proposal.

improvements will have been finished. From that time the profits will be applied to the reduction of the debt, which will be practically wiped out in 1985. This will be made possible in consequence of the savings effected and by the universal net earnings resulting from reconstruction and improvement. On the payment of the final instalment of the debt thus incurred in 1985 it is estimated there will be a clear profit of £8,600,000 every year from the railways. As to this it is too soon to speculate. Nevertheless, the scheme is quite within the province of railway finance, and is a bold and striking one. It may not work out with the precision of Baron Goto's estimate, which the writer has before him, but those who know the resources of Japan and are familiar with the economy and honesty which prevail in the Department of Communications under its present economical management will hardly doubt the ability of the managers of the Imperial Railways to carry out the proposed plan successfully.

The State was the first to build a railway line, and in 1885 the greater part of the railways was owned by the State; ten years later, however, private ownership represented three times the State mileage and nearly double the amount of capital invested in State lines, and this relative proportion was approximately maintained until State purchase was effected. The Government did not purchase these railways for precisely the 'construction expenses' but for a total sum of £48,788,159, which comprised the railways and subsidiary businesses, including a number of hotels, many of which have been greatly improved under State management, and are excellent places for travellers to stop at. In doing so they will be sure to find cleanliness, civility, and

reasonable charges, three essentials to the wayfarer's comfort.

The total working mileage of the State railways is now 4,624 miles, representing an investment variously estimated at between 60 and 70 million sterling. These State railways own 2,029 locomotives, 5,268 carriages, and 32,568 wagons. The railway mileage of Japan proper.

There are in operation a few private lines of minor character representing about 500 miles, and something over £4,100,000 invested, which the Government has not thought it worth while to purchase.

There are still other State lines under construction, making the total mileage, when the new lines are finished, 5,264 miles, without including the lines laid down under the Tramway Law, which will soon amount to another 1,000 miles, owned partly by municipalities and partly by private companies. Electric Tramways.

The railways in Taiwan (Formosa), Karafuto (Saghalien), and Chosen (Korea), which will be further described in the chapters on those divisions of the Empire, are also State-managed.

When Taiwan was acquired in 1895 there existed in that island a few broad-gauge railways which had been constructed by the Chinese Government. These have been improved and the system extended until, including those railways at present under construction, there will be in the near future 300 miles of railways in this part of the Empire, without including the mileage of light railways worked by private capital. Railways of Taiwan.

Communications in Karafuto (Saghalien) are still of a primitive nature, and only some 25 miles of privately-owned light railways exist. Karafuto railways.

When Chosen came under Japanese control there were 641 miles of railways, now increased to 675 miles, all of which were nationalized in 1906 and placed Government control in Chosen.

under the control of the Residency General. In December, 1909, however, the Korean railways were transferred to the Imperial Railway Board to be managed, as are other railways, by the Department of Communications. The constructional cost of these railways was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling.

In 1905, by the Treaty of Peace concluded with Russia on September 5, Japan obtained possession of the railway between Port Arthur and Changchung, and she further secured the right of constructing a line between Antung and Mukden, where a light railway on the $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet gauge already existed, the total mileage of these two being 705 miles. The new railway will be completed in November next, and opened for traffic in February, 1912. In view of the special local conditions which enter into the operation and future administration of these railways, the Japanese Government has formed the South Manchurian Railway Company, to which it has transferred the management of the railways, as well as certain subsidiary undertakings including the administration of the Fushun and Yentai coal-mines. It is not known what was the cost of these railways before they were transferred to the Japanese Government. Up to the present Japan has issued £12,000,000 sterling bonds, which represents the disbursements of the company.

The total mileage of railways under the management of the Japanese Government may be summarized :—

	Miles
Japan proper	4,624
Chosen	624
Taiwan	300
Saghalien	25
South Manchuria	706
Total mileage	<u>6,279</u>

To the casual observer the railways of Japan show little sign of improvement during the last fifteen years.

The stations and the carriages are the same, and the running time has not been greatly accelerated. It is necessary to look somewhat further, however, before passing judgment. In the period mentioned the mileage has more than doubled, and a much greater territory consequently enjoys the benefits of railway transportation. Improvements in Transportation.

In addition to the mileage already shown, there are nearly 2,000 miles which are included in the Government railway programme for construction in the near future. The completion of the proposed lines will go far towards facilitating the overland transportation in the country. The policy has been the extension of railways rather than their improvement, though extensive improvements have been in progress in Tokyo for several years. These will, when completed, do away with the present station, and will convert it into a freight station. Its place will be taken by a new central station, described in the chapter on Tokyo. There are now five railway stations in Tokyo, each one of which forms the terminus of a railway. The plan, which is well arranged, is to bring all these lines into a junction station. To accomplish this an elevated railway has been built, intersecting the city at various points, in order to concentrate at one focus the traffic of these several railway termini.

The railway service is admittedly inadequate between Yokohama and Tokyo, and from the condition of this line one is too apt to pass judgment on the railways of the Empire. The promised improvements here have not taken the definite shape that others have in the city of Tokyo, though one hears mention of various and important changes that have been decided upon. These contemplate the construction of new and better tracks, the straightening of parts Yokohama and Tokyo Service.

of the line which now make a wide detour, and other improvements. There is also a project on foot to construct a station dealing with goods direct from the quays at Yokohama. This station will be built on the reclaimed ground at Kanagawa and will connect with the existing track. The Board likewise propose to build a large station at a spot between Yokohama, Kanagawa, and Hiranuma. The business between the two cities is, no doubt, large enough to warrant double passenger and double freight tracks. If the standard-gauge scheme, already explained, should be carried out, the time between Yokohama and Tokyo would be reduced to twenty minutes. With new rolling stock, which is greatly needed, the service can easily be made satisfactory.

The Japanese have demonstrated that they can organize, build, and operate railways on satisfactory and economic lines in Manchuria, Taiwan, and in Chosen, and there is every reason to suppose that they will not fall behind in the management of the newly-acquired State Railways at home. Baron Goto, formerly the head of the Department of Communications, is one of the most capable of the Japanese administrators. He has formulated a plan for the reconstruction and improvement of the entire railway system of the country. The plan involves so many fundamental changes that it would have been difficult to commence work on it until the whole scheme had been approved and promulgated. As this legislative measure only came into force last year the actual work will be inaugurated by Baron Goto's successor, Count Hayashi.

Up to the present time, Japan has only had two kinds of railways, those of a 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, and tramways laid on highways, which latter are subject

to the control of the Home Office. There are of this latter class about 360 miles in operation, and a good many miles are under construction—in all, there were in 1910 about 63 tramway enterprises with an authorized capital of nearly £16,000,000. An electric railway now operates between Yokohama and Tokyo, and another one between Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe and other towns in that district. These electric railways were built under a private railway law to comply with which involved heavy outlay in construction, and rendered it necessary to secure charters, much as the railway laws did in England before the passage of the Light Railways Act.

The new legislation includes a Light Railway Law and is expected to encourage the railway development of the country. A systematic plan for future railway development was inaugurated by Baron Goto. The new law provides for three classes of railways, namely, standard gauge ($4' 8\frac{1}{2}''$), light railways, and tramways. These railways will be made dependent upon each other in the plan of construction, and thus each type of railway will be better able to contribute its due share to the improvement of communication as a whole. All railways are placed under one central control and direction, and it is believed that the three factors of transportation may be made to work more harmoniously for the promotion of the common welfare of the country. Standard-gauge railways are to serve for the main arteries in the general system of communication and are to run through districts forming main highways. The light railways are to be constructed in places which do not admit of the provision of standard-gauge lines, and are to be used as means of local transportation, and for the purpose of exploiting local resources. Tramways are

Recent
railway
legisla-
tion.

to serve as an accessory system of transport on public highways, and for urban transportation. The authorities are now engaged in adjusting these three factors of transportation, in accordance with the general scheme, and in a few years the overland system of railway transportation in Japan should be carried to a much greater state of efficiency than it can be said to have reached at the present time.

An important feature of Baron Goto's scheme is the encouragement of private enterprise in the building of light railways, provision being made for an annual grant in the shape of bounties involving at least £1,000,000. Such lines are needed, not only for the purpose of opening up fresh country, but also as feeders for the State lines, while further funds are allocated to the construction of light railways by the State. In formulating his plan Baron Goto gave close attention to the financial condition of the country. The reform of the railways must necessarily be an expensive matter, but the sums required, if arranged for in accordance with the financial plan already mapped out, will not in any way increase the public burden for interest on loans. The 5 per cent. loans are being redeemed by 4 per cent. loans, allowing for greater capital without increasing the interest charges. Economy in working and increase in revenue, with growing surpluses available for extensions, will, it is hoped, aid the proposed changes.

One of the most important economies effected is in coal, about 1,160,000 tons of which are consumed each year by the railways. The cost of this in 1908-9 was £870,000, but in the following year a saving was effected of £170,000, while a further saving of about £100,000 was effected in 1910-11, making a reduction by £270,000 on this charge for the first-named year.

While the market price entered largely into this reduction, it was also helped to a considerable extent by the care and economy of the railway officials of all grades, as is proved by a diminution in consumption of the value of about seven shillings per thousand car miles in three years. At the same time an enormous increase has taken place in the car mileage as a result of better conduct of the lines. Further economies have been effected in the consumption of oils, and the number of officials was reduced to a total more commensurate with the service requirements.

By these means some £450,000 per annum has been saved, and this capitalized at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is equivalent to a saving of about £10,000,000. Baron Goto pays high tribute to the spirit of co-operation in effecting economies which is displayed by the 90,000 employees of the State railways.

With such a considerable saving in the internal economy of the railways, a possibility is opened out of safe embarkation on special financial operations for the extension of the system. This has already received consideration and, as shown above, it has been brought into practical working form.

According to recently published estimates, the Imperial Government will expend on the State railways a sum of £16,000,000 during the next seven years. This will represent about 2,000 miles of new railways. In addition to this outlay, the amount of £14,000,000 will be allocated for putting the existing railways into better condition, for new rolling stock, repairing-shops, and other expenses necessary for the upkeep of the railways during the next twenty years. Should this programme be carried out, the total expenses on the Japanese railways during this period would reach 303 million *yen*, or a sum of 16 millions to be expended.

a little over $4\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling per annum. It is an indication of sound financial methods thus to apportion expenses and extensions and general upkeep of the roads, and, of course, where the entire railway system belongs to the Government it is possible to do this. Large as the sum may appear in a total, when divided up among the various railways, the specific extensions and reconstructions will not be great. Indeed, if one may judge from the appearances of the several lines and the condition of some of the more profitable branches at the present time, the above annual expenditure is probably as little as can be expected in a progressive country. Whatever may be the necessity for the increase of mileage, it is certain that a good deal of money should be expended in order to put the existing lines into a thorough state of repair.

Turning to the profit-earning capacity of the State railways, one finds that the total revenue at the end of the year 1910-11 was £8,292,112, while the estimate for the year 1911-12 is £9,468,639, the total expenditure being about £8,515,696, leaving a net profit of £952,942. To gauge what the future may be expected to bring, however, an average over a longer period must be taken. A summary of the official estimate of the financial capacity of the railways to accomplish these greatly needed extensions and improvements out of the annual profits has already been given.

A substantial improvement in the railway returns is anticipated for each year. The returns for the year ended March 31, 1910, indicate an improvement, following the two years of depression, in the financial affairs of the Japanese railways. The passenger traffic has increased over 20 million, and is now 128,306,960; the freight traffic shows a smaller extension, aggre-

gating 23,658,620 tons. The receipts increased slightly, and were £8,500,000 for the year. With this sum available, and with the augmented profits which may reasonably be expected to accrue from the reduction of the rate of interest on the extensions and improvements constantly being effected, the Railway Department has undoubtedly felt justified in proposing its financial programme for future operations.

The Government points out that at first Japan had to depend on foreign capital in building her railways, but the mileage so constructed was small. Subsequent extensions and the construction of new lines have been financed at home. After the State acquired the railways, funds for these purposes were appropriated from the general account of the Treasury, to which the net revenue of the railways was transferred. This was not sound policy, and in 1909 the enactment of a special law made railway finance entirely independent of other receipts.

The new law provides that the State railways shall meet all obligations relating to the railway loans with the net revenue realized, and, further, that they must undertake new construction work and improvements with the surplus remaining. The railways of Japan, though owned by the Government, cannot turn to the Government for financial aid whenever required, but must cut their coats according to their cloth. If a policy of this kind were inaugurated in connexion with our municipal trading corporations, and they could no longer turn to the overburdened ratepayers to make up losses and deficits, British municipal finance would be on a sounder footing than it is. A useful lesson indeed may be learned from Japanese statesmanship in the administration of the finance of the Empire. In short, improvements and new construction can

only be proceeded with by degrees. The surplus at present available for improvements generally amounts to £1,000,000 per annum, and according to past experience this sum is likely to increase at the rate of about 15 per cent. every year.

The Government, in consequence of the enormous war loans, adopted the policy of reducing the National Debt and converting the State bonds from 5 to 4 per cent., as previously shown, and it has refrained from increasing the Debt. Hence the construction of new railways and improvements of existing lines have to be carried out by other means than by resort to direct loans. With an available surplus of £1,000,000, it is now possible for the railways to procure funds at the rate of 4 per cent., and the saving thus effected in the interest account on the outstanding railway loans and the reduction of the rate of interest on funds required for future improvements and extensions, together with the economies already mentioned, may make it possible for the State railways to finance their own improvements out of the earnings of the roads. Baron Goto told the writer he hoped to secure the necessary construction funds without increasing the annual charges. His able successor, Count Hayashi, Ambassador to England, 1900-5, has had previous experience as an administrator in several departments and he may be depended upon to adhere to these wise principles of economy.

CHAPTER XXVII

OTHER PUBLIC WORKS

BEFORE the Restoration, public works in Japan, as far as the building of roads was concerned, can hardly be said to have existed. The aim of each noble was to preserve the integrity of his domains, and to this end the few roads that were constructed, particularly in the vicinity of national boundaries formed by mountains, were deliberately made difficult and tortuous; if such natural paths as existed were deemed sufficiently easy to render access inviting they were blocked with barriers at convenient spots, the more effectively to insulate the province into which they led. The spheres of influence of river-works or land-preservation schemes were, of course, restricted as far as possible to the territory of the daimyo who undertook them.

Pie-Re-
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times :
daimyo's
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existed.

A postal service of a rudimentary character had, it is true, existed since A. D. 202, and had been improved from time to time by the adoption to some extent of Chinese ideas. For the last two centuries of the Shogunate the merchants of the chief cities of Japan had a regular private service of letter-carriers running between Osaka, Yedo, and Kyoto, and for sharing in this convenience the public were only too glad to pay high rates. It is interesting to recall that in 1858, ten years before this primitive system was superseded, the rebellious but progressive Daimyo of Satsuma had installed in his palace the electric telegraph, of which two sets of instruments had been presented to the Shogunate by Commodore Perry.

Postal Ser-
vice—old
system.

In the first year of Meiji the whole subject of communications was taken up with the vigour and intelligence that has characterized Government action since that date. A large staff of selected engineering and surveying students was formed, and trained by two Dutch advisers, and in the seven years from 1872 to 1879 much good work was done in river and harbour improvement, road-building, and the like, in accordance with the result of a general survey begun in 1871. The postal system was taken over by the Government and remodelled on Western lines, a trial service being put into operation between Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto in March, 1871. Several times a day, at hours stated beforehand, carriers were dispatched along the trunk route with stamped letters for towns and villages through which it lay, and the local authorities were ordered to take charge of the business of transmission. In those early days letters could be 'registered' on payment of double postage; such mixed matter as petitions to the Government, manuscript for newspapers (in open envelopes), and samples of grain and seeds could be sent free, and there was a system of 'express' delivery. With the advent of the railways the service naturally improved, and by June, 1877, Japan was able to become a member of the International Postal Union. The British, United States, and French post offices which had until then been maintained in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, were thereupon closed.

In 1867, Tokyo and Yokohama, twenty miles apart, were connected by telegraph, an English expert accomplishing the momentous innovation. Much trouble was at first experienced in maintaining communication through this medium, for the more ignorant sections of the public persisted in regarding the line as an

instrument of evil and were almost as obstinate in destroying it as the Government were in renewing it. The Satsuma rebellion, however, demonstrated its practical utility in just as convincing a manner as, on several quite recent occasions, the rescue of passengers from a sinking liner has demonstrated the utility of wireless telegraphy, and before long telegraph offices were springing up throughout the country at the earnest demand of inhabitants whose discernment had conquered their superstitious awe of the overhead wire. The monetary crises through which the country began at this time to pass were not without their effect upon the telegraphic business of the Government, and expansion was temporarily checked; but the authorities turned this period of quiescence to excellent account by perfecting the arrangements of the offices, combining them with the post offices and making the fee uniform throughout the country; they also directed their attention to the matter of external telegraphic communication. In 1883 Japan was linked to Korea by the Great Northern Telegraph Company's Cable and in 1884 Japan joined the International Telegraph Union. The annexation of Formosa was celebrated by the laying, in 1897, of 1,270 miles of cable, to connect the island with its new rulers in more tangible fashion. By this date both the postal and telegraphic services of Japan were under the control of the Government, and were perhaps as a consequence at least adequate to the necessities of the period.

In 1876 Mr. Bell invented the telephone, and in 1877 Japan had adopted it, at first over short distances, but, upon the successful working of the experimental line between Tokyo and Atami, as a means of communication between widely separated centres. A private

Events
justifying
its utility.

Cable ser-
vice intro-
duced.

Tele-
phone
service
adopted.

enterprise at the outset, it was soon nationalized, and in 1890 the service was inaugurated in and between Tokyo and Yokohama. General appreciation of the merits of the invention was comparatively rapid; in 1893 Osaka and Kobe were linked, and by 1895 the number of unsuccessful applicants for telephonic connexion exceeded 4,000, though in some cases a rent of £80 was offered, while frequent petitions from the provinces prayed the authorities to extend the system. Without delay the sum of £1,300,000 was voted for a seven years' programme, and by 1899 the long-distance service was opened between most of the principal cities. To-day the telephone is as matter-of-fact an institution in Japan as it is in Europe, and public call-offices have long ceased to excite interest on the score of novelty. The demand for installation in subscribers' houses still greatly exceeds the supply of instruments, and the Government's present programme contemplates the connexion of a further 60,000 subscribers by 1912.

Until 1908 wireless telegraphy was employed only by the Army and Navy, but communication by this means has since then been made possible between foreign steamers and coast stations and through the latter to and from the telegraph system of Japan. The number of 'wireless' messages sent in the business year 1909-10 was 7,817. The machines known as 'tickers' or 'tape machines' are by no means unfamiliar to the stockbrokers of Tokyo and Osaka, and over 100 of these instruments are in use in these great cities.

Posts, telegraphs, and telephones have, since their inception, almost always been made to pay their way in Japan, and the latest returns indicate a continuance of prosperity. In round numbers the postal revenue

for the fiscal year 1909 was £2,273,000, and the expenditure £1,244,000. In 1910, the telegraph offices cost £641,000 and yielded £841,800, while the profit on telephones was represented by the difference between an expenditure of £218,000 and a revenue of £883,000. The increase in the business movement of these institutions, even since 1900, when they were all fairly established, is remarkable, as may be seen by the following table :—

POSTS

	Offices	Miles of route	Letters, &c.	Parcels
1900-1	4,821	49,861	749,071,103	7,664,045
1909-10	6,943	57,784	1,487,792,451	20,355,283

TELEGRAPHS

TELEPHONES

	Offices	Miles of line	Messages	Offices	Miles of line	Calls
1900-1	1,651	17,080	16,694,841	104	1,912	66,577,969
1909-10	3,952	22,870	28,173,062	1,523	5,756	422,871,302

The Postal Savings Banks were inaugurated in 1875, and the rate of interest was little by little made so tempting that within fifteen years the deposits in the hands of the Government grew to unwieldy proportions, and the rate, which at 7·2 per cent. had created a record in the history of postal savings banks, was gradually lowered. But when, in 1893, savings banks were opened in many districts, the Postal Savings Banks felt the competition; the rate was, therefore, raised again, formalities were shortened and simplified for depositors, and the useful institution gradually returned to favour amongst the thrifty Japanese. At the beginning of 1911 there were over 11 million depositors, as against 26,473 in 1879, and their deposits aggre-

Postal
Savings
Banks.

gated more than 70 million *yen*, as compared with less than half a million *yen* in 1879. The present rate of interest is 4.2 per cent. The postal authorities are the poor man's stockbrokers; at the request of a depositor they will buy or sell national loan bonds and other public bonds and debentures, and accept them as deposits. Special deposit systems have lately been introduced, for the benefit of Japanese subjects in foreign lands, and since 1900 a postal stamp saving service for school children has been in operation.

Within the last twelve months the Post Offices have dealt with the payment of annuities and pensions to those entitled to them, much to the relief of the applicants, who formerly had to go through a somewhat wearisome ceremony at municipal offices or district bureaux.

The postal money order service dates also from 1875, and owing to the restricted banking facilities was at first much used by business men for the transmission of considerable sums. Subsequently, the Government imposed a limit upon the amount of these transactions. The principle embodied in the money order system was first extended to the telegraph service in 1885, and the postal collection service was introduced in 1900, the *maximum* value of a single money order being fixed at 100 *yen*, and that of a single postal order at 5 *yen*. The fee is *ad valorem* in the case of the former, and 3 *sen* each in the case of the latter, and the public's appreciation of this branch of the postal service is shown by the fact that the number of orders issued in 1909-10 was 14,126,761, involving a sum of over 175 million *yen*, or nearly £18,000,000 as compared with 6,656,957 orders issued for the approximate equivalent of under £6,600,000 in 1899.

As to foreign money orders, arrangements for their exchange were concluded with Great Britain in 1881, and since 1885, with all the countries of Europe and North and South America, at first with the British Post Office as intermediary but latterly, in most cases, direct. Japan is, of course, a subscriber to the International Postal Money Order Agreement, and there are now but few countries with which she has no arrangement for the postal exchange of values. The service would naturally be much used by Japanese residents in foreign lands, and it is interesting to note that in 1909-10 the number of orders issued in the country was 19,346, representing the meagre sum of 623,575 *yen*, while there reached Japan from abroad no less than 167,729 orders, involving an aggregate amount of nearly £1,400,000. A similarly useful institution has been the postal cheque and draft service, adopted by Japan in 1906.

Much of the foregoing data and of that which follows was very courteously supplied to the writer by Mr. Tanaka, of the Department of Communications at Tokyo, under date of May 26, 1911. This Department, established in 1885, has greatly increased in importance and in the extent of its authority. At first it merely took over from the Department of Agriculture and Commerce and the Department of Engineering the administration of the posts and telegraphs, lighthouses and lightships and some minor affairs, but in 1891, telephones came within its control, in 1892, railway business, and in 1893, the superintending of transportation by sea and overland. Upon the nationalization of the railways their administration was relegated to a special section. The scope of the Department includes the supervision of many bureaux, apart

from the Minister's Secretariat, among which we find the following:—

The Correspondence Bureau (posts, telegraphs, and telephones);

The Electrical Bureau, which supervises and inspects electrical undertakings ;

The Mercantile Marine Bureau (lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and marine transportation in general);

The Postal Savings Banks Bureaux (money orders and savings banks);

The Finance Bureau (departmental estimates and accounts); and

The Telegraphic and Lighthouse Material Manufactory.

In April, 1910, a decree¹ was issued organizing a special Hydro-Electric Investigation Bureau, whose functions include inquiry into such matters as the quantity, rapidity, and force of water of rivers from which it is proposed to derive hydro-electric energy. It was considered that hydro-electric enterprise would be assured of a more prosperous future if supervised by the State than if left entirely in the hands of individuals, and since an aggregate of 1,500,000 horsepower, or three times the amount now derived, can, it is calculated, be developed from Japanese rivers, it seems wise that such possibilities should be investigated by an official department which can authorize subsequent operations.

The Department for Home Affairs has control of road-construction, bridge-building, irrigation, land-

¹ It may be of interest to mention here that a decree is the expression of the will of the Sovereign, and has the effect of a law; a law is promulgated with the sanction of the Diet, and a ministerial ordinance has reference to points of minor importance.

preservation, and the improvement of rivers and harbours. Some of these public works may here be discussed briefly.

Roads in Japan come into three categories—*koku-do* (State or national roads), *ken-do* (provincial or prefectural roads), and *ri-do* (village roads). The first named are those which lead from Tokyo to the great Ise Shrine, to the head-quarters of army divisions, and to all the naval stations and sites of prefectural offices, and the width of these highways, including the banks, exceeds 7 *ken*, or 42 feet. The second class is formed of those which connect prefectures and towns and seaports of consequence; their breadth is between 24 and 30 feet. The *ri-do* have no limitations as to width. There are 5,243 miles of State roads, 22,040 miles of prefectural roads, and 231,078 miles of village roads, and besides an infinity of pontoons and wooden and earthen bridges there are 119 of iron and 61,836 of stone. The cost of their construction and maintenance falls chiefly upon the prefectures, cities, towns, and villages, but in some cases the State Treasury subscribes to the expenditure, which, for the ten years from 1896, has averaged annually £1,004,548 on roads and £330,718 on bridges. In 1910, moreover, the Government decided to make a fixed annual grant with the object of assisting road improvement, and a Road Conference has been sitting since 1907 to investigate conditions. Japan sent a delegate to the International Road Congress at Brussels last year, and will also be represented at the 1912 Congress.

The torrential nature of many of Japan's rivers has always been a source of damage and trouble to the districts in their vicinity. In a period of 1300 years (566–1866) no less than 426 serious floods are recorded, and even during this less strenuous era repairs

Classifica-
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River
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and re-
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conse-
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floods.

to embankments and deepening of channels involved considerable expenditure. Since the Restoration it would almost seem that Japan's liability to floods had increased; in any case it is seldom that a year passes without some disastrous inundation, and since 1896 when the River Control Law was promulgated, the authorities have improved a score of large rivers and twenty-seven tributaries, and are still at work, with modern and efficient machinery, on the river Yodo and fourteen others. In view of the three calamitous floods which occurred last year the Government has decided upon a much more extensive programme of preventive works. These inundations, which made 1910 a tragically memorable year, chiefly affected the prefectures of Tokyo, Yamanashi, Saitama, Gumma, and others north-east of Tokyo, and resulted in the death of 1,409 people, injury to 703, and the destruction, partial or complete, of 12,286 houses, and nearly half-a-million acres of crops. In this special case the cost of riparian preventive works, estimated at 20 million *yen*, will largely be borne by the Treasury and the Calamity Fund, which will contribute respectively 7 million and 4 million *yen*; local taxation will provide a further 2 million *yen*, and the remainder will come from local loans to be supplied from the Deposit Account on easy terms.

The annual ordinary expenditure on river-improvement averages about £1,400,000, of which approximately £1,100,000 is contributed by prefectures, cities, towns, and villages interested, and the balance (since 1887) by the Central Government. The programme referred to above calls for permanent riparian work on sixty-five rivers, the improvements on twenty of these to be completed by the fiscal year 1928-9, and the remainder to be put in hand subsequently. This

involves the setting apart, every year, of an additional 10 million *yen*, while a further sum of 10 million *yen* is to be spread over twenty years of work, for the prevention of landslips. Finally, having in mind the effect upon rivers of the numerous head-springs formed in forests, the Government is preparing a plan of forestry operations which, it is hoped, will have favourable results.

The relative importance of the principal harbours of Japan may be gathered from the following table of exports and imports for 1910 :—

Port	Exports	Imports	Total	Relative Importance of Japanese Ports.
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>	
Yokohama . . .	225,174,470	154,284,552	379,459,022	
Kobe	122,114,769	230,567,578	352,682,347	
Osaka	48,201,798	27,616,762	75,818,560	
Nagasaki . . .	3,393,959	8,918,907	12,222,866	
Hakodate . . .	2,356,337	161,671	2,518,008	
Moji	15,469,414	18,703,121	34,172,535	
Other Ports . .	41,898,249	23,981,217	65,879,466	
Total	458,428,996	464,233,808	922,752,884	

It was in 1878 or 1879 that the condition of the country's harbours first engaged the attention of the Government. For some time after the opening of Yokohama and other ports to foreign trade (1854–9) their accommodation depended almost entirely upon their natural features, but with increasing foreign trade, extension became imperative, and many harbours were improved by dredging or other operations. A Harbour Investigation Commission appointed in 1900, dissolved shortly afterwards, and reappointed in 1906, ascertained through the medium of expert inspectors the harbour needs of various districts, and in view of the approaching opening of the Panamá Canal has recommended that extensions of at least three of the principal harbours, Yokohama, Kobe, and Moji, should be put in hand without delay.

Yokohama and Kobe, of the thirty-seven open ports which Japan possesses, are those through which the bulk of the foreign trade has always passed, and it may almost be said that since 1879 the former has never been free of port-works of one kind or another, so rapid and constant has been the expansion of Japan's foreign commerce. No sooner has one programme of improvements been carried out than the additional accommodation is found to be inadequate, and work begins again. In 1899 the reclamation of 56 acres for sheds, warehouses, and moorings was begun, and in 1903 the re-dredging of the harbour was put in hand, both to be finished in March, 1914. Though the aggregate length of the breakwaters is over $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the space they enclose already exceeds 1,237 acres, it has for some time been recognized that to cope with the existing trade the iron pier must be reconstructed, special quay-walls for coasting vessels must be built, the Yokohama dockyard must be extended, and the coast-lines of the Yokohama Railway Company and the Yokohama warehouses must be lengthened. The construction of a canal between Tokyo and Yokohama is also to be undertaken very shortly.

Kobe, an ideal harbour, except when the rare southerly and easterly winds blow, was discovered in 1896 to be imperfect in the matter of facilities for land and sea connexions, and shore improvements were thereupon begun. In 1902 railway work was initiated with the object of assisting the lighter-service, and in 1906 the Government inaugurated a six-years' programme which included the construction of moles and of a steel pier. But, meantime, the movement of the port had developed so rapidly that this programme would have been but a makeshift, and in

1907 foreshore reclamation was planned to cover 66 acres. In addition, three detached breakwaters with a combined length of just under 3 miles, and enclosing a water area of 1,715 acres, are to be built to protect the harbour from south and east winds; these should be completed in March, 1915. As in the case of Yokohama the sheds on the reclaimed ground will be connected directly with the railways.

In 1905 a considerable area was reclaimed for Osaka Harbour, and two breakwaters and an iron pier were constructed, but the plan seems to have been somewhat faulty, railway communication not being connected to the pier. When this is done the accommodation will be vastly improved.

Tsuruga, the chief port for trade with Siberia, is to be reconstructed by 1912 at a total cost of £42,000.

The harbours in which, since 1878, work such as dredging, reclamation, and breakwater construction has been completed, are Sakai, Nagasaki, Misumi, Ujina, Kagoshima, Hakodate, Miike, and Nagoya. The cost of these improvements is usually defrayed from the Public Works funds of the localities concerned, but in the case of Yokohama and Kobe the National Treasury is to contribute nearly four-fifths of the total expenditure, and there are other exceptions; the port of Miike, for example, was constructed at the expense of the Mitsui family.

In the matter of electric tramways, the more populous centres of Japan are excellently served, though it was not until 1895 that the first was constructed for public traffic in Kyoto. There are now, according to the returns for 1910, thirty-five electric tramway and electric railway companies in Japan, working in all 349 miles of line, and a further 368 miles are either building or projected. There are four inter-city lines—

Electric
tram-
ways.

the Osaka-Kobe ($19\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Kyoto-Osaka (29 miles), Tokyo-Yokohama ($16\frac{3}{4}$ miles), and Minomo-Arima (18 miles), of which all but the last run alongside the regular railways. The elevated electric railway in Tokyo carried during last year 180,272,314 passengers out of a total, for all the Japanese companies, of 325,066,003, and has 59 miles of line. Many of these undertakings also generate electricity for the motive power of various other enterprises, and with very few exceptions pay satisfactory dividends. The Osaka City Electric Tramway is the only municipal undertaking, all the others being private.

In view of the extraordinary increase in the traffic of Tokyo, due principally to the rapid suburban development of the city, it is proposed to construct a 'tube' railway, of which the first section will be some $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, at a depth of 40 feet below ground. The cost is estimated at $3\frac{1}{2}$ million *yen*. The congestion of traffic is not confined to Tokyo, and the 'tube', if the project for its construction is sanctioned, may be but the pioneer of others in the larger towns.

In addition to the public works and undertakings which have been mentioned, the Department for Home Affairs also controls, through a Sanitary Bureau, all matters respecting the public health, such as quarantine for shipping, the prevention of infectious diseases, vaccination, the sale of drugs and patent medicines, the supervision of medical practitioners, chemists, and midwives, of water supply, and drainage works, the inspection of food and drink, and many kindred subjects. There are sanitary laboratories at Tokyo, Yokohama, and Osaka, where analyses are conducted, and there is a Central Sanitary Board, formed of Government officials, doctors, chemists, and

sanitary engineers, which discusses hygienic matters and reports to the Ministers concerned. Quarantine, medical inspection, inspection of animals, and similar sanitary duties are in the hands of the Harbour Offices at Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Fukuoka, and in the larger towns there are sanitary bureaux and guilds in connexion with the municipal corporations.

Water supply cannot yet be regarded as satisfactory ^{Water supply.} in Japan. The first city to construct waterworks on western lines was Yokohama. There, a quarter of a century ago, the late General Palmer, an English retired officer, put into operation a plan of his own, whereby at the present day 78,136 houses are each supplied with rather less than 3 cubic feet of water per diem, in return for an annual payment of 6 *yen*. On much the same lines works have been built at Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Nagasaki, Moji, Shimonoseki, Hiroshima, Okayama, Hakodate, Akita, Aomori, and at six other towns and three villages, though on a smaller scale. All expenditure on waterworks is defrayed by the city, town, or village concerned.

Drainage and sewerage are so far only completed in ^{Drainage and sewerage.} Nagoya and Hiroshima, where the works were commenced in 1907, but in Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe, Shimonoseki, Sendai, and several other towns, systems are in process of construction, while in many other centres they have been projected. Meanwhile, street scavenging and the removal of refuse are thoroughly attended to in each town and city.

With regard to the disposal of the dead, strict ^{Burial-grounds.} regulations prohibit the opening of new burial-grounds in the immediate vicinity of rivers, houses, public roads, or railways, and crematoria have been established in Tokyo and Osaka with the object of encouraging the practice of cremation.

In matters pertaining to slaughterhouses, the prevention of tuberculosis in cattle, the sale of milk, the supervision of doctors, dentists, midwives, and pharmacists, and cognate subjects, Japanese laws and regulations are very similar to our own, and in some cases superior, as in their excellent arrangements for the prevention of phthisis. The law respecting vaccination has recently been amended, and now provides that every child shall be vaccinated at two periods, between birth to June of the following year, and again before his tenth year.

Finally, the opium trade is controlled by the Government with creditable severity, and the sale of the drug is practically confined to cases in which it is prescribed by physicians.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ART

ONLY a few years ago it was customary to treat the whole art of Japan as applied or decorative art. The creative arts of painting and sculpture, which in Europe would of course receive almost exclusive attention from the critic or historian of Western art, have been relegated by most writers to a less than secondary place and given the briefest of accounts, while lacquer, porcelain, pottery, colour-prints, and sword-furniture, have been written of at length, and taken as typical and representative of Japanese art as a whole.

This view is still maintained by many collectors, very few of whom have paid any attention to the paintings. This was mainly due to ignorance. But since 1893, when at the Chicago World's Fair, Japan exhibited for the first time in the Fine Arts section, instead of in the Industrial Arts section, the world has become better acquainted with the history and achievements of her painters and her sculptors.

We may also say that this history and these achievements have in the last few years become also far better known to the Japanese themselves.

The historic masterpieces of painting and of sculpture are almost all still in the possession of Buddhist temples or of private owners. They were, therefore, practically unknown to the Japanese public, as to the European traveller or resident. But now, partly owing to the Government policy (since 1897) of

registering and protecting the national treasures, and partly to the many and magnificent sets of reproductions published by the Kokka Company, and by the Shimbi Shoin, the true range and wealth of Japan's artistic achievements have been made known to every one.

It cannot be too well realized that in Japan, as in every other country possessing a mature art—that is, an art expressive of the ideas, emotions, and aspirations of the race producing it—what are called the applied or industrial arts are merely the reflection of the creative or free arts: or rather they represent the overflow from the shaping and inventing energy embodied in works which have an independent imaginative existence. The decoration of things of use and luxury is governed by principles of design derived from the brains of the masters. It is true that in Japan some of the most original of the masters have applied their genius directly to decorative design. The lacquer of Koyetsu and Korin, the pottery of Kenzan, are classic examples. And the distinction between pictorial and decorative art is, in Japan, hardly perceptible. None the less it remains true that, just as in the West, painting and sculpture, and especially painting, are the predominant arts: it is in them that we must seek the key to all the rest.

Painting in Japan has had a continuous and splendid existence for at least twelve centuries. No European nation can show anything like its parallel. What is the condition, and what are the prospects of Japanese painting to-day?

Certainly there is no dearth of painters, and no lack of activity among them. But for all the display of multifarious talent, the art cannot be said to be in a satisfactory state. It is uncertain of its aim, dis-

tracted and confused. What else, indeed, could be expected?

Let us glance back for a moment at the history of the last few decades.

When the Restoration came, and the period of Meiji was inaugurated, the two great classic schools of Tosa and of Kano were both at a low ebb of fortune. The Tosa school, pre-eminently Japanese in its traditions, had existed since the thirteenth century, but, though it never died out, it had never enjoyed anything like the power and influence which made it paramount till the reversion to Chinese taste and ideals in Ashikaga times. A movement led by three fine painters, Totsugen, Tameyasu, and Ikkei, promised in the early nineteenth century a serious revival; but it was not taken up and carried on.

Schools of painting at the Restoration.

The Kano school was more fortunate in that it could still boast distinguished talent in men like Hōgai, who died in 1888, and Hashimoto Gaho, who died in 1908. The vigorous genius of Kiosai (died 1889), though often associated with a popular kind of subject, also belonged essentially to the Kano tradition.

But the kinds of painters which enjoyed most of public favour and esteem were, on the one hand, the groups deriving from Tani Buncho and his followers, or from the Bunjingwa, 'the literary men's style of painting,' both entirely Chinese in inspiration, and the Shijo school of Kyoto painters, who practised a graceful naturalism.

After the Restoration, when Japan set herself to absorb the whole new world of Western thought and activity, there was little here which could either coalesce with or effectively resist the new movement of ideas.

More than a thousand years before, Japan had

absorbed with the same thoroughness of receptivity the civilization, the religion, and the art of China. But how different were the two events !

Whatever the differences between the character and temperament of the two races, they belonged to the same hemisphere ; moreover, in the sphere of art, Japan was in the position of a novice ; she had nothing to unlearn, she had only to learn. But in the nineteenth century she possessed an immense tradition, she could boast of a long line of splendid artists ; and if the art of the West was to become her exemplar, how much must be forgotten and thrown away !

For it was no mere question of technique that was at issue. Appliances of science, the external machinery of existence, could be taken over from the West without essential encroachment on inherited ways of thought. But art is like religion ; in it is bound up the soul of a race. The principles of composition in painting, the very conception of landscape and of figure-design, depend in great measure on a certain attitude of the mind to the world ; they are rooted in philosophic and religious ideas. And just in these ideas and conceptions the mind of Japan profoundly differed from the mind of Europe.

Yet it cannot be wondered at that at first, when everything European was being so ardently embraced and enthusiastically imitated, the native traditions of art were for a time neglected and despised. It was supposed that the methods and aims of Western painters and sculptors must be superior and must be absorbed along with political institutions and scientific inventions. This was a time of grievous hardship and privation for the painters of the native schools, even for men of the eminence of Yosai, Hōgai, and

Kiosai. The Government, with its resolute Westernizing policy, established an art school on European lines in 1876, and imported three artists from Italy as teachers.

It was mainly owing to the impassioned remonstrances of an American, the late Prof. E. F. Fenollosa, the first non-Oriental to grasp and understand the real significance and power of Japan's art, that a reaction was brought about. Fenollosa pleaded earnestly that before the methods of Europe were adopted, the study and practice of purely Japanese art should be placed on a sound footing. This advice was tendered in an official report made after a tour in Europe on which he was sent with Japanese colleagues to study European schools and methods.

In 1886 the Tokyo Art School was founded, with Kano Hogai and Hashimoto Gaho as its chief teachers. And in the following year an official inspection of national treasures of art was set on foot by the Government.

Hogai died in 1888. Later, a secession by Gaho and Okakura Kakuzo, well known in England and America by his book *The Ideals of the East*, resulted in the formation of a new art school, the Nippon Bijitsu-in.

During this transition-time the old traditions had been kept alive by a few painters of eminent gift, whose youth had belonged to the pre-Restoration era. But Hashimoto Gaho died in 1908, and though a few artists of the older generation are still working, it is, of course, to the younger men that we must look for the dominant tendencies of the day and the auguries of the future.

The Japanese painters of to-day are divided into two main camps; those who regard Western ideas

Reaction
in favour
of native
art.

Tokyo
Art
School
founded.

Nippon
Bijitsu-in
founded.

as a dangerous contamination, and those who believe that the conventions of the old schools are worn out, and that only an infusion of fresh conceptions and fresh material can restore vitality to their country's art.

A genius may arise any day who will strike out a firm path for himself on one or other of these lines, or effect a triumphant fusion of both. Genius is incalculable. Meanwhile we may consider the situation and the problems now presented.

A distinguished critic, Mr. Sei-ichi Taki, writing in that admirable magazine, *The Kokka*, has found both camps of artists wanting. Those who are for the old tradition, he thinks, imitate the letter rather than the spirit of the great men of the past; while the innovators borrow a superficial realism from the West, without seizing the essential strength of Western art.

Whatever truth there is in this criticism, and in the main it seems to be justified, too much may be made of the antagonism between the art of Europe and the art of Japan. It is true, as we have said, that psychological characteristics, an inherent mental attitude toward life and nature, affect the one art and the other in deep and subtle ways. These characteristics are bound to appear, whether consciously or unconsciously. But though the main current of development in each case and the technical methods employed have been so different, art is a universal language, and there are phases of European painting which have real affinities with Japanese painting. Still more is this the case if we include European drawings. Probably this is not yet realized in Japan.

Both Japanese and European critics have noticed the striking similarity, behind surface differences, between the early Italian frescoes and the early religious paint-

ing of Japan. Indeed, as Mr. Arthur Morrison points out in his recently-published large work (*The Painters of Japan*, 1911), the methods of the fresco painter and of the Japanese painter of whatever school or period have much in common. Again, the drawings of Claude, of Rembrandt, of Holbein, of Gainsborough (to take a few instances only) might be put side by side with certain kinds of typical Japanese brush-drawing without any incongruity.

Such cases, it may be said, are exceptional. The great bulk of European painting has for its object, it is true, the complete realization of a scene, whether observed or imagined. Japanese painting has no such aim: it abstracts from reality, suppressing all cast shadows, for instance, and aims rather at evoking an emotion in the spectator by dwelling on just those elements which have stirred the artist's emotion, omitting everything else. Yet it must not be overlooked that at the present time the stream of tendency among the more serious and thoughtful of European artists and critics is toward a more significant and spiritual presentation of things, and away from the pursuit of realism for its own sake; in fine, towards a nearer kinship with the aims of Japanese tradition.

And Japanese painters should realize that, just as the civilization of Europe is not summed up by, or really dependent on the mechanical triumphs of science, its mastery of steam and electricity, so the real achievement of European art is not its wonderful success in representing the aspect of actual nature, for this is only a means and not an end. Doubtless to one who has been accustomed only to the methods and effects of Japanese and Chinese painting, the scientific thoroughness displayed in a European picture, the knowledge of perspective, anatomy, light, and shadow, &c.,

must be (whether welcome or not) very striking. But the danger of the Westernizing Japanese is that they may become absorbed in these matters and forget that all this knowledge and mastery are merely instruments in the expression of a pictorial idea.

Europe in the last few years has become aware of the greatness of the historic art of Japan. It no longer confines its attention to Hokusai, Utamaro, Hiroshige. And what impresses European artists in Japanese masterpieces is their greater freedom and spirituality. Idea is not clogged and swamped by material as it too often has been with us. Japanese colour-prints have already widely influenced European and American design. In the future the influence will come rather from the classic art of Japan, from those masterpieces of painting and sculpture which are felt to have a spiritual kinship with a certain side of European art, hitherto but imperfectly developed.

What then can Japanese art, in its turn, gain from Europe?

Its weakness has been the converse of that which has beset Western art; instead of becoming too matter-of-fact through the pursuit of observation for its own sake, it has tended to become thin and starved from overmuch repetition of the same motives and overmuch prizing of the calligraphic element.

It will be a deplorable thing if Japanese painting as we have known it in the past, with its delicacy, its suggestiveness, its reticence of power, should efface itself in surrender to an alien ideal. Oriental art is the beautiful complement of Western art; each has its own life, each is alike precious to the world. But as the Japanese nation has since 1868 taken its choice so resolutely, it is impossible that its art should not be affected in some way or other by Western

example, if that art is to remain in touch with national life. This may come without any surrender of essentials. If indirect, rather than direct, the influence is likely to be all the more fruitful. Just as European artists are being stimulated by all sorts of felicities of invention, quite new to them, in Japanese work, so may the Japanese be stimulated by European work. The gain should be in an accession of fresh ideas, which can be transmuted into Japanese forms. But let the painters of Japan be sure that it is the finest of European art which they study; for assuredly it is this which they will find most congenial to their innate ideals, and from which they will best be able to profit.

Our contemporary art in the West is to an uninitiated eye a gross welter of confusion. A thousand times too many pictures are painted; and the proportion of really inspired work remains as small as ever, often neglected and ignored. Merely to catch the contagion of this state of things would be disastrous. Exhibitions have now become regular and frequent in Tokyo; and the exhibition picture, which is the bane of Western art, a thing designed not to form part of the harmony of a living-room, but to outshine its neighbours on a gallery wall, is bound to increase and multiply.

Such a recent painting as the 'Founding of a Nation', by Nakamura Fusetsu, may be noted as an instance of the misdirected imitation of Europe. Though a work of ability, this is essentially one of those compositions of nude figures grouped together and doing nothing in particular, of which Western academies have produced only too many. This is to imitate from the outside; a method which can result in nothing durable or profound.

At Paris, in 1900, and at the Japan-British exhibition in London in 1910, there was an opportunity for Europeans to see something of the aims and achievements of the recent and contemporary art of Japan. The paintings in native style at the latter exhibition, without being extraordinary, gave promise for the future. The screens by Odake Kokkwan displayed some of the old genius for representing action and movement which produced such splendid masterpieces in the heyday of the Tosa school. And in Shimomura Kwanzan, whose two panels of 'The Forest in Autumn' showed great richness of design, Japan has a painter, already distinguished, who should do great things. Terasaki Kogyo and Kawai Giokudo have also shown interesting talent. Many of the paintings, however, in both these exhibitions, both of native and Western style, had a marked want of substance and significance. In the classic kakemono the motives are often extremely slight to Western eyes ; but that is atoned for by the depth of mood in which the subject is felt, and which is communicated in every stroke of the brush. Smallness of character is also the weakness of modern Japanese sculpture, which tends to delicate realism and extreme cleverness of workmanship, but rarely attempts anything like grandeur of conception or largeness of execution. Here, surely, the study of the great Europeans might prove a wholesome stimulus. For in sculpture the problems are much simpler than in painting, where shadows, eschewed by the Japanese, form an integral part of the Western scheme.

There has been no really great sculpture in Japan for centuries, though as early as the seventh century many wonderful masterpieces were produced. The static poses required for Buddhist figures, and the paramount influence of Buddhism on the art, probably

account for this early decline. But there is no reason why secular sculpture should not develop and expand in our time. The singular genius of the Japanese for suggesting movement and their instinct for beauty of line should here serve them admirably. What is wanted are a greater seriousness and force of conception, more sincerity and ardour, issuing in a style that should disdain the triviality of over-finish and heartless dexterity.

It is to be hoped that neither in sculpture nor in painting will Japan fail to be true to her own national character and ideal.

We, in the West, may point to Whistler as an example of a great artist who, while gaining much from Japanese art, nevertheless remained true to himself. He assimilated only what was naturally congenial to his instincts; and amid the great wealth and variety of European art there must be examples in one school or another from which Japanese artists could derive a quite sympathetic and salutary influence.

We repeat that the important thing is that the artists of Japan should know and understand the great masters of Europe before attempting to involve themselves in the many conflicting currents and confused aspirations of contemporary Western art.

In the minor arts of Japan there is still exquisite workmanship. The old traditions still persist, though ^{Minor arts.} sadly weakened by modern commercialism. The once glorious art of the swordsmith seems to be perishing and for ever. Since the beginning of the Meiji period there has been a revival of the colour-print, which had passed, with the introduction of aniline dyes, into a state of utter decadence. The prints designed by Gekko, Toshikata, and a few others are graceful and

attractive, though they cannot compare with the really noble design of the period of Kiyonaga and Utamaro. The skill of the woodcutters has been most signally shown, however, in the astonishingly beautiful reproductions of old paintings which first appeared in the *Kokka*, started in 1889, and in the *Shimbi Taikwan* (1899, &c.). Exquisite reproduction of old designs is, indeed, a striking feature of the industrial arts, most enjoyable in itself but hardly a testimony to the power and originality of living designers. It would seem as if Japan were following Europe in the growing divorce between creative and decorative art. This is to be regretted; and, probably, a reaction will come, as indeed it is coming in Europe, where artists are everywhere growing more interested again in the long-despised crafts. But a nation that has shown throughout its history so profound an instinct for design should surely not want for new genius to arise and, it may be, transform the character of its arts under the fresh influences of modern times. We wait in hope.

It may not be uninteresting to add a brief note on the growth in the recognition of Japanese art which the past fifteen years have witnessed in Europe.

The chief change to be noted in the attitude of collectors and museums is the gradual approach to a true perspective. Lacquer pottery, sword-furniture, and textiles retain the appreciation which is their due; but masterpieces of the classic periods of the ideal art of Japan, whether in painting or in sculpture, are now the paramount objects for acquisition by enlightened collectors. When Japan was first opened to Western trade the events of the revolution had caused many old families to disperse treasured property, and at that time really first-rate works could on occasion

have been bought. Unfortunately, there was little to guide the European buyer ; he was thrown on his own taste, and, having little experience, bought in most cases what was pretty and attractive rather than what was noble and severe in style ; he preferred Sosen to Sesshiu. Now that he is better instructed the opportunity has passed. He can only acquire fine examples of classic work with great difficulty and must pay highly for them. The result of these conditions has been that European collections of Japanese paintings are mostly of a mixed character. A certain number of really fine things have been acquired, but the tendency has been for these to be greatly outnumbered by inferior specimens and by forgeries. Henceforth, with better opportunities for forming a judgment, more care will doubtless be shown.

European museums have till lately collected Japanese works of art as materials for the study of ethnography. The earliest of these collections, that at Leyden, is still in the ethnographical museum of that city. Usually we find Japanese art in the sections of ethnography or of industrial arts. But undoubtedly in the future Japanese painting will be recognized, with Chinese painting, as on the same footing as the painting of Europe. It is so recognized in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, U.S.A., of which the collection made by Fenollosa formed the magnificent nucleus. No European centre can show anything to rival this or the other great American collection, that of Mr. Charles Freer of Detroit, destined to become a national museum and to be housed at Washington. France, the first country in Europe to appreciate Japanese art, confined her attention too long to the colour-prints and the minor arts, in which the French private collections are extraordinarily rich. Of recent years, however,

Collec-
tions in
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American
museums

a small representative collection of painting and sculpture has been made by the Louvre, which will doubtless grow in importance. In England, the British Museum has possessed since 1881 the Anderson collection of nearly 3,000 paintings, among which, though there is much that is insignificant, are a number of fine pieces. Additions have been made to this in the last few years, but it is the Chinese section of it which has been enriched with the most notable of new acquisitions. The collection of Mr. Arthur Morrison at Loughton is probably the richest and finest private collection of Japanese paintings in Europe. Germany, though its chief museums have been later in the field, is now alive to the interest of the subject. The Berlin Kunst-Gewerbe Museum has in the last four years acquired a choice series of paintings and other subjects. And at Cologne there is now in course of erection the first museum yet made which is solely dedicated to the arts of Eastern Asia. This will house the fine collection formed by Professor Adolf Fischer in the East. A public collection has been formed at Buda-Pesth; and in 1905 the Chiossone collection, bequeathed to the city of Genoa by an Italian engraver long resident in Japan, was opened as a museum.

Thus all over Europe the interest in Japanese art has steadily grown and is growing still, not only in extent but in enlightenment.

The material used in this chapter was largely supplied by Mr. Laurence Binyon, assistant in the British Museum, to whom the writer is also indebted for valuable assistance in its preparation. Mr. Binyon is the author of *Paintings in the Far East*, and is a recognized authority on Japanese art.

CHAPTER XXIX

JAPANESE LITERATURE

THOUGH a small band of British explorers has laboured during the last forty years to open up the undiscovered country of the literature of Japan, large tracts remain partially or totally obscure. Guided by the veneration of native critics for works which have survived from earlier ages, these inquirers have devoted most attention to the translation and exposition of ancient authors. Hence much more is known of the poetry and prose produced between the ninth and thirteenth centuries than of the immense activity which created popular taste in the seventeenth century and has continued to cater for it until the present day. One reason for this disparity is that not a few modern Japanese writers on serious subjects have preferred to express themselves in Chinese, thereby laying a pitfall for foreign students. Indeed, Professor Haga has reason to complain of the 'gross mistake', which caused *Nihon Gwaishi*, a famous war-chronicle covering four centuries of the Shogunate, and published by Rai Sanyo in 1837, to be registered as a Chinese work in the catalogue of the Royal Library of Berlin. Japanese was considered, at that time, a suitable medium only for plays and novels which appealed to the vulgar. Thus barricaded behind aristocratic ideographs lies a mass of unrevealed philosophy, biography, and history on which the *literati* most pride themselves. And since the movement for printing purely Japanese compositions in

Use of the Chinese language and ideographs an impediment to research.

romanized characters, so that even the running tourist might read, has met with increasing opposition of late years from the classes which value close intercourse with China, one can only hope that, in return for the flood of occidental literature which has fertilized the soil of Japan since the seventies, many more of her sons will follow the welcome examples of Professors Haga and Takenob by admitting us to the still veiled recesses of her most-treasured thoughts, feelings, and memories.

Before describing the chief literary developments of recent years, which are none the less interesting on account of a large derivative and transitional element, it may not be out of place to recall what we owe to previous interpreters, especially as their pious industry is too often sepulchred in the transactions of erudite societies. The versions by Sir Ernest Satow of the *Norito*, archaic prayers to Shinto deities for good harvests, for the prosperity of the Palace, for deliverance from fire and plague, most of which date from before the seventh century, are only accessible in the records of the Asiatic Society of Japan. In the same grave is interred Professor Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*, a sort of Turanian Bible, containing the cosmogony, mythology, and earliest history of the country from the days of the gods until A.D. 628. From a literary point of view the compilation is often crude and tedious; as a historical document, it is open to grave doubt; as a picture of divine existence and behaviour, it stands in about the same relation to the Homeric conception of Olympus as a clay fetish of the Maori to the marbles of Phidias. But, while it is true that Motoori, the great commentator, took thirty-two years (1764-96) to expound its merits in forty-four volumes, exalting its veracity and praising its theology

with uncritical patriotism, what is wanted for the purpose of fruitful elucidation is a complete study of its legends and customs by an anthropologist steeped in Asiatic folk-lore. The talking animals and childish gods, with their queer mixture of barbarism and politeness, betoken a state of mind more primitive in quality, if not in time, than is reflected in any other literature.

Classical poetry has been clearly and ably expounded to English readers. About five years ago the Clarendon Press issued Mr. F. V. Dickins's admirable work on the *Manyōshū*, a famous anthology of poems written by courtiers for courtiers at Nara in the latter half of the eighth century. These elegant lyrics of the seasons and the affections are printed in Roman type opposite a literal translation and copiously accompanied by notes, essays, and appendices, so that critics who may be inclined to differ from the modest rate at which Mr. Dickins assesses the contributions of Hitomaro and Akahito to the poetry of the world, have ample means of forming independent judgment. The same writer is much to be thanked for including in the volume the *Taketori Monogatari*, that charming fairy tale of the woodcutter, who found in a split bamboo the shining maiden Kaguyahime, destined to be wooed by an Emperor and to soar back from the midst of his vainly encircling warriors to her kinsmen in the Moon. Though founded on Chinese fancy, this beautiful specimen of Heian authorship is a striking example of the graceful culture which reigned at Kyoto at the beginning of the tenth century. No version has yet been made either of the *Ise Monogatari*, an even more elegant record of Narihara's poetical amours, or of the *Utsubo* and *Yamato* collections of tales from which Mr. W. G. Aston gives tantalizing

English
translations
of
Japanese
poetry.

excerpts in his *Japanese Literature*. A second official anthology of poems, the *Kokinshiu*, completed about a century after the *Manyoshu*, has attracted many translators, who vainly try to pin down the *Tanka*, like butterflies, without sacrificing their elusive beauty. But the English versifier's point is often fatal to the Verlainian *nuance* of Kyoto art. Some amplify out of all recognition, others, like Professor Chamberlain, fly in despair to sheer literalism with explanatory prose.

Probably the most famous specimen of classical fiction is the *Genji Monogatari*, written, if tradition may be accepted, by a lady of the Fujiwara clan at the dawn of the eleventh century. It deals in rambling fashion with the amorous adventures of Prince Genji, and presents a panoramic view of Imperial society. Full of incident and character, it yet defies translation by its prolixity. Viscount Suyematsu translated, many years ago, the first twenty-seven chapters, but the more picturesque episodes, such as that of the Nun and the little girl who lost her pet sparrow, have been made familiar by the widely-circulated illustrations of Kunisada and other artists of the Ukiyo-ye School.

Between 1186-1332 in the Kamakura period, when court influence decreased and the military caste laid an iron hand on national life, it was inevitable that literature should decay, while sterner pursuits monopolized men's minds. Nevertheless, two works of great importance were produced. The last of the classical anthologies—the *Hiaku-nin-is-shiu*, or *Tankas* by one hundred authors—was compiled about 1235. These have been three times rendered into English, and Mr. W. N. Porter's quite recent invention of an equivalent stanza with triple rhyme and terse phrasing may be said to suggest as much as can be expected

of the original. It is a thousand pities, however, that no student has appeared of sufficient knowledge and resource to adapt the *Heike Monogatari*. This is the true Japanese saga, celebrating their war of the Roses between the Taira and Minamoto clans with profuse splendour of fact and legend. It is partly in verse, partly in rhythmic prose. It was chanted by blind Rhapsodists to their lutes; it became the source of numberless plays and novels. Its heroes remain the national heroes: Yoshitsune means far more still to a Japanese schoolboy than King Arthur or King Alfred to British lads. At least one passage, which describes how the Emperor Antoku, a child of eight, is drowned with his nurse Niidono in the supreme hour of defeat at the sea-fight of Dan-no-ura, may be compared for beauty and pathos with the scene where Hector parts from Andromache and his infant son on the battlements of Troy. Here is Mr. Aston's simplified rendering:—

‘This world is the region of sorrow, a remote spot small as a grain of millet. But beneath the waves there is a fair city called the Pure Land of Perfect Happiness. Thither it is that I am taking you. With such words she soothed him. The child then tied his top-knot to the Imperial robe of the colour of a mountain-dove and tearfully joined together his lovely little hands. First he turned to the East and bade adieu to the shrine of the great God of Ise and the shrine of Hachiman. Next he turned to the West and called upon the name of Buddha. When he had done so, Niidono made bold to take him in her arms, and, soothing him with the words: “There is a city away below the waves,” sank down to the bottom one thousand fathoms deep.’

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries feudal struggles continued to absorb attention. As in the

so-called Dark Ages of Europe, learning and writing became the monopolies of monks—with, however, one notable difference. The Buddhist pens were less dipped in theological gall than the Christian. They were not so exclusively concerned with doctrine, and dwelt readily on secular themes. Chikafusa, no doubt, used the Shinto faith as an arsenal of weapons for defending the right of the Southern Mikados to claim the *True Succession of the Divine Monarchs*, but his main object was political. The monkish chronicles of the *Taiheiki* mingle Buddhist theology with battles, travels, and parallel episodes of Chinese or Indian history. One is reminded by the easygoing Kenko, author of that strange *pot-pourri* of reflections, anecdotes, and sketches, entitled *Tsure-dzure-gusa* (*Fleurs d'Ennui*) of a genial abbé at the court of Louis XIV, before Madame de Maintenon prescribed external austerity. This amusing table-talker, who extenuates, while he censures venial frailty, has been made intelligible but not accessible by the Rev. C. S. Eby in the pages of *The Chrysanthemum*. Wider publicity is desirable. Finally, the wonderful, but untranslatable *No* texts form, perhaps, the noblest contributions by Buddhist authors to Japanese literature. Their full effect naturally depends on the conjunction of weird melodies and dances with which they are interwoven round the subject of some historic or legendary occurrence. The religious element is introduced either by choric odes or by the intervention of ghosts, demons, and exorcising priests. But the human interest is always pathetically present, though rather shrouded by the impersonal tone of sentiments and reflections, in accordance with Japanese taste. Many critics have done their best to interpret at least the form and purport of these sacred operettas. We may cite one

of the best examples, the *Japanese Plays and Play-fellows* of Mr. Osman Edwards. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Edwards for material and for valuable assistance in the preparation of this chapter, and the chapter on the Japanese Drama, of which Mr. Edwards has made a special study. The appreciation of the composite and many-coloured odes and speeches in these *No* texts demands deeper acquaintance with Chinese lore, and more ability to comprehend the verbal dexterity of puns and pivot-words than most foreigners possess. It looks as though even Professor Tsubouchi's attempt to revive this *genre* in modern form by similar compositions on the subject of the *Fisher-lad of Urashima* and the *Moon-maiden* had failed to satisfy the judgment of contemporaries. Many translations have been made of the *Kiogen*—the 'mad' interludes of rustic humour which relieved the solemnity of religious drama. But these have no claims to literary merit, and though their local colour is novel to Western readers, the jests on which they turn are neither subtle nor remarkable.

It might have been expected that the Golden Age ^{Literature} of the Tokugawa Shoguns, extending from 1603 to ^{under the} 1867, when the whole country enjoyed peace, and ^{Toku-} each citizen was chained to his duty in that state of ^{gawas.} life unto which it had pleased Iyeyasu to call him, would abound in masterpieces of many kinds. But, if this did happen, as regards literature at any rate, two circumstances have excluded outsiders from participation. Chinese influence completely dominated the ^{Chinese} upper classes, and imposed its philosophy and ethical ^{influence.} code on every rank. These are generally of unsympathetic quality in the eyes of foreigners. Few have troubled to absorb them, but Monseigneur de Harlez's *École Philosophique de la Chine* may be consulted with

advantage. Beneath their serene canopy the masses of the people at last entered on their heritage. Popular drama and popular romances were eagerly devoured by the shopkeepers of Osaka and Yedo, whose children were now taught 'reading, letter-writing, arithmetic, etiquette, and calligraphy' in the temple schools established by Iyeyasu. Such writers as coveted vulgar glory were despised by the educated, and paternally checked by the Government, but, for the most part, their fancies ran riot. Read, for instance, Mr. Aston's analysis of the plot of Chikamatsu's masterpiece, *Kokusenya Kassen* (1715)—a play, which amasses in five acts the murderous exploits of a famous Chinese pirate—or glance in the British Museum through Hokusai's illustrations to one of Bakin's interminable romances (1805-41): you will at once perceive what has deterred or horrified translators. Erudition, prodigal invention, lavish bloodshed, bombast, and improbability are the main ingredients. Graft the extravagance of Marlowe on the prolixity of Dumas, and imagine a public that will spend all day in feasting on the horrible and the incredible: you will then understand both the contempt of Japanese scholars for such productions, and the reluctance of Europeans to rifle treasures, which would shrivel in the cold light of those who judge by the tame standards of Fielding or Defoe.

Yet between the abstruse logomachies of Chinese or Shinto disputants, like Hakuseki or Motoori, and those purveyors of marvels for the multitude, there did exist some keen-witted observers, whom Japanese novelists of to-day delight to honour. There was Ibara Saikaku of Osaka, who died in 1693; there was Kiseki of Kyoto, who died in 1736. Both drew in humorous and realistic sketches the gay life and free

manners of their day. For graphic satire they are unsurpassed; as witnesses to the state of the Tokugawa underworld they are invaluable. Such, at least, is the verdict of their successors. But, unfortunately, the squeamish European has refused to follow them into the circles they loved to frequent. The prudery of our race has forbidden any reproduction of their indiscretions—a prudery which was shared on more than one occasion by their own Government, since their liveliest efforts to rebuke immorality by ‘moral tales’ met with swift suppression and imprisonment. Whatever may have been their offences against our notions of reticence, they seem to have had the prime merit of mirroring the spirit of their age, while their style was witty and concise. Ikku, who flourished in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, wrote a rollicking masterpiece in *Hizakurige*, which has been compared with *Pickwick* and eulogized as ‘the most humorous and entertaining book in the Japanese language’. Who will rescue this romance of the road from the obscurity of its native tongue for the delectation of alien readers?

Original work in fiction or any other branch of literature was violently arrested by the Restoration of 1867 and by the simultaneous inrush of exotic ideas. It was felt to be a duty of paramount importance for all patriots to secure the safety of their country by full examination and wise use of any discoverable sources of foreign strength. Thus, for about fifteen years most literary men of influence were occupied with the task of translating and explaining. Though Dutch had been the first medium through which a knowledge of medicine, astronomy, and geography was acquired, the English tongue held a predominant place. Professor Toyama, a graduate of Michigan University, and

Professor Kikuchi, a graduate of Cambridge University, laid the foundations of Tokyo official teaching on an Anglo-American basis. As a private schoolmaster, the far-seeing pioneer, the great Yukichi Fukuzawa, having recorded in *Seiyo Jijo* (*Condition of Western Countries*) his frank impressions of America and Europe, began to exercise enormous influence. Indifferent to political questions, he believed profoundly in the wisdom of the West. His school (the *Keiogijuku*), his newspaper (the *Jiji*, or *Times*), his lectures and public speeches (the last proceeding was a bold innovation for men accustomed to Tokugawa restraint), wielded the powers of Luther or Voltaire. Though he once proposed the adoption of Christianity as a State religion for purely convenient reasons, the main trend of his teaching was utilitarian: the writers with whom he felt most sympathy were Hume, Buckle, Bentham, Mill, and Gibbon. Dr. Niishima stands apart from the other educators, whose debts to the Occident are mostly intellectual, by the fact that he imbibed ardent Protestantism in New England and returned to establish the Christian Doshisha schools at Kyoto. The Waseda University is the work of Count Okuma, whose devotion to progressive liberalism of an English type partly accounts for the fact that during the last decade he has found more scope in educational than governmental activity. With his name must be linked that of Professor Tsubouchi, author of an able *History of English Literature* and originator of many literary and theatrical reforms. Another influential teacher was Mr. Keiwa Nakamura, who translated Mill's *On Liberty* and Smiles's *Self-Help*. The philosophy of Spencer and Darwin was entrenched in the Tokyo Imperial University, for evolution, whether interpreted with Christian or agnostic glosses, seemed exactly

suites as a creed to a time of rapid growth. France, about this time, enjoyed a brief period of popularity. Mr. Tokusuke Nakae's translation of Rousseau's *Contrat Social* is said to have given such impetus to the demand for democratic rights that the Imperial Rescript, which promised a Constitution within ten years, was partly ascribed to its success. Voltaire and Montesquieu found translators. Novels with a political tendency held the field. Lytton and Disraeli were draped in the kimono of a loose rendering, while Mr. Fumio Yano wrote *A Model for Statesmen*, choosing as his hero Epaminondas of Thebes, and reminding one of the chlamys-and-toga hero-worship of the French Revolution. The wild aspirations of those early years, whether derived from English or French sources, have long ago been pruned to the more congenial type of German statecraft. In local government, in the science of pedagogy, in Prince Ito's constitution itself, choice was finally made of German models, as being more in harmony with the oligarchic spirit and semi-divine monarchy of old Japan. At Tokyo University Professor Florentz maintains the traditions of Teutonic industry and erudition. Hence it may be asserted that, while Great Britain and the United States were the first tutors of the Mikado's subjects in freedom of speech and thought, they have now formidable rivals in the enlightened civilization of Berlin.

By 1885 a generation was growing up, which had attained the position not only of reading, but also of assimilating European literature. In that year Professor Tsubouchi issued his much-discussed *Principles of Fiction*, a manifesto as important in its way as Hugo's trumpet-call to young France in the preface to *Hernani*. The period of absorption had passed : it was time to create. Moreover, a counter-movement towards

European
literary
ideals
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duced.

national ideals was setting in. The old-fashioned romance with its ridiculous licence of unchartered fancy must be superseded by the novel with the definite aim of portraying Japanese life in its essential truth. The pretence of edification, the didactic bias with its poetic justice and impossible adventures, must be replaced by the narrower purpose of artistic satisfaction. Style, however, must not be neglected. As models, therefore, were recommended the works of Samba and Shunsui, realistic observers of Yedo society between 1810 and 1830, while the professor himself, to illustrate his principles, published some *Sketches of Student Life* (*Shosei Katagi*) which speedily bore fruit. An association was formed of *Friends of the Ink Slab* (*Ken-yu-sha*) and a magazine appeared, the *Garakuta Bunko*, in which, after the manner of Paris, a literary coterie shouted its war-cry and hoisted its flag.

The leader of this school, 'Koyo' Ozaki, seems to have aimed at aesthetic realism, that is, at combining beauty of words with ardour of sentiment and adherence to fact. His novels were chiefly concerned with womanhood, from *The Love-confessions of Two Nuns* (1889) to the unfinished *Golden Hag* (1905), a tale of conflict between love and avarice, which has been partially translated by Mr. Arthur Lloyd. *Many amours, many regrets* is the tearful confession of a widower. By one Japanese critic he is bracketed with Mr. Henry James, but as the same writer accredits his country with a Thomas Hardy, a George Eliot, a George Meredith, and an Edgar Allan Poe, such analogies may be taken as signs rather than measures. At any rate, Koyo died in 1904 at the early age of thirty-eight, with a reputation based quite as much on his style, which recalls the elegance of

Saikaku, as on the depth of his psychology, which is, perhaps, more general than particular. The titles of his novels are prettily suggestive: *Nengi-bisho* (*The Flower-twirling Smile*, which refers to a legend of Buddha); *Kyara-Makura* (*The Aloe-wood Pillow*); *Odoro-Bune* (*Ships in the Haze*). Another member of the school, 'Bimyosai' Yamada, whose best-known stories are *Kocho* (*Butterfly*) and *Wakashiraya* (*Grey-haired Youth*), is also credited with a polished style but rather superficial treatment. He was the first to dilute conventional 'fine writing' with colloquial idiom. 'Bizan' Kawakami, who graduated with the love-stories of *Yellow Chrysanthemum*, *White Chrysanthemum*, and *Snow-broken Bamboo*, turned in later years to less sentimental subjects and won an after-math of fame with *The Government Official* and *The Reverse of the Medal*. Iwaya Sazanami preferred to write of 'the pretty emotions of young people' under fanciful titles derived from shells or textures.

Three authors stand by themselves in niches of unique personality. 'Roban' Koda, who is Professor of Literature at Kyoto University, is an idealist of lofty imaginative power. His books are leavened with Buddhist reflections and poetic passages, which lengthen but beautify the narrative. His men are more firmly depicted than his women, and both are enveloped in silver haze. His chief works are: *The Buddha of Taste and Elegance*, *Dew*, *Facing a Skull*, *The Eccentric Man*, *The Microcosm of Elegance*; they appeal to literary epicures. He has published an historical novel, *Higi-otoko* (1897), dealing with the civil wars of the sixteenth century, and *The Five-storied Pagoda* was lately translated into English. His essays on Saikaku and others of the Genroku period are highly esteemed.

Authors
of modern
fiction.
'Roban.'

'Futabei' Hasegawa (1863-1909) is more earnest, if less ornate, than the members of the *Ken-yu-sha*. He lived in St. Petersburg for many years as correspondent of the *Asahi*; he was the first to imbue Japanese fiction with Russian sadness and intensity. His masterpiece, *Flouting Cloud* (Ukigumo), published in 1887, was followed by long silence until the *Asahi* commissioned him to write *Vestiges* and *Mediocrity*. His strong imagination is reinforced by the use of colloquial idiom not only in dialogue but in description.

An exceptional position is held by Surgeon-General 'Ogai' Mori, Chief of the Medical Bureau of the Army, who brought home from four years' study in Germany a deep enthusiasm for German writers. He made translations of Heine, Goethe, Stellen, Hartmann's *Aesthetik*, and of much continental literature from the German, while two original stories, the *Dream* and the *Dancing-Girl*, were inspired by memories of the Fatherland. A tale which he wrote about the storming of Port Arthur had immense vogue. Both he and 'Roban' were appointed this year by the Government to serve on the Board of Literary Censors, which has recently been established with the purpose of encouraging healthy fiction, and of bridging the gulf which has existed for some time between the harassed Civil Authorities and extremists of the Fleshly School.

In the early nineties Romance began to raise its crushed head again, and to appeal with chastened voice to classes which lay outside the ring-fence of professional orthodoxy. Historical tales, detective stories, sentimental effusions won great success with feminine readers. As a *feuilletoniste* and newspaper-proprietor 'Gensai' Murai made a large fortune with

'goody-goody tales', like *The Small Cat*, *The Belle of the Mountain*. Lady novelists flourished. Most of the latter were undistinguished, but critics are agreed in assigning the title of genius to an authoress named 'Ichiyo' Higuchi, who died at the age of twenty-four, in 1896, after publishing a score or so of short stories in five years. Charming in style, truthful in delineation of character, she limned life-like portraits of women in *Passing Clouds*, *Out of Oneself*, *Muddy Inlet*, and *A Branch-Road*. Women writers.

The war with China (1894) struck deep into national consciousness. Novelists no longer aimed at amusing their readers, but turned to the study of social problems. Moral earnestness was the prevailing feature of the *Katei-Shosetsu* (Family Novels) which now appeared. The economical effects of the war were such that many of the older writers, who had contributed to previously flourishing magazines, left Tokyo and lived by provincial masterships. New names and new reputations sprang to light. 'Rokwa' Tokutomi took the first place with *Hototogisu* (*The Nightingale*), better known by the name of the heroine Namiko in its American version. This tale treated of the burning question of a mother's power over her son's wife. On the ground that she is consumptive and therefore an unsuitable mate, Namiko is sent home to her father's house to die, while her husband is provided with a new partner by her old-fashioned and tyrannical mother-in-law. The story ran through sixty-four editions, and owed some of its success to the report that it was partly a *roman à clef*. 'Rokwa' is a fervent Tolstoyan, and has made pilgrimages to Yasnaya Poliana and Jerusalem. He wrote for many years in the *Kokumin-no-tomo* (*Friend of the People*), of which influential journal his brother Fiction marked by serious tendencies after China War.

Iichiro is editor and proprietor. Its columns have always been open to literary essays and discussions, but it has practically become a Government organ since supporting the Katsura Ministry at the time of the unpopular peace-treaty. Political differences arose between the brothers, and Rokwa, whose unfinished novel, *Black Current*, has a distinctly socialistic tendency, retired, Cincinnatus-like, to his rice-field.

Second in popularity may be named 'Shun-u' Nakamura, whose successful *Ichigiku* (*The Fig*) raises the problem of Christianity in a non-Christian community. The heroine is an American woman, placed in rather similar circumstances to those which Hawthorne invented in the *Scarlet Letter*. *The Fig* has been dramatized with profit and much skill, for Shun-u is a fervent admirer of Ibsen, whose dramas he saw performed in London, and he has found it worth while of recent years to abandon the magazine for the theatre. Other novels of the same kind, but less brilliantly written, are *The Countess* by 'Kikutei' Taguchi, and *Her Own Sins* by 'Yuko' Kikuchi. Gloomy pessimism and black despair are seldom absent from the family novels, which, none the less, enjoyed great vogue for a time. They are differentiated by a moral purpose, sincere or assumed, from the pure tragedy of 'Ryuro' Hirotsu, a very prolific and realistic writer, who passed from the aesthetic realism of such tales as *Zangiku* (*Chrysanthemums after Autumn*) to the sordid misery of *The Double Suicide at Inado*, and the *House of Kuchirva* (*A Japanese Maison Tellier*). Though his successive novels have taken the tinge of passing fashions, at heart they have all been characterized by sombre power.

To Nietzsche is assigned the credit of dominating the Naturalist group of artists, who next won public

favour. His philosophy had been heard of in 1897, but obtained no hold on the Intellectuals until 1900, when Professor Rinjiro Takayama, a tireless propagandist and polished orator, devoted himself, in company with Mr. Tobari, to the promulgation of Nietzscheism. The result naturally took the form of confident individualism, of a defiant self-assertion, which dismayed patriarchal officialdom. Here was a spirit of insubordination, the subversion of morality, the end of all things. Prosecutions, fines, suppressions of journals followed. At the same time Russia began to gain in literary influence what she was soon to lose in political prestige. Tolstoy and Turgenieff and Dostoieffsky had already conquered. Now came the fiery Gorky, Andrieff, Garshin, Tchekoff. An audacious tone of hopefulness and revolt marks off the Naturalists from their predecessors, the Realists, though both make in common the claim to represent life in naked actuality.

The leader of this school, 'Doppo' Kunikida, was a master of the short story. After his early death in 1908 at the age of thirty-seven, his collected works continued to make disciples. His declared masters are Wordsworth and Turgenieff, from whom he took the idea of omnipresent Nature, the controller or solvent of souls. One tale, with the odd name of *Beef and Potato*, has been rendered into Russian and English. 'Katai' Takayama, now the acknowledged leader of the group, won sensational notoriety with *Futon* (*The Counterpane*), the confessions of a middle-aged Don Juan, and with *Sei* (*Life*). He is editor of *Bunsho-Sekai*. 'Toson' Shimazaki, of more poetical temperament, is something of an Impressionist, and has none of the hardness which other Nietzscheans display. One of his stories, *The Old Master*, was pro-

The
Naturalist
School.
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Russian
influence.

hibited, but his vivid picture of *Hakai* (*Social Outcasts*) was the book of the year in 1906. With this trio may be joined 'Roan', author of the suppressed *Broken Hedge*.

Some of the rebellious Naturalists have been tamed by time and official pressure, others by a change of popular taste. Tired of stormy sensations, readers welcomed the Yoyu-ha School, which promised them tranquillity. Professor 'Soseki' Natsume, who spent some years in England, and taught English in the Kumamoto High School before joining the staff of the Tokyo *Asahi*, thus defines the 'tranquil' novel, of which he is the inventor and chief practitioner:—

'It avoids such words as "extreme" and "extraordinary"; it refuses to drive, harass, and suffocate you with frightful problems; it seeks to give such pleasure as may be derived from enjoying the flavour of green tea, from cultivating one's garden, from fishing, travelling, or going to the theatre.'

This gentle hedonism was first illustrated by the delightful *I am a Cat* (1905), which exhibited the traits and habits of a Tokyo household from the household pet's point of view, much as *Riki* was accustomed to sit in judgment on Anatole France's amiable M. Bergeret. *The Quail Cage*, *The Field Poppy*, *Watching Wild-Flowers*, followed, titles which are eloquent of tranquillity. 'Soseki', by the way, succeeded Lafcadio Hearn as English Lecturer at the Tokyo University. It may be remarked in passing that Hearn's influence does not seem to have played any part in shaping the *form* of Japanese literature, though his lectures on art and poetry broke down many barriers which prevent one hemisphere from sharing the sensibilities of the other. 'Kyoshi' Takahama has written some cleverly 'tranquil' sketches, the most admired being, perhaps, *The*

Corcomb and *A Poet of Haikai*. Of late years the novelist with a purpose has reappeared advocating Socialism in *The Pillar of Fire* and in *Confessions of a Husband*, or preaching Christianity of the Miyazaki brand.

Two conclusions may be deduced from this bird's-eye view of Post-Restoration fiction, in which the writer has availed himself largely of the ungrudging assistance of Professor Masamune Otani. It is plain from the type and trend of school after school that the Japanese of to-day is no more prudish than his forefathers. Realism, whether of Zola or Tolstoy, is congenial to the frank common sense of a nation that is yet second to none in fine delicacy. Nothing is held too common or unclean for fancy to gild with its refining art. That the novelists feel this affinity with continental writers need not hinder an English critic from laying aside his moral prejudice, which is probably more conventional than moral, and expressing admiration of art taken thus seriously. But it is impossible to form an opinion of how far this realism implies depth of vision and power of communicating emotion until the best works of the best writers have reached us in English dress. Here is a favour which we earnestly entreat of our cultivated allies. Secondly, we observe that the creator of fiction is no longer disdained as a provider of public amusements, as a collaborator with acrobats and buffoons, for that is how the Tokugawa age regarded him. He is drawn from the highly educated class of teachers and editors. He has generally travelled and made good use of his opportunities to compare and reflect. He is full of enthusiasms, of ideas, of programmes. Professor Takenob does, indeed, complain that 'no novelist has yet been elected a member

Recognition of fiction as a social force.

of the National Academy', or been 'honoured with an invitation by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Birthday Ball'. But these tokens of social recognition, delayed, it may be, by the bravado of reckless Realists, are of less consequence to the true artist than the respect and affection of his fellow-countrymen.

Poetry has been as radically affected as prose by the study of Western models, but in an opposite way. Whereas the story-teller had to compress and concentrate for the purpose of presenting his matter within more artistic compass, the verse-maker strove to lengthen and elaborate a train of thought or feeling by means of linked stanzas. This, of course, is contrary to the traditions for many centuries of Japanese verse. As Lafcadio Hearn in more than one sensitive interpretation has pointed out, both the aristocratic Tanka of thirty-one syllables and the agile Hokku of seventeen have been polished into perfect instruments of nearly national use. Their range of subject is wide, their purpose spiritual or purely pictorial. The death of a child, the dreary splendour of snow, a sublime moment, a ridiculous event may be immortalized on these tiny tablets. *Maximum in minimo* was the guiding rule and the poem which told its message instead of suggesting it, was contemptuously styled *ittakkiri* ('all said'!). No doubt, full perception of the more subtle versicles demands intimate knowledge of the conventions, symbols, and scenes to which allusion is made, but it is quite possible for any student of Professor Chamberlain's *Japanese Poetry* to comprehend both the writer's method and the reader's ability to complete the circuit of electrical feeling. Once an amusement of leisured culture, the composition of such appeals or confessions has long since become a moral exercise

or sentimental pastime of every class. While the Emperor penned encouraging Tanka to hearten his soldiers in Manchuria, the humblest village-girl would have no difficulty in scrawling on kerchief or chop-stick her artless *cri de cœur*. Greatly despised by *literati*, but as popularly known there as *Auld Robin Gray* here, is the following *dodoitsu*:—

*'Kimi ni wakarete
Matsubara yukeba
Matsu no tsuyu yara
Namida yara.'*

*(If to the pine-wood
I go without thee,
Falling of pine-dew?
Falling of tears?)*

To widen the scope and deepen the register of such simple music was an early pre-occupation of travelled scholars. The response to their call was sometimes clever, often but an echo, yet their experiments are full of interest. It is not for a foreigner to balance the merits of the new verse against the old. The movement dates from 1882. In that year a collection of nineteen poems, of which fifteen were translations and four original, was issued under the title of *Shintaishi Sho* (*New Style Poems*) by Professors Toyama, Inouye, and Yatabe. Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade*, Bloomfield's *Soldier's Return*, Gray's *Elegy*, and Longfellow's *Psalm of Life* were the best-known gems, while an original *Ode to the Seasons*, *Verses to the Daibutsu of Kamakura*, and a *War-Song*, displayed more good intention than good craftsmanship. The stanzas were in lines of alternate five and seven syllables, but in colloquial phrases without ornamentation. The choice of military and religious themes excited remark. Some years later, Dr. 'Ogai' Mori bound together

The
Tanka,
its uni-
versality.

Native
poetry of
the New
School.

under the title of *Fancy* or *Children of Imagination* (*Omokage*) selected poems of Goethe, Heine, and Byron. He even attempted rhyme and lines of ten syllables, which were not thought effective. Native poetry of the New School may really be said to have begun in 1895, when the *Imperial Literature Magazine* was brought out by members of Tokyo University.

Three writers at once attracted notice by their skill in adopting the new methods. 'Toson', who in later years turned novelist and won laurels in the Naturalist School, published *Green Shoots* in 1897 and *Fallen Plum-Blossom* in 1901. His verses were personal and erotic, of especial appeal to romantic youth. After a few years he deserted the Muses and retired to a school in the province of Shimano, whence he collected local colour for some brilliantly-written novels. Tekkan, whose maiden-volume bore the portentous title of *Tenchigenko* (*Heaven and Earth*), introduced a political and democratic note, which rather shocked conservative taste. He persevered, however, and in 1900 started a monthly magazine called *Venus*, which lived for seven years and formed a rallying-point for such writers as Ariake Kambara, whose literary god was Rossetti, and Kyukin, who professed allegiance to Keats. But the most remarkable figure in the group was a woman, Akiko, the wife of Tekkan. Using generally the old metres, she wrote some beautiful poems, which placed her in the first rank in the opinion of her contemporaries. *Dishevelled Hair*, *Poisonous Grasses*, *Love Raiment*, are the poems most praised by admirers of this Sappho of the Far East.

Probably the boldest and finest innovator, whether in subject or style, is Mr. Bansui Tsuchii. His translation of *Paradise Lost* is significant of the temper and ideals, which inspired his particular ambition of graft-

ing the epic on Japanese literature. By welding a five-syllabled and seven-syllabled line into one he forged a species of alexandrine, which had a familiar rhythm to the ears of his compatriots and lent itself to the structure of sustained narrative. His earlier poems bore titles which sound a little crude in English—*Red leaves, blue hills, swift torrents* and *A Dream in front of a Charger*—but *The Universe and the Poet* and *The Morning-Bell* possess dignity. One of his best-known epical poems is called *The Tragedy on the Amur*, of which here are four typical lines:—

‘*Wara no mokwa ni yakurugoto
Ro no hono ni tokurugoto
Seigi go itame, tsumi nakute
Aware horobinu tami gosen.*’

(*Even as straw is eaten up by fire,
Even as wax is molten in fierce flame,
So—(weep for justice!)—guiltless of all crime,
Alas! (by Russian craft) five thousand fell*).

Ambitious rivals have since gone to greater lengths. Mr. Homei, for instance, wrote an epic in 360 lines on Hideyoshi, the great Taiko, and an unfinished *Lady of Naruto* (too closely akin to Scott’s *Lady of the Lake*) in 3,000 lines, but by general admission Bansui Tsuchii holds the first place among poets of constructive imagination. It certainly needed a poet of much patience to complete such a faithful prose-version as he has recently published of Carlyle’s *Sartor Resartus*.

Tekkan’s school of *Venus* was succeeded by Homei Iwano’s school of the *White Lily*. Such was the name of the new standard, hoisted in 1903, in the form of a magazine, to which Homei himself, Ariake, and Kyukin were the most eminent contributors. Erotic verse had gone out of fashion, and the new watchword was Symbolism. A dangerous and difficult model!

Mallarme himself was sometimes taxed with 'Chinese' obscurity. How his Japanese disciples could render *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*, for example, staggers conception. Homei must be a most versatile writer, at one moment composing psychological and symbolic *naga-uta* (long poems), at another inventing little lyrics for children. But his triumphs have not gone unchallenged. In 1907 Professor Fujioka attacked his poetic theories in a number of *Imperial Literature*. The poet replied at the General Annual Meeting of the Literary Society, which issues that magazine. He attributed public indifference to the New Poetry to the growth of utilitarian views; he denounced the shallow artificiality of poets, who treat poetry as a plaything. He declared scepticism and passion to be as suitable subjects for poetic treatment as faith or sentiment. Meanwhile the *Lily* faded and its founder consoled himself by writing novels. However, epics continued to be written. Kyukin, possessor of a rich vocabulary and inspired by ardent emotions, wrote *The Dream of the God of Thunder* in 360 lines, and *The Song of the Mountain Kongo*, in which the mountain is personified and sunrise on its slopes is elaborately portrayed. Very far, indeed, is all this from the suggestive brevity of the *Kokin-shiu*! From time to time imitators of Walt Whitman endeavoured to acclimatize 'prose-poetry' with irregular lines and colloquial idioms. The most successful was Ringwan Maida, from whom may be quoted a passage which depicts a not uncommon experience for the Japanese student, the farewell of a despondent Childe Harold to his native land:—

' Me-o agete san-ka-o miru mo,
 Ashi sokoku no tsuchi -o fumubekarazu,
 Chichi ari haha ari ;

Kobe ni shiroki-shi no hana sakite
 Haka ni irubeki gowai zo
 Aa kono hi-o gen-ni yorite kimi
 Sode-o orite nakeshiya arazu ya.'

(Though, raising his eyes, he could see river and mountain,

He might not on the soil of his fatherland tread;
 There was his father, there was his mother,
 But he, with the white flower of death blanching
 already his head ;

With the path of death opening already before him,
 Alas ! that day, leaning against the bulwarks,
 What tears did he not weep into his sleeve ?)

The rage for new metres did not exclude revival of the old. In particular Shiki Masaoka, followed by Soseki, Takahama, and many more gave fresh life to the seventeen-syllabled *Hokku*. It had fallen upon evil days and become the medium of a sarcastic jest, called *Senryu*, not far removed from prose, of which the humour depends on the unexpected finish. For instance :—

' <i>Giu Kaseru</i>	Silver pipe
<i>Otoshita hanashite</i>	Being dropped, tale
<i>Sando kiki.</i>	Thrice hearing.

(i.e. Thrice he has told me of the loss of his silver pipe) ; and again :—

' <i>Atarashiki</i>	New-fangled
<i>Onno to atte</i>	Woman being
<i>Entooku.</i>	Marriage distant !

(i.e. The new woman finds it hard to marry.)

By the use of Chinese words and expressions, by reviving the lost art of suggestion, and by the choice of serious subjects, a group of poets whose 'organ' was the *Hototogisu* (*The Nightingale*) aimed at restoring prestige to this once famous metre.

Such are glimpses of the forces at work on the transformation of Japanese poetry. On the one hand, hints caught and eagerly followed from whatever language the poet knew best after his own ; on the other, attempts to preserve old forms, while striking off conventional fetters. It is too early to pronounce what results and reputations will survive from the swiftly changing fashions. Some of the poets, at least, seem rather made than born, since they change so readily from spinning verses to the more lucrative art of spinning romances.

CHAPTER XXX

JOURNALISM AND JOURNALISTS

THE Press has kept pace with the general progress of the country. After the Chinese war in 1894 the lower classes, who before that time had rarely opened a paper, began to find enjoyment in reading journals. In the earlier days in Japan, before the general spread of education, it was an unusual thing to see a jinrikisha man reading a newspaper. To-day it is a rare thing to see him without one in his leisure moments. The demand of an educated public resulted in the establishment of newspapers, and the demand of the masses of the people has brought about a vast development in the quantity and variety of journals. Within the present generation the number of newspapers has greatly increased, and some of them have considerably improved, certainly in the enterprise which they display in news-gathering, if not in the character and accuracy of their contents. Twenty-five years ago hardly any of the Japanese newspapers were profitable undertakings: to-day, some of them have large circulations, and are, from the American and European standpoint, prosperous and quite influential journals. The Japanese possess the instincts of journalism, and two centuries ago 'broad-sides' and 'catch-pennies' similar to those which issued from the old Catnach Press in the early part of the last century, were read aloud and sold through the streets of Yedo. These sheets reported incidents which occurred in the city.

Spread of journalism.

The first newspaper of which there is a record appeared in 1861, but did not survive beyond the first copy. The second attempt in 1864, a fortnightly publication, struggled through a precarious existence for six months, when one of the editors went to China and the other to America. A third met with a similar fate. Before the restoration professional editors, like actors, were not regarded as highly in Japan as they are in these days. One could dabble in journalism as a diversion, but the individual who adopted that profession as a vocation was looked upon as outside the pale of society.

About the only newspaper which survived the experimental days of the Japanese press was the *Koko Shimbun*, which had sufficient vigour and courage behind it to merit recognition by the Government. For severely attacking the administration Fukuchi, the editor, was tried and condemned to imprisonment. The incident marks the first recognition of the influence of the press by the authorities. Heretofore the Government had been indifferent as to what the press said or did: now the officials went to the other extreme and for a time prohibited the publication of all journals without official permission. These drastic measures played havoc with the newspaper trade, then in its infancy. Only a couple of official organs survived the order, and as a consequence the activities of the press were retarded until after the Restoration.

The existing censorship laws under which newspapers have to be careful not to offend the Government are not infrequently invoked, as shown in the following table taken from *The Japan Year Book* of 1911:—

	Sale forbidden and copies seized		Plate seized	
	Public Order	Public Morals	Public Order	Public Morals
1904	12	204	12	198
1905	75	1,578	75	1,562
1906	33	1,773	33	1,747
1907	39	916	38	909
1908	20	1,029	20	1,927

A characteristic feature of the Government control of the press is the obligation imposed upon any periodical concerning itself with political matters to deposit a sum ranging between 175 and 2,000 *yen*, according to the locality of issue or frequency of publication, as a security for its ability to meet any fine or pecuniary obligation which the decision of a Court of Law may entitle the Government to exact. An interesting reflection of early official censorial powers to punish by imprisonment or otherwise editors or publishers of censured articles exists in the use by a great number of vernacular papers of dummy editors or publishers.

By the amended Press Law of 1909 the responsibility for publication of matter considered prejudicial to social order lies with the actual, as well as with the nominal editor of the paper and the signatory of the published matter in question. Private interests are protected against libel, and can claim the prominent insertion by the newspaper concerned of a contradiction supplied by the individual to whom the libellous matter applies. Failure to comply involves a penalty of from 50 to 1,000 *yen*.

The laws of libel, however, are tempered by customs making them less severe than a reading of the statutes would indicate. It is customary to set aside one page in a Japanese newspaper which is supposed to escape the editor's eye, and on this page libels are sometimes as visible as the 'invisible' men in black who flit

State
control
of the
press.

The law
of libel.

The 'in-
visible'
page.

hither and thither on the stage of a Japanese theatre. Articles referring to persons on this page are not supposed to be seen, though they are probably read with more avidity than those printed in other parts of the paper. Actions for libel, the writer was told by one leading editor, are rarely brought when the offending article appears on the 'invisible page' of the newspaper.

Publication of the details of the preliminary proceedings and results of a criminal case is forbidden, and such details are only publishable after the case has been brought for public trial. Cases heard *in camera* enjoy the same privilege. Suppression of political matter for the publication of which a newspaper has been punished is entrusted to the Judicial Court.

To Yokohama belongs the honour of being the birthplace of the first daily vernacular newspaper (in 1871), the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun*, and also of the first English journal, the *Japan Mail* (1865). The *Mainichi* was the pioneer of daily journalism. It was the first newspaper to be printed on a foreign press, and we are assured by Japanese authority that it was a 'model newspaper' from the beginning. When once the idea of a daily newspaper was started it took root, for the Japanese possess the instincts which develop good journalists. The *Nichinichi*, *Hochi*, and *Yomiuri* followed in quick succession. Both daily and periodical newspapers continued to appear, and though the lives of some of them were short, those mentioned came to stay, and are well-known journals of the present day. In 1875, the newspapers in the Empire, daily and weekly, numbered one hundred. Up to this period the standard of Japanese newspapers was literary. Telegraphic dispatches and other news

features were unknown, and the success of the paper largely depended upon the brilliancy and originality of the editor. The articles were far beyond the comprehension of the masses of the people, and, as a consequence, the circulation was limited. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* and *Tokyo Eiri Shimbun* were the first newspapers to give a yellow, perhaps we should say a popular tinge to Japanese journalism, which up to this time had been taking itself altogether too seriously. The establishment of an Imperial Diet with public debates stimulated the press, and for a time politics formed the chief discussions of the papers. After the novelty of the oratorical delights of constitutional government had worn off, and political debates became dull reading, men with true journalistic ability assumed control of the press, and in the *Jiji Shimpō* (Times), founded by no less a personage than Yukichi Fukuzawa the elder, we find the real purposes of a newspaper set forth with a precision and broadness that would do credit to the great British journal after which it was named. Other journals followed the lead of the *Jiji*, prominent among which was the *Hochi*, which after having suffered partial eclipse, was remodelled by an editorial staff of sufficient ability to maintain its dignity as a great newspaper. The literary and political features of the daily press of Japan up to this time entirely overshadowed its news-gathering capacity and business qualifications. Most of the journals were one-man organs, not unlike many of the smaller newspapers of South America, whose existence depend upon a wealthy proprietor rather than upon readers and advertisers, and whose chief object is to advance the political interests of their owners.

It was not until Ryuhei Murayama acquired the

Osaka Asahi Shimbun in 1879, that the other newspaper managers awoke to the fact that newspapers, like other business ventures, require ample capital and capable business management. Mr. Murayama simply established a modern newspaper with telegraphic news, and correspondents at home and abroad, and a modern plant to produce and print it. He spared no expense to give the public the news, and he enormously increased the number of his readers by seeing that the important news was properly displayed and not buried in out of the way corners of his paper. The *Asahi* was sold at a popular price, and the circulation greatly increased. As a result the advertising revenues improved to such an extent that the *Asahi* outdistanced all its competitors. Many of the old style newspapers fell by the wayside and only one, the *Osaka Mainichi*, kept abreast of the *Asahi*, and now divides the field with it. Later the *Jiji* established an Osaka edition, and the *Asahi* ventured with signal success into Tokyo. The *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* now holds a leading position in the Imperial capital.

The principal newspapers now published in Japan are the *Chugai Shogo Shimpō* (manager, H. Nozaki); *Chu-o Shimbun* (proprietor, S. Tsurubara); *Hochi Shimbun* (president, K. Minoura, M.P.; editor, T. Murakami); *Japan Times* (editor, I. Takahashi); *Jiji Shimpō* (proprietor, S. Fukuzawa; editor, K. Ishikawa); *Kokumin Shimbun* (proprietor and editor, I. Tokutomi); *Mainichi Dempo*: *Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun* (in combination with the *Hochi*); *Miyako Shimbun* (editor, S. Otani); *Nippon* (proprietor and editor, K. Ito); *Niroku Shimbun*; *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* (proprietor, R. Murayama; editor, S. Seki); *Osaka Jiji Shimpō* (Osaka edition of the *Tokyo Jiji*); *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (manager, Kirihara; editor, K. Ishii); *Osaka*

Shimpo (editor, K. Kato, M.P.); *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (proprietor, R. Murayama; editor, K. Ikebe); *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (proprietor, T. Kato; editor, K. Chikami); *Yamato Shimbun* (proprietor, G. Matsushita); *Yomiuri Shimbun* (proprietor, M. Motono; editor, Y. Takekoshi, M.P.); *Yorozu Choho* (proprietor and editor, S. Kuroiwa).

The publication at the treaty ports of English papers by foreigners, mostly British, is a feature of journalism in Japan. It is particularly noteworthy that several of these originated earlier than the vernacular papers. Captain Brinkley's *Japan Mail*, the most widely known and ably conducted of the English journals in Japan, was established at Yokohama in 1865, before the Restoration. The *Gazette*,^{Founding of the Japan Mail.} the *Herald*, and the *Japan Chronicle* followed in rapid succession. The most important English papers are the following:—

Japan Advertiser (editor, J. N. Penlington; proprietor and publisher, B. W. Fleisher); *Japan Chronicle*^{news-papers in Japan.} (proprietor and editor, R. Young); *Japan Gazette* (editor, L. D. K. Adams); *Japan Herald* (editor, Charles A. Parry, B.A.); *Japan Mail* (proprietor and editor, Captain Brinkley, R.A. (retired)); *Kobe Herald* (proprietor and editor, A. Curtis); *Nagasaki Press* (editor and manager, E. R. S. Pardon).

It may be said of many of the English newspapers that they are admirably edited and conducted, and that, considering the high cost of cable dispatches, they keep the European traveller fairly well informed in relation to the outside world. The men at the head of these journals are well equipped on questions appertaining to the Far East, and discuss them with a considerable degree of ability.

The following list of some of the leading periodicals

published in Tokyo shows the preponderance of magazines devoted to economics and business. There is no doubt that these are just now paramount topics in Japan :—

Title	Feature	Kind of publication	Price per No.	Published by
<i>Bun-gei Club</i>	Literary and Social	monthly	25 sen	Hakubunkwan
<i>Bunsho-sekai</i>	Literary	fortnightly	20 "	"
<i>Jitsugyo no Nippon</i>	Economic and business	"	11 "	Jitsugyo no Nippon sha
<i>Nippon Keizai Shinshi</i>	Economic and political	"	13 "	Nippon Keizai Shinshi Office
<i>Oriental Economist</i>	Political and economic	tri-monthly	12 "	Toyo Keisai-zasshi Office
<i>Nippon-jin</i>	Political and literary	fortnightly	15 "	Seikyo-sha
<i>Shin-Shosetsu</i>	Literary and social	monthly	25 "	Shunyodo
<i>Sunday</i>	General	weekly	10 "	Shuhosha
<i>Taiyo</i>	Political, economic, and literary	monthly	30 "	Hakubunkwan
<i>Tui-hei-yo</i>	Economic and business	fortnightly	12 "	"
<i>Tokyo Economist</i>	Economic	weekly	10 "	Tokyo Economic Office
<i>Teikoku Bungaku</i>	Literary	monthly	15 ,	Tokyo Imperial Literary University
<i>Waseda Bungaku</i>	Literary	"	20 "	Waseda University
<i>Tokyo Puck</i>	Caricature	tri-monthly	25 "	Yuraky-sha

The 'interviewing' of foreigners is an art adopted from America, but it cannot be said the Japanese have either absorbed or improved it. The immaculately dressed and serious reporters, with their gold spectacles and notebooks, are models of politeness and persistence, but they mentally dissect their victims without the use of anaesthetics, making the process unnecessarily painful. You are constantly aware of what the operator

is doing, which is rarely the case when in the hands of a skilful American reporter until the 'scare-heads' enlighten you next morning. Before reaching Nagoya a Japanese reporter of a newspaper of that city came on the train and practically remained with the writer until he left the city late the following afternoon. The questions that sad-eyed youth asked would have filled a volume. Afterwards it transpired that his 'interview' took a serial form and was published in several successive issues of the paper. From the editor of the journal came a courteous letter of thanks for receiving his reporter, together with a box of the ingeniously constructed models of the ancient warriors of the Aichi province. These tokens of appreciation mollified one a little, but for sixteen out of the twenty-four hours spent in Nagoya that ubiquitous reporter hovered near, never failing to ply a question at the opportune moment. What the writer said and what the reporter wrote and whether the one bore any resemblance to the other must be left to the imagination of the reader.

It is impossible for one unable to read a word or a character of the Japanese language to comment on the vernacular press. Those European writers who say the Japanese press is inaccurate, untrustworthy, and otherwise abuse it probably know little or nothing about it. During his stay in Tokyo the writer visited the editorial offices of nearly all the above-mentioned newspapers, meeting the editors and other members of the staffs—not merely once but a number of times. Before leaving Japan he had formed friendly relations with several of them which it is hoped will last a lifetime. No one could have been more intelligently considerate and more practically helpful than these editorial colleagues. Mr. Fukuzawa, Mr. Ishii,

Japanese
editors.

Mr. Tokutomi, Mr. Murayama, Mr. Ikebe, Captain Brinkley, Mr. B. W. Fleisher and Mr. S. Ando were especially kind. The proprietors of the *Asahi* in Osaka contributed greatly to the success of the writer's work in the Osaka district. Through their kindness he was afforded an opportunity of publicly meeting more than a hundred of the most representative citizens of Osaka and of obtaining from them direct the information relating to the commerce and industry of the greatest manufacturing district of Japan. The knowledge thus obtained is included in the chapters on Industry, on Trade, Commerce and Shipping, and on Osaka.

To the brilliant Mr. Sugimura, foreign editor of the *Asahi*, expressions of thanks are inadequate, for no trouble on his part seemed too much when called upon for assistance in obtaining trustworthy information. It is impossible to name all the Japanese journalists who gave their time freely to help a fellow-member of the craft, but not to have especially mentioned the above would have been ungracious.

If the proprietors and editors and correspondents who comprise the members of the Japan Press Association (to which the writer was elected) are representative of the newspapers they produce, the progress of the newspaper press of Japan has kept time with the rest of the country. It must be admitted that twenty years ago there was room for improvement, and if some writers are to be believed that observation holds good to-day. As nearly all the editors speak English, it is possible to pass judgment on those responsible for the newspapers, though the difficulty of overcoming the Chinese characters makes their journals a sealed book. Judged, therefore, from the men responsible for these newspapers, the daily press of Japan ought

to possess literary excellence, political sagacity, a knowledge of foreign political situations, accuracy in collecting news and skill in displaying it, sound sense in commercial matters, and a decided unity of purpose when the interests of Japan are at stake. The Japan Press Association itself emphasizes the cohesive power of the Empire, for here competitors come together and, discarding their rivalry, join in the laudable work of advancing the interests of their common country. It is not claimed that the Japanese newspapers do possess all the above-mentioned qualities, but there is no reason why they should not, if the editors display the same high ideals in their editorial columns as they invariably do in their speeches and conversation.

Of the newspaper plants visited in Tokyo and Osaka many are of modern type, so far as presses are concerned, and some of the presses are capable of printing issues of 200,000 copies in a few hours, and perhaps of 500,000 copies. As the Japanese compositor has to be prepared to place in his stick any one of 4,000 different types the composing room is a more complicated branch of the business. The Japanese have gone into modern journalism with the energy they have displayed in other directions. They have, perhaps, in this field adopted rather more of the American methods than of the English, which has led to the 'livening up' of their journals with 'catch lines' and illustrations. Some of the latter are inartistic examples of printing, the parallel for which could only be found in the productions of the old Catnach Press. What comfort the people at large, for whom these papers are apparently issued, can take in such illustrations it is difficult to imagine. There is room for improvement both in the printing and in the quality of the paper.

The total number of dailies and periodicals has risen in ten years from 944 to 2,500. Though editors are hampered by the necessity of depositing security with the authorities, who exercise careful censorship in both political and literary matters, the influence and profits of some of the papers mentioned above are very considerable. And if interviewers are inaccurate and yellow journalism (as in other countries) sometimes panders to the passions of the public and lowers the standards of their contributions, yet in no country in the world has journalism extended a more frequent and more hospitable hand both to the novices and the veterans of journalistic literature.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DRAMA

THE attitude of most Japanese towards the drama is illustrated by a frank confession of Viscount Suyematsu on the subject of Shakespeare's plays. 'Whenever we come to the Western stage,' he says, 'we appreciate the stage decorations, we admire the splendid movements and shapely figures of the actors and actresses, and, so far as we can understand it, the striking elegance and powerful delivery of the dialogue; and we enjoy ourselves as much as could be hoped, but on coming home we find nothing left in our brain which might serve as an incentive or a watchword in our future career.' Moral purpose and poetic justice are expected of the dramatist. He must instruct, move, and elevate, abhorring 'art for art's sake' as the most pernicious of doctrines. Incidentally he may surprise and amuse, but his first duty is to his country and his conscience. That is why foreign visitors, who pay hasty and bored visits to a Japanese theatre, fail to enjoy themselves 'as much as could be hoped', unless they have made some preliminary study of the national history and character. But no study will more richly repay perseverance. For behind the gorgeous costumes and blood-curdling tableaux lie the deepest traits and oldest traditions of the race, which defy serious modifications, as yet, by the cosmopolitan culture of the few.

Though religion be the starting-point and music the bond of union between the various sorts of Japanese drama, their diversity is based on caste. The Imperial

Japanese
idea of
purpose of
dramatic
art.

Diversity
of drama
based on
caste.

Gagaku, consisting of elaborate songs and dances, remained an esoteric ceremony for courtiers, and, though veiled in mystery, does not seem to have acquired any truly dramatic form. But the aristocratic *No*, which for five centuries were given by private companies in the houses of nobles and are now occasionally produced by special societies for an invited audience, combine archaic beauty with ethical aims. They can hardly be called plays, for they deal with a single episode, and the characters are never more than three or four. In some respects they strongly recall the old Greek tragedy on a much smaller scale, for the performers wear masks, recite rather than act, and are attended by both orchestra and chorus. As at Athens, they retain traces of their ritual origin by minute traditional interpretation governing every detail of diction, action, and dress, while the scenes depicted generally trench on heroic and supernatural themes. They have really less in common with our mediaeval Miracles or Mysteries, though they are often said to be alike, because, as any reader of the Chester or Coventry series will know, the rudely rhymed versions of *The Descent into Hell*, *Adam and Eve*, or *The Temptation in the Wilderness*, have absolutely no pretension to literary merit. They are always childish and often gross, descending from the most solemn invocations to Gothic farce, whereas the *No* poetry is like a great store of the treasures of Eastern culture. It is full of allusions to Chinese classics and Buddhist scriptures. 'Its chief characteristic,' says Mr. Tsuchii, 'is colour. The words are gorgeous, like the costumes.'

The music and dancing, which form the nucleus of the *No*, are not incidental but essential features. On the dancing-stages at the Shinto temples of Ise and of

Nara may still be seen the pantomimic posturings, which are supposed to mimic the luring of the Sun-Goddess from the Rock-Cavern by 'Her Augustness Heavenly-alariming-Female'. Such dances, however, are simple and primitive. Complexity of step and tune were added from many sources. During the fourteenth century the blind lute-players or *Bira-Hoshi*, who roamed like troubadours from castle to castle, chanting romances of chivalry, and the carefully trained dancing-girls, or *Shirabyoshi*, precursors of the modern geisha, brought new subjects and fresh skill to the interpretation of their respective arts. The *Kioku-mai*, or memory dance, was invented with closer co-ordination of music and movement to represent a battle, a love-scene, or a landscape. Many such songs survive embedded in the *No* texts, and these libretti with the musical score (called *Yokioku* or *Uta*, when not associated with stage-performance) are as reverently studied and practised by enthusiasts as are the works of classical composers by Europeans.

The final transition from dance to drama took place in the fifteenth century. Kiyotsugu and Motokiyo, members of one of the four families who controlled the Nara temple-stage, succeeded in winning the Shogun's patronage and repaid it by panegyric in the choral songs. Their supervision was mainly concerned with the manner of production, for the authors (like those of European miracle-plays) were often anonymous monks. Buddhism gladly seized the occasion of inculcating its views and enhancing its prestige through this aristocratic amusement. If it cannot be proved that the priests Ikkiu and Shiuran wrote the *No* of their day, at least the *No* stage was thronged with ghosts and Buddhist exorcisers. Thus, in time, Terpsichore changed sides, and, having worn the red

Fifteenth-century development of the *No*.

trousers of a Shinto 'darling of the gods', deserted from the court to the Shogun's military stronghold. Buddhist influence faded when Nobunaga patronized Christianity and destroyed the monasteries of Hiei-zan, but the *No* grew more popular than ever among the nobles. The actors ranked as samurai, and a programme is extant on which the two greatest names in Japanese history—those of Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu—star the list of performers. Though temporary eclipse was caused by the dispersal of the *No* troupes at the Restoration of 1868, with its inrush of modern anxieties for the daimyo class, a revival has set in with the happiest results. At present there are six rival societies, influentially supported, with a repertoire of some 250 pieces.

A brief description of *Aoi no Uye*, one of the most famous of these, witnessed by the writer under the auspices of Mr. Minora Umewaka, who directed the *No* players attached to the household of Prince Keiki Tokugawa, the last of the Shoguns, will convey an adequate impression of the resources and effects of this 'crystallized' art. The orchestra consisted of a flute and two *taiko*, drums shaped like a sand-glass and rapped smartly with the open palm. At irregular intervals the musicians emitted staccato cries or lugubrious notes, which punctuated the passion of the player and tightened the tension on the listener's nerves. In two rows of three on the right of the stage sat the chorus in the stiff costume of samurai who intervened with voice and fan to accentuate the quality of the music. In placid moments the fan would sway gently, as if rocked on waves of Gregorian chanting, but, when blows fell or apparitions rose, it was planted menacingly erect before the choralist's cushion. Behind the musicians ran a long screen of

conventional design, in which green pines trailed across a golden background. Symbolism plays a Symbol-
curious part in the mounting of these tiny tragedies.^{ism.}

A personage or an idea will be sometimes represented more suggestively by a symbolic object than by a living performer. Thus Aoi no Uye, Prince Genji's long-suffering wife, whose jealousy of her husband forms the *motif* of the piece, does not appear. In her stead a long strip of folded brocade, suggesting a bed of sickness, lies in the forefront of the stage. By this means the spectator is sub-conscious of her entity, though his attention is challenged by a series of ghostly visitants. First comes the spirit of a pale woman, the Princess Rokijo, to take vengeance on her faithless lover (Prince Genji is the Don Juan of Japanese literature) by haunting Aoi. A Shinto priestess is summoned to expel the intruder. In vain she rubs her green rosary, muttering fervid prayers. The spirit complains more loudly and intolerably, until the rougher exorcisms of a Buddhist mountain-priest prove efficacious. Then a terrible phantom, the Devil of Jealousy, wearing the famous Hamya mask, assails the priest. Inch by inch the latter recoils, as the grinning demon with gilt horns and pointed ears glides forward with menacing crutch. To and fro the battle rages beside the prostrate Aoi no Uye; neither holy man nor devil will give way; the screaming and shrill piping of the musicians rise to frenzied pitch; adjuration succeeds adjuration, until Jealousy at last is driven away. Such a piece satisfies Japanese canons of art. A moral lesson is implied in the power of faith to expel evil passion (the fact that Buddhist spells are more effective than Shinto prayers is significant of the authorship), and at the same time the least imaginative spectator is thrilled by the weird phan-

toms, the grim posturing, the Wagnerian thumping and wailing of drum and flute. For scholars there is the added delight of the linked verses with their flying puns, prismatic pivot-words, and classical allusions. Scenery and mechanical accessories are as scanty as those at the disposal of an Elizabethan audience, but their absence is not prejudicial to the total effect. The means employed are sufficient to suggest in exquisite epitome the poetry and music, the dresses and legends, the beliefs and manners of Japanese feudalism. Fortunately the theatrical reformer, whose schemes for changing popular drama are incessant, has realized that alteration in the case of the *No* would be irrational and absurd. None have been written since the end of the sixteenth century; all that remain are jealously preserved as specimens of naïf but venerable art. They are not too small to raise large issues and teach old truths. In them the gods become marionettes for an hour without wholly losing their godhead.

To relieve the strain of these very serious operettas, they are interspersed with one-act farces, called *Kiogen* (*lit.* 'mad words'), which make homely fun of men and deities. They are written in prose and were sometimes artfully used to call the daimyo's attention to grievances, which it would have been impolite as well as dangerous to mention otherwise. Like the Spanish *zarzuelas*, so dear to the populace of Madrid, they present rough but realistic pictures of common life, stripped of all literary and artistic convention. As drama, they have small value, but as human documents they are well worth attention. Priests and rustic gods, farmers and traders are introduced on terms of humorous equality. Hundreds of these amusing farces are still played.

Comparison of English and Japanese stage history elicits the curious fact that in both countries the rise of popular drama dates from the same period. In 1575 Okuni, the first *Kabuki* actress and a fugitive priestess from the Kizuki temple in Izumo, gave a performance in Kyoto, piously devoting part of the receipts to the repair of Onamji's shrine. In 1576 'the Earl of Leicester's servants' erected the first public theatre in Blackfriars. The times were dramatic and the excitement of foreign adventure disposed the masses to novelty. Four years after the defeat of the Spanish Armada Korea was invaded by the armada of Hideyoshi. To complete the parallel, just as Greene and Marlowe were rebels against social discipline, so Chikamatsu, the so-called Shakespeare of Japan, was a *rō-nin* or 'wave-man', owing allegiance to no feudal superior. 'Rogues and vagabonds' were also the strolling players of *Kabuki*-drama, despised and suppressed from time to time on the ground of immoral tendency.

One leading feature, however, distinguishes the plebeian stage of Yedo from that of the Bankside, its reliance on musical and acrobatic elements rather than on any attempts to depict life and character. The name of *Joruri* or *Gidayu* was given to a kind of dramatic ballad, which was accompanied throughout by elaborate music on the *samisen* and by the jerking of cunningly manipulated puppets. For the marionette-theatre at Osaka many of Chikamatsu's most famous plays were composed, and the dolls continued for two centuries to provide livelihood for musicians, authors, and singers. Though the actor ultimately triumphed, his methods are still vitiated by these traditional adjuncts. His voice must be pitched in a shrill or gruff falsetto, far removed from the tones of natural

Rise of popular drama in Japan coincident with that of England.

Characteristic difference between English and Japanese early drama.

speech, to evade the relentless orchestra, which follows him like a curse from start to finish. Sometimes by a refinement of artificiality, which conflicts entirely with our idea of 'holding the mirror up to nature' while the actor is expressing one kind of simulated emotion on the stage by facial and gesticular contortions, the invisible singers are conveying his *real* sentiments in appropriate strains from the wings. Also, whether the play be historical or mythical, for the imaginative audience welcomes the fire-spitting Frog of Jiranjia as heartily as the fire-eating swash-buckler of Ichi-no-bani, posture-dances of great length and agility are sandwiched between the author's humble efforts to tell his tale. The same athletic ingenuity mars the realism of a stage-battle, for the warriors dance, while they fight, with rhythmic accuracy. Finally, the author having been as a rule as much an employee of the manager as the painter or samisen-player, without a free hand to construct his plot, the so-called historical play or *Jidaimono* is too often an extravagant medley of preposterous incidents without truth, development, or unity. All that is aimed at is a series of sensational episodes to exhibit the talents of the actor-manager as dancer, reciter, or impersonator. Until Ichikawa Danjuro exploited his own personality with versatile success, it was the duty of each actor to impersonate his predecessor in the rôle which he inherited, and dramatic guilds monopolized the profession with jealous conservatism. Since, too, in pre-Restoration times the stage was in the hands of men who were debarred from general education and restricted to the technique of their art, the whole theatre was stuck in a morass of unintelligent routine. To imitate and to dazzle was the whole duty of an actor. Well might Professor

Tsubouchi describe the current plays as *Mugen-geki*, or 'phantasmal drama'.

It is easy to exaggerate defects, which Japanese critics are led to emphasize by inherited prejudice and foreign observers by shocks to inherited feeling. But do not imagine that the enormous influence exerted for generations on the middle and lower classes of Japan by their theatre is due to barbarous absurdity. That theatre, true to Viscount Suyematsu's Beauty of dramatic representation. criterion of art, has always appealed to two of the noblest and deepest sentiments—the love of beauty and the love of duty. Its plays may seem fantastic, its heroes may be monsters, but they are picturesque monsters. Every detail in the stage-picture is thought out and presented with unerring taste. To watch act after act of the spectacular melodramas is like looking through a portfolio of superb colour-prints. One revels in the rich series of glowing hues, sweeping lines, majestic contours. On the 'flower-walks', which slope from the stage through the audience to the back of the auditorium, processional and recessional movements, unexpected exits and entrances, can be studied at leisure and at close quarters by spectators who may be poor judges of history but are highly trained appreciators of the beautiful. Pictorial effect is enhanced by the dignity of the actors, who have no difficulty in assuming the garb and adopting the gait of their ceremonious forefathers. Confirmation of this may be found in the theatrical drawings by Toyokuni, Kunisada, and other artists, whose work is now eagerly sought by collectors. Many of the programmes are masterpieces of decorative lettering. It is significant, Artists rank above actors. too, that the poorest artist took rank above the most popular actor. Mr. E. F. Strange tells an interesting story about Hokusai, who was visited at a time of

extreme penury by one of the chief actors of the day. The great man came unannounced into the studio, took a seat without being invited, and commanded a portrait of himself. Hokusai took not the slightest notice but continued his painting, until the humiliated mummer had no option but to retire. He had omitted the proper salutation to a social superior, and no pecuniary consideration could extort the coveted drawing from the poverty-stricken artist. In the principal theatres both the mounting and the dresses are on a lavish and flamboyant scale. While the scenery is being shifted, a series of costly curtains will be exhibited, on which the embroiderer has contributed all the resources of his skilful fancy to honour the management. These are generally presents from the tea-houses, which surround the theatre and provide refreshment for the playgoer, who deposits with them his watch, purse, and other valuables, in case an adroit pickpocket should be his neighbour in the closely-packed, lidless boxes, which correspond to our pit and stalls.

Though the upper classes kept disdainfully aloof from the playhouse, and the samurai was forbidden to be present, unless he left his sword outside and went incognito, as he frequently did, giving a *nom d'occasion* at the door, the moral mission of this despised drama was very emphatic and clear. It fostered patriotism and taught the duty of obedience at any price—such obedience as would amount in Western eyes to complete moral and physical suicide. During the *par japonica* of two hundred years, when the Tokugawa Shoguns held the nation in iron bondage of submission to feudal governors, the Yedo stage was as useful an instrument for the cultivation of loyalty as the Greek Church was to the Tsar. Nakamitsu, who

killed his son to save his master's profligate heir, Bijomaru; Kumagaya, who induced his son to be slain in place of Atsumori to serve the political ends of the Minamoto chief, Yoshitsune; the forty-seven *rōnin*, who committed simultaneous suicide, after murdering their lord's murderer, and whose tombs are yet covered with poems and visiting-cards every New Year's Day at Sengakuji—these are the heroes and models of play after play. When the faithful vassal commits *hara-kiri*, and with great deliberation draws the knife across his abdomen, the squeamish foreigner is apt to leave the theatre, but the admiring patriot does not blench and is taught indifference to death. Such loyalty is now transferred from the daimyo to the Emperor, and such cases of self-slaughter from patriotic motive are of recent occurrence. The young girl, Yuko Hatakeyama, who cut her throat in 1891 in expiation of the outrage offered to the Czarevitch, when he visited Japan; the forty soldiers, who took their own lives because the Government gave up Liaotung in 1897 at the bidding of Russia, France, and Germany; the high-minded professor, who, in 1901, struck down Hoshi-Toru in the Town Hall of Tokyo for political corruption—these, and many others, are martyrs of melodramatic duty. The stage, therefore, was less remote from life than might be supposed, and its most famous figure, Ichikawa Danjuro, was fully justified in his avowal to the writer: 'I prefer historical plays, which revive old ideals and present noble figures for the emulation of posterity.'

Two classes of play, less popular than the historical, but still frequently performed, are the *Oikemono*, or *Oikemono* and *Sewa-mono*, or 'pieces connected with the private troubles of illustrious families', and the *Sewamono*, or social drama. The former are more popular in the provinces, and

must be looked upon as a survival of a rapidly vanishing past. They are chiefly valuable as furnishing glimpses of existence in the *Yashiki*, or residences of aristocratic families. Often they deal with legend, as in the tale of the Lord of Nabeshima, whose wife was possessed by the evil spirit of a vampire-cat. The story is well told in Lord Redesdale's *Tales of Old Japan*. Sometimes they present vivid pictures of the rivalry between the retainers of a daimyo's household, as in *Kagamiyama-kokyo-no-nishiki*, which enabled Danjuro to exhibit his talent for female impersonation in the character of Iwafuji. They, of course, supplement the military bias of the stage with scenes, in which women play the most prominent part.

Of the *Sewamono* it must be said that they, too, frequently reproduce the faults of the historical drama without its merits. The plot is generally romantic and sensational; the hero will be a robber, the heroine a courtesan. They depict the adventures of outlaws in Tokugawa times, and might be compared with the glorification of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin by Harrison Ainsworth. The comedy-scenes are extravagant and often licentious. Realism in the sense of portraying modern society is not in favour with playwrights of any standing. The reason is plain. How can the up-to-date advocate of progress, who wears European dress, who takes little interest in his own antiquities, but is absorbed in politics or commerce, furnish material for picturesque or edifying tableaux? Whatever be the cause, the Tokyo of to-day has not produced an Ibsen or Pinero. Its dramatists either look behind them or across the sea.

The question of reforming the Japanese stage by applying to it the same process of selection from the best examples to be found in any part of the world, as

has been adopted in other spheres of national life, has proved peculiarly difficult. The chief obstacles are three, and consist of the structure of the theatre, the vested interests of existing theatrical institutions, and the conservatism of public taste. Western playhouses are built to foster the assumption that the audience is regarding through a picture-frame the actions of people, who live in a separate world between the wings, the footlights, and the 'back-cloth'. The subsidiary aid of scene-shifters, lime-light-men, stage carpenters, and machinists is invisibly rendered. Except for the recall of actors to receive applause before the curtain, nothing is done to destroy the illusion of an observed fragment of life. The Japanese stage, on the contrary, makes little effort to conceal its operations. Construction of stage. The proscenium arch is only 15 feet high, but the width is often as much as 70 feet. As a rule, the supposed locality of a piece, be it palace or temple or battlefield, is a wood-and-cardboard island in a sea of bare boards, of which the circumference nearly corresponds with that of a revolving section of the stage, twenty or thirty feet in diameter, which turns on lignum vitae wheels. While one scene is being enacted, a second is being prepared behind, and at a given signal the *eccyclema* is whirled round, carrying away one set of actors and bringing on their successors in full view of the spectators. The 'flower-walks', on which the actors advance or recede through the middle of the audience, give admirers opportunities of showering presents at their feet, as they pass, but this proximity is fatal to the pretence of impersonation. Even more objectionable to our conventions is the practice of allowing cloaked attendants to creep about the stage, removing 'properties' or in other ways assisting the performers. Their black garments denote invisibility,

and the polite spectators ignore them. About a century ago the same licence was permitted at Drury Lane, when men in black gauze cloaks appeared at intervals to snuff the candles. Three defects in Japanese acting may be attributed to the size of the theatre. Tricks that appeal to the eye rather than the ear are relied upon, such as posturing, grimacing, and excessive pantomime; elocution is intolerably shrill and staccato, though the omnipresent *samisen* is partly responsible; women are debarred from playing by sheer physical inability to tramp the twelve or twenty miles a day involved by their inconvenient dress and mincing gait. This circumstance has been turned to great account by the men, who play women's parts, and who formerly were expected to spend their lives outside the green-room in female costume and society, thus attaining extraordinary perfection. There are, of course, companies in which all the rôles are played by women, but since the visit to Europe of Mr. Kawakami and Madame Sada Yacco, it has become more usual for the sexes to appear together on the stage. This will be the case in the New Imperial Theatre, which has lately been built on Chiyoda Hall, opposite the Imperial Palace. The New Theatre was opened this spring, and would seem to meet all the modern requirements of a first-class playhouse. It is a steel-framed building with granite masonry, the dimensions are one hundred feet by two hundred, and the interior is planned in all respects like a European theatre, except that removable 'flower-walks' are retained for native plays. At the Actresses' School in connexion with it, about twenty-four novices of respectable family are being well educated in etiquette, music, dancing, and methods of acting of both old and new schools. Thus Tokyo playgoers, who have never

been in a foreign playhouse, will be enabled to appreciate for the first time the advantages or disadvantages of Western theatrical architecture as a suitable shrine for the Japanese Sarah Bernhardts and Ellen Terrys of the future.

The solidarity of vested interests in the 'commercial theatre' is best illustrated by an anecdote. Some years ago the writer was honoured by a long interview with the Ninth Danjuro, who was graciously communicative on many points. He had recently earned about 50,000 *yen* (nearly £5,000) in a season of four weeks at Osaka. Pressed for details, he explained that the total receipts were £13,000, and that of his own share two-fifths (£2,000) was spent on presents. To whom? To tea-houses, geisha-houses, societies, guilds of various kinds, of which the prosperity was largely dependent on that of the theatre. Any reform, which would shorten the length of performance and modify the picnic aspect of play-going, would therefore injure many associated trades. The proprietary interest in the stage of old theatrical families, whose former monopoly is already sadly diminished by free competition, is also opposed to change.

Public taste is, of course, the only lever by which the dramatic standard can be raised. It is probably very little lower at present from an intellectual point of view than that of London, which rewards musical comedy with millions and allows the serious dramatist to make occasional hundreds. Unfortunately to the Japanese playgoer reform is so often presented in foreign guise that acquiescence in what he has seems patriotic, and the travelled professor, who brings him novelties from Paris or Berlin, is regarded as were the English advocates of Ibsen in the 'nineties.

As each reformer of note brought the characteristics

Commercial side of theatrical enterprise.

Public taste as regards drama.

of an interesting personality to bear on his task, the best way of estimating their success is to describe the men. Two were actors. The improvements, introduced by Ichikawa Danjuro, were limited to the technique of acting, and had no relation to external influence. He was very dignified and respected, winning for his profession something of the consideration from above that Irving won in this country. He was the first to break the yoke of traditional interpretation, to embody his own conception of a part, instead of copying a predecessor; he substituted for the old blue and red stripes across the face denoting ferocity, a natural make-up, which allowed free facial expression; he endeavoured to release the spoken part from the undue exigencies of the music. In conjunction with Mr. Fukuchi, who wrote historical plays of the *Katsureki* (or 'living history') school, he tried to purge the *Jidaimono* of their worst extravagances and vulgarities. But his lack of interest in foreign drama necessarily prevented him from moving very far ahead of his audience.

Otojiro Kawakami is the most prominent of the Soshi actors. The Soshi were students who resented the coercion of the Government in respect of political utterance, and found, first as public story-tellers, afterwards as actors, the chance of impressing the public. Many remained on the stage and denounced its old-fashioned mannerisms. As for Kawakami, his chief weapon was topical novelty. He founded a realistic piece on the war with China in 1894-5, and produced a version of *Round the World in 80 days*. His social plays had small artistic value, but they drew rough-and-tumble pictures of modernized Japan. Then he came to Europe with the graceful and fascinating Sada Yacco, and in 1900-1 revealed to Paris and

London some few secrets of Japanese drama. He gave chiefly its deeds without its words, its beauty without its tedium, so that people, who had seen Sada Yacco dance in *The Geisha and the Knight* or Kawakami performing feats of *jujitsu* or committing *hara-kiri* in feudal pantomimes, saw correct, though curtailed, examples of what the Japanese public likes. In return he took home *Sairoku* (an alias for Shylock in an adaptation of the Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice*), and his last exploit was to present *Monna Vanna*. His chief titles to notice are: (1) that he broke down the prohibition against men and women acting together; (2) that he made several Japanese versions of European plays, taking generally the plot, adapting the situations, and omitting all that was too *outré* for his countrymen to appreciate. He rather exploited the foreign stage than elevated his own.

Two men of letters, both thoughtful students of Shakespeare, and both jealous for the honour of their own land, deserve mention. To Mr. Fukuchi is due immense credit for the skill and enthusiasm with which he raised the tone of historical drama at the Kabukiza. His hands were tied by the demands of manager and actors to provide star-parts; he was forced to admit the interpolation of dances and familiar 'business', but he did write some admirable plays, such as *The Lady-in-Waiting of Kasuga* and *Takatoki*, in which historical personages were drawn with great sobriety and force. He was heartily supported by the Dramatic Reform Association, to which Viscount Suyematsu, Baron Kikuchi, Marquis Inouyé, and other distinguished men belonged. He had the wisdom to avoid throwing Western ideas at playgoers' heads, unlike the rash adapter of *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*, than which no more complete antithesis to

Dramatic
Reform
Associa-
tion.

Japanese custom can be imagined. Although Mr. Fukuchi had translated *Othello* and *Hamlet*, he never dreamed of presenting them, for the freedom of speech and action enjoyed by Shakespearian heroines might have been, he thought, morally dangerous to his countrymen. In fact, he regarded Shakespeare as unfitted for the Japan of twenty years ago, when the position of women was less independent than it is to-day. Audiences were not then emancipated enough to welcome foreign heresies for their own sake.

Professor Yuzo Tsubouchi, who has been a leading member of Waseda University since its foundation in 1882 by Count Okuma, and is President of the Literature and Art Association, though little over fifty years of age, holds the highest position in Tokyo to-day as an educational reformer. Since Mr. Fukuzawa died, he is the chief exponent of European ideas. Both dramatist and novelist himself, he is a critic of keen penetration, and may be called the Brandès of Japan. The younger men follow him with enthusiasm on his crusades against theatrical obscurantism, which started with an *Essay on Historical Drama* in 1883. To every form of art he applies the touchstone of clear thinking and he is no blind admirer of exotic culture. By many, who despise the theatre as a mere vehicle of amusement, his zeal for dramatic reform is looked upon as an eccentric whim. His own ideas are thus eloquently expressed in a recent address to members of the Imperial Dramatic School.

‘As a result of two great wars Japan became a first-rate power among the nations of the world. And yet we cannot help but admit that spiritually and materially she is far behind other countries in the West. The inferiority of our drama as compared with that of foreign countries is conspicuous, and it must be con-

fessed that the present state of the drama is inferior to that of the Tokugawa period. There is no art with life in it at present. The drama of to-day does not reflect the spirit of the age, and the pieces played are either antiquated or immature. . . . Personally speaking, I am convinced that the drama is one of the necessities of human existence, as it is a medium for spiritual culture and links together amusement, morality, and religion.'

Recognizing that new wine must be poured with care into old bottles, Dr. Tsubouchi has always tried to combine foreign spirit with native form. Thus his version of *Julius Caesar* was arranged in Joruri fashion with a thread of poetical narrative. The adaptation of *Hamlet*, given in May of this year at the New Theatre, was closer to the original. His two plays on Japanese historical subjects, the *Maki no Kata* (1897) and *Kiku to Kiri* (1898), do not lack sensational incidents. In the first are murders, combats, and two *hara-kiri* by women. But the dialogue is terse, vigorous, and natural: all the old pivot-words, rhetoric, and bluster disappear. In 1905 he published an *Essay on Opera*, and illustrated his principles by two dance-plays on the subjects of *Urashima, the Fisher-boy*, and *Kaguya-hime, the Lady of the Robe of Feathers*; but this attempt to establish modern *No* met with slight success. At Waseda there is a private theatre, where he is able to test his theories by the performances of trained amateurs.

Great hopes are based on the Imperial Theatre Company of Tokyo, with a privately subscribed capital of £120,000. Its supporters are Baron Shibusawa, Marquis Saionji, now Prime Minister, Count Hayashi, Mr. Kihachiro Okura, Mr. Momosuke Fukuzawa, proprietor of the *Jiji*, Mr. Soichiro Asano, Mr. Keinosuke Nishimo, and many other well-known business and professional men. Both to Mr. Fukuzawa

and to Mr. Nishimo the writer is indebted for information in relation to this public-spirited venture. Its indefatigable director is Mr. Nishimo, who will have at his disposal the results of minute study of the working of European theatres by Mr. Matsui and others. In the attached training school for actresses, methods of natural deportment and elocution, in harmony with refined realism, are inculcated. In fact, the whole scheme must be regarded as an endowed, national theatre, depending for success on a highly cultured minority of playgoers. It cannot for a long time hope to compete financially with popular rivals, but its educational effect cannot fail to be great. Beginning with such a *succès d'estime* as the philosophic *Hamlet*, it will unfurl the banner of serious and truthful dramatic art.

Of late years men of intellectual importance have devoted themselves to the service of dramatic criticism. Such are Messrs. Ibara ('Seisei-ya'), author of the *History of the Japanese Stage*, Mori ('Takiji Miki'), the editor of the *Theatrical Magazine*, and Aeba ('Koson'), critic of the *Asahi Shimbun* and a novelist, whose writings sparkle with delicate satire. The great actors of the old school—Danjuro IX in 1903, Kikugoro V in 1903, and Sadanji IV in 1905—have passed away, and the ranks of the Soshi contain many innovators, whose talents are not hampered by tradition. But where, it is asked with anxiety, are the new dramatists, who will translate the theories of academic perfection into successful practice? For years the stage has been flooded with adaptations of European plays and with dramatic versions of popular novels. The former have included versions of *King Lear*, of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, and Daudet's *Sapho*. Most of the latter had appeared as *feuilletons* in the newspapers and reflect

the weakness of their origin. Journalism is inimical to drama, and many tales, which have won thousands of readers, lose their effect under the different conditions of theatrical presentation. However, five of these won popular favour and deserve mention : they are, *Nightingale*, by Rokwa Tokutomi ; *Golden Devil*, by Koyo Ozaki ; *Fig*, by Shien Nakamura ; *Countess*, by Kikutei Taguchi ; and *One's Own Crime*, by Yuho Kikuchi. Ideas are slow to penetrate the theatre and young Japan is intoxicated with ideas, the chaotic ideas of such writers as Tolstoi, Maeterlinck, Nietzsche, and Bernard Shaw. Time alone will separate the wheat of original growth from the chaff of inappropriate importation. When the national consciousness has had time to assimilate its heterogeneous harvest, one may hope that Viscount Suyematsu's demand for edification will be found consistent with Professor Tsubouchi's principles of psychological truth and artistic construction.

CHAPTER XXXII

JAPANESE MUSIC

ALMOST every species of Japanese art has won sooner or later the affection of foreigners with the exception of music. Eyes have been educated to appreciate the beauties of Sesshiu and Moronobu, wits have been stimulated to grasp the inner meaning of liliputian poems, but our ears have stubbornly refused to be charmed by what Professor Chamberlain unkindly called 'the strummings and squealings of Orientals'. Even that most painstaking inquirer, Sir Francis Piggott, after patient and sympathetic investigation puts the case for that art no higher than this: 'It has some prettily quaint flashes of melody and some curious phrase-repetitions, which indicate the possible existence of a science of construction.' Fundamental points as to the nature of the scale and the proper method of notation are hotly disputed by experts, whose attempts to render harmonized airs on European instruments must always fail to reproduce any but the smallest fraction of the original effect. And that for two excellent reasons. They cannot reconstruct either the artistic purpose, which the music was intended to subserve, or the mentality of the native listener, which has been built up by personal and inherited associations. For it must be remembered that, just as the Church in mediaeval Europe had the finest musical talent at its disposal, so in feudal Japan the Shinto temple-dancers and the Buddhist performers in *No* plays used the best music as a means of emotional

interpretation of religion. It would be as unreasonable to expect an old-fashioned inhabitant of Tokyo to be thrilled by a chorus of Handel on a subject to which he might be wholly indifferent, as for an Englishman to be moved to tears by the portrayal on flute and drum of the distress of the Sun-Goddess, or of the exorcism of the demon of Jealousy in a Hannya mask. Besides, modern songs, which make no pretence to expound mysteries other than those of the human heart—quite apart from the meaning of the words, which is often simple enough—are apt to displease by the singer's nasal and guttural notes. Whatever fascination may lurk in the more secular theme of the *Geisha* is modified, if not destroyed, by a strained falsetto, with difficult trills and surprising intervals, which seem contrived by a perverse method of voice-production to rob the natural organ of all sweetness and charm. Nevertheless, a visit to the Russian cathedral on Suruga-dai, where the choristers have been taught to sing less laboriously, will reveal voices of crystalline purity. *De vocibus non est disputandum.*

To the cultivated amateur of Japanese music the first hearing of Western opera conveys no pleasure but actual discomfort. He misses the subtle half-tones of his own scale, and resents the drowning of melody in a flood of orchestral sound. His position is not unlike that of the early opponents of Wagner, who preferred Italian tunefulness to 'German cacophony'. In both cases, prejudice is only to be dispelled by time and training. In the meantime, it is worthy of remark that M. Saint-Saens and M. Charles Lalo, dissatisfied with the complexity of much European composition, and its reliance on intellectual rather than emotional appeal, look for a corrective to Oriental music, which in their opinion might be studied with profit by Occidental composers.

Western
music not
agreeable
to the
Japanese.

The Japanese Government has for many centuries regarded the care of music as falling within the sphere of its control. As early as A.D. 649, a Bureau of Music was established for the purpose of maintaining singers, dancers, and flautists, to take part in Court Festivals and Buddhist services. Musical instruments from India, and dancers from China, were accepted and adapted to suit the taste of successive Emperors. We are assured that the Emperor Horikawa (like the Nero of tradition) was 'never surpassed even by professional musicians', while noble families were entrusted with the monopoly of directing performances and special kinds of music became hereditary secrets. A rude blow was struck at this refined tutelage by the civil war of the twelfth century, between the Minamoto and Taira clans. The loss of Imperial patronage, however, was not an unmixed evil, for new forms of musical composition sprang up and took deep root in the life of the people. The *Heike-Monogatari*, a long recitative, set to simple, descriptive strains, and chanted by blind lute-players, celebrated in true saga fashion the suicides and sea-fights of the Heike and Genji warriors; the *Joruri-Monogatari*, its softer counterpart, related to samisen accompaniment the love-story of gallant Yoshitsune and his mistress Shizuka, the faithful dancing-girl. Both these famous compositions are prototypes of a long series of successors. Then the feudal lords, headed by the Taiko Hideyoshi, took special interest in the *No* performances, which developed into a kind of sacred opera with special masks, voice parts, costumes, and orchestra. Finally, various peasant dances, and the music arranged for the marionette stage of Osaka gave frank expression to the feelings of classes far removed from the correct rigidity of the court. Under the

Tokugawa régime (1603-1868) all types of popular amusement flourished exceedingly, for all classes were debarred from political activity, and encouraged to temper obedience by social distractions.

The task of the Bureau of Music, or *Utakyoku*, re-established in 1870, when the Revolution had restored the Emperor to power, was peculiarly difficult. Apparently it only concerned itself with ancient and classical music, which was guarded with jealous secrecy by the high families, to whose hereditary charge it had been consigned. No ordinary person might hear it, much less study any notation of the tunes, for these were generally transmitted by rote from teacher to pupil. The court nobles, who had formerly valued their privilege of listening, were immersed in business of deadlier importance. Political and constitutional problems pressed for urgent settlement. On resigning their feudal prerogatives, they also abandoned many archaic amenities and allowed the performances of the *No* plays to cease. In fact, the court music was in danger of dying by disuse and only survived on ceremonial occasions of religious character, until by gradual and cautious innovation it was mixed with Western alloy.

The War Department was the first boldly to accept foreign music. The drum-beaters of the various clans were summoned and Mr. John William Fenton, ex-bandmaster of the 10th Regiment, stationed at Yokohama between 1868-72, was engaged to teach the use of wind-instruments and to organize a naval band, while M. Dagrom was assigned the same duty in relation to the army. Ten years later members of the military band were sent to study their art in Paris, and in 1883 the appointment of Herr Franz Eckert as Naval Bandmaster brought German thoroughness

Bureau of Music established, 1870.

Decay of court music.

Foreign music first introduced for military purposes.

to the task of instruction. It is stated that the national spirit was greatly cheered by the excellence of these bands during the war with Russia, when troops embarked for, or were welcomed home from, Manchuria. At the time of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition Mr. Kiushi Nagai, the head bandmaster of the Military Training school at Toyama, Tokyo, came with thirty-four bandsmen to London, where a high opinion was formed of their technical skill.

Before music could be incorporated in a system of national education, it was obvious that subjects of more practical value had a prior claim. The Department of Education issued a scheme in 1872, whereby 8 universities, 256 secondary schools, and 53,760 elementary schools were to be provided for the whole country. Thus, naturally enough, law, science, literature, and medicine, as well as mineralogy, engineering, agriculture, and commerce, took precedence of an art which had always been regarded as an appanage of aristocratic rather than of popular existence. However, in 1879, a Bureau for the Investigation of Music (the *Ongaku Torishirabe-gakari*) was established under the presidency of Mr. Shuiji Izawa. This became a musical adjunct to the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, and in 1899 took its present title of the Tokyo Academy of Music. Detailed accounts of its progress have been furnished by Mrs. Mollison of Yokohama, by Professor Rudolph Reuter, an eminent member of the teaching staff, and by Mr. Togi Suyeharu, to all of whom we are indebted for many particulars. The last-named gives great credit to the missionaries for diffusing a love of hymnal singing among their pupils and so indirectly preparing the soil for governmental tuition. There occurs a most interesting discovery in Mr. Izawa's report to the Education

Department on the possibility of fusing native with foreign music. Having closely studied the *Hymn to Apollo*, which Vincenzo Galilei published in 1581 in his *Dialogo della Musica Antica e Moderna* and which is reproduced in Chappell's *History of Music*, he was struck by the close resemblance between its melody and tonality and those of his own land. He caused it to be harmonized in accordance with the standard of *Banshiki Cho* in classical music and rendered on Japanese instruments. The experiment established a remarkable parallel between the two and confirmed Mr. Izawa's belief in the theory that Hindustan was the cradle of musical art, from whence it spread opposite arms to Greece and to Japan. His severe strictures on popular music at the beginning of Meiji illustrate the zeal with which he undertook reform. He wrote:—

Study bearing upon kinship between Eastern and Western music.

Japanese strictures upon native popular music.

‘The popular music of Japan has remained for many centuries in the hands of the lowest and most ignorant classes of society. It did not advance moral or physical culture, but was altogether immoral in tone. It is against the moral and social welfare of the community. It is against the progress of the education of society. It is against the introduction of good music into the country. But unfortunately all children are taught this kind of music, even though they are not sent to school; and it is not uncommon for people to refuse to listen to good music, but to prefer such shameful music as that under consideration.’

Instruction on sound principles and with lasting result was quickly organized. By the co-operation of Mr. Whiting Mason, an American teacher of high standing, with Mr. K. Shiba and Mr. Shoin Yamase, a textbook of songs for children was compiled and adopted in all primary schools. By 1883 these and

Instruction upon reformed methods adopted.

other songs had been studied by professors and pupils in many normal schools as well, and several private musical societies were founded. Henceforward, official and unofficial efforts to raise the standard of systematic singing went hand in hand. Musical Readers, Callcott's *Grammar of Music*, and various guide-books for teachers were widely circulated. It may be noted in passing that a short time before, at the suggestion of the Naval Department, choice was made of a National Anthem in *Kimiga-yo* ('May our Emperor's reign endure!'), of which the grave but thrilling melody is now familiar to most English musicians.

Instrumental music was of slower growth. A rudimentary organ, called the Sho, was rejected on account of the difficulty of manufacturing the reeds and of obtaining properly seasoned wood at reasonable cost. Pianos had to be imported and are still too expensive for general use. The koto and samisen are, therefore, most in favour for native music, while the violin and harmonium (until a piano can be bought) are the most commonly used of foreign instruments. It is worthy of note in this connexion that the Japanese are manufacturing excellent violins and harmoniums and that the writer inspected some admirable specimens last year which were exhibited at the Nagoya Exhibition. At present the Academy has an orchestra of fifty or sixty performers, whose proficiency is largely due to German teaching, seconded by the Japanese aptitude for mastering technique and stimulated by the rivalry of Philharmonic Societies, in which native graduates play an important part. Professors Dittrich, von Koeber, Junker, Heydrich, and Rudolph Reuter have rendered invaluable services in promoting choral and orchestral competence. As an indication of the standard attained the following programme of a

concert given on November 27, 1910, speaks for itself:—

ORCHESTRAL AND CHORAL CONCERT

OF THE

TOKYO ACADEMY OF MUSIC

UYENO PARK

1. Ein deutsches Requiem for Soli
 Chorus and Orchestra *Brahms*
 a. Selig sind, die das Leid tragen
 b. Herr, lehre doch mich
 Baritone Solo: Mr. K. Shimidzu
2. Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in D minor *Rubinstein*
 Mr. R. Reuter.
3. 1^{re} Suite L'Arlésienne for Orchestra *Bizet*
 a. Prelude
 b. Minuetto
 c. Adagio
 d. Carillon
4. Aria from *Odysseus* *Bruch*
 Miss K. Nakajima.
5. Female Choruses with Accompaniment of two Horns
 and Harp *Brahms*
 a. Greetings
 b. Song from Ossian's *Fingal*
6. Overture to the Opera *Oberon* *Weber*
 Conductor: Mr. A. Junker.

There are at least half a dozen Japanese artists of great merit, among whom ladies predominate. Miss Nobu Koda and Mrs. Ko Ando (sisters of a distinguished novelist), after studying in Vienna, America, and Berlin, where the latter was a pupil of Joachim, returned to take high position both as teachers and on the platform. Mrs. Kambe and Miss Kuno are

brilliant pianists. The success of the Academy has been largely due to such directors as Professors Watanabe and Takamine, while its prestige among all classes is enhanced and secured by the gracious encouragement of the Empress.

It may not be out of place to add a word as to the difficulties encountered by pioneers of Western music in the Far East. Seldom are opportunities afforded of hearing first-class music by European performers. The annual visits of the Bandmann Opera Company, and occasional representations by the Yokohama Amateur Dramatic Club, do indeed introduce *Dorothy* or *The Merry Widow* to admirers of light opera, but the serious public is not yet large enough to tempt more ambitious artists. Then, concerts are given under somewhat harassing conditions. Though the charge for admission is low, a high Government tax must be paid in addition to the cost of hiring a hall or theatre. The School of Music itself, as a Government building, may only be used for official concerts. This difficulty is to be obviated by the erection of a new hall in Uyeno Park. Another drawback is the departure of promising pupils to occupy posts in various country schools. But already the wide dissemination of good teaching is exercising a marked influence on all classes. In the theatres, of course, where old-fashioned music forms an integral part of the ever-popular historical melodrama, the change is less obvious. But it must be remembered that wholesale innovation is not characteristic of the Japanese. Side by side with the cultivation of Western music, research is carried on with the object of rescuing old texts and melodies from oblivion. There has been a striking revival of *No* performances, of which the aesthetic and historic interest can hardly be exag-

gerated, while many religious songs and dances, imported from China or India but now extinct in those countries, survive in the *Ga-gaku*, or classical music. In short, the Japanese Government shows its usual far-sighted wisdom by accepting the best of both worlds.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

IN the earlier chapters some mention has been made of the samurai—the soldiery of Old Japan, and of the strenuous life that they led in preparation for warfare. Naturally men whose main interest lay in their weapons became extremely skilful in using them. Their whole existence was ordered to train them for the day of battle; no excuse palliated defeat, and no form of attack was considered illegitimate; in the Middle Ages Japan was torn almost without cessation by petty wars, and thus physical fitness and dexterity became a matter of life and death to the fighting-man. The custom of their caste imposed many restrictions upon the samurai, but we learn that such amusements as hawking, deer-hunting, and wrestling were specially permitted to them—from which it may be inferred that less manly forms of sport were prohibited. But the soldier's chief pastime was exercising himself in the use of arms; early Japanese history has its Robin Hoods and William Tells, and the exploits ascribed to them would sound incredible did we not know how the archers of Poitiers overcame the mail-clad knights of France. One famous bowman, when challenged to rescue a fish from the talons of a flying osprey without killing either, is said to have cut off the bird's feet with an arrow so that the fish fell back into the water! And tales of swordmanship are no less astounding; one feat consisted in placing a chopstick

upright and then drawing a sword and cutting it in two before it could fall.

But there was nothing artificial about the virtuosity of the Japanese swordsmen and bowmen; they did not sacrifice general efficiency to the acquisition of impressive tricks; their dexterity was the natural outcome of the physical and mental discipline to which they subjected themselves. If possible they invested their combats with a certain amount of punctilio; two samurai would enter upon a duel to the death in much the same spirit as French noblemen of the *grand siècle*, but the lower orders recognized no restrictions. Moreover, vengeance was the duty of the retainers of a slaughtered chieftain, even if he had fallen in fair fight; and provided only that it was conclusive, it might be exacted in any manner or after any length of time. 'There was no discharge in that war'; no proposition but what might conceal a plot, and as a consequence it behoved the Japanese warrior to be ready for any emergency. The well-known story of the forty-seven ronins illustrates this aspect of feudal life.

The samurai was trained to defend himself with a stick or any object that came to hand, if he should be trapped without his sword; and this usage led to the elaboration of a form of wrestling called ju-jitsu, whereby a man caught unarmed and at a disadvantage could protect himself from a powerful foe.

Indeed, in its origin ju-jitsu—'the soft or yielding art'—is the expedient of the weak against the strong. It was devised by the samurai for the reasons given above, and also perhaps as a means of asserting an almost miraculous superiority over the common people who were not initiated into its mysteries.

Ju-jitsu is the most scientific form of wrestling,

for it teaches how to discomfit an adversary not by superior strength but by superior knowledge. Ordinary wrestling is primarily a matter of muscular power in which the expert in ju-jitsu places little reliance. When attacked he does not offer direct resistance; he gives way before the onslaught, thus upsetting the balance of an assailant expecting opposition: before the latter can recover himself he has been rendered powerless by some decisive grip or blow.

The student of ju-jitsu learns the weak points of the human body; how to induce an adversary to expose them; and how to take advantage of such openings. There have been many schools of ju-jitsu—each with different artifices; and attempts have been made to found a system combining the stronger points of the different styles. In serious contests ju-jitsu is employed to break a limb or otherwise disable an opponent; but it is also valuable as a physical exercise, for it not only makes the body supple but quickens the wits; in this case a combatant admits defeat when forced into a position from which he cannot escape without serious injury.

It is probable that wrestling in some form or another is much older than the specialized development of it we have referred to as ju-jitsu. That the East can produce wrestlers we know from the English sporting papers whose columns frequently contain challenges from champions with exotic names; and it seems that their lore has been handed down from father to son for countless generations. Even before the Christian era mention is made of wrestling in the Japanese records, and there is a legend that many years later the throne of Japan was assigned to the victor in a wrestling-match. Subsequently there

seems to have been a decline in the popularity of wrestling; the samurai applied themselves to it as part of their military training, but the bulk of the people were too exhausted with the reality of war to seek relaxation in imitating it.

But when Iyeyasu introduced order, and established peace, the old combative spirit sought an outlet and a class of professional wrestlers arose. This sport was encouraged by the daimyos who maintained wrestlers of the type of Charles, the Duke's Wrestler in *As You Like It*.

At the present time the people of Japan follow the doings of professional wrestlers with the sort of interest that is commanded by football players in England. The men are classified in order of merit, the more expert receiving higher emoluments.

Foreigners had an opportunity of gathering the rudiments of the art at the Japan-British Exhibition held lately in London, for there were daily exhibitions by competent wrestlers. Victory falls to the combatant who first pushes his opponent out of the ring, or compels him to lose his footing; the wrestlers are heavy men, and to our eyes fat rather than hard.

Hawking and deer hunting have been already alluded to; a kindred form of sport was provided by the pursuit of the bear, of which some account is given in the chapter on Early History. The Japanese are also fishermen: trout and salmon trout Angling. are taken with the fly, but though there are plenty of salmon in the North, they are too sophisticated to rise to the lure of the angler; indeed, credulity is no characteristic of the fish of Japan; some of them cannot be approached in a boat, the motion of which puts them on their guard, and the angler who

expects to outwit them is therefore compelled to seek out a shoal and ensconce himself there on a high stool.

Fish are caught also through the agency of cormorants ; these birds have tight rings fastened round their necks, and are kept under control by means of cords ; their master sends them out in pursuit of fish and from time to time draws them back that he may force them to disgorge the prey which the ring has prevented from reaching its natural destination. The cormorant can be trained to give up his catch without a ring, which suggests either that his reputation for voracity is unmerited, or that the fish of Japan make poor eating.

The Japanese are not a nation of horsemen ; horse-racing was introduced among other Western customs, and at one time had a great vogue owing to the facilities it afforded for speculation. Gambling eventually assumed such proportions that the Government intervened and prohibited the totalisator ; and thereupon the sport languished.

Better fortune has attended baseball, which has attained great popularity among students. Japanese baseball teams have toured in the United States and their visits have been returned. Football—the Association game—is also played ; but it has obtained less hold on the people. Several rowing clubs have been established, but lawn-tennis, the most cosmopolitan of all games, has made surprisingly little progress ; it is practised to some extent by young girls, and this may excite some prejudice against it among the men, who probably have no conception of the skill and endurance necessary to play the game in good company.

There are many national pastimes of the type of chess and draughts, and several varieties of card games,

while, as the paradise of children, Japan provides many diversions for young people.

Many of these games have a family likeness to those that prevail in Europe ; for instance, mention may be made of battledore and shuttlecock, in which the little girls take especial delight. The children have festivals of their own ; for girls the Doll Festival on the 3rd of March, and for boys the Carp Festival on the 5th of May. At the former are exhibited dolls in every description of costume ; dolls' houses, and all the appurtenances that go therewith. The latter is celebrated by the display of large paper carp ; for every son in a household a carp is flown from the family roof-tree ; the carp is regarded as the samurai of the fish world, and the boys are thus reminded of the courage and resolution with which it is credited.

Another national amusement is kite-flying, and it is indulged in by Japanese of all ages. The kites, which are made in the form of dragons, birds, and so on, usually consist of rice-paper stiffened with bamboo. Some of them have a whalebone attachment which hums in the wind ; others, less Arcadian, have their cords coated with powdered glass or some other sharp substance. The latter are fighting-kites, and the object of their owners is to manœuvre them so as to cut the cord of some rival kite-flyer.

It is interesting to note that the characteristic eclecticism of the Japanese is also exhibited in their pastimes. They are equally interested in the manly and painful sport of wrestling and in the gentle art of kite-flying.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS

JAPAN, like most other countries, has a written constitution, but unlike other constitutions, Japan's was not won piecemeal by fire and sword from an unwilling sovereign. It was a gift freely given. After the constitutions of other nations had been duly studied and compared, the Emperor, in 1889, 'desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to, the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects . . . and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support,' . . . promulgated the present constitution. The preamble also says that 'The rights of sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.' And it further provides that amendments are to be made by the Emperor submitting them to the Diet.

Whilst one finds the usual separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the State, the Emperor has more control than European sovereigns have over the Diet. This is not only true in theory but in practice. In short, the sovereign power does not lie in the Parliament, but in the sovereign himself. He has indeed to pay respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it.

'The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining

in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them according to the provisions of the present Constitution.' (Const. Art. IV.)

These rights of sovereignty include the legislative power which the Emperor exercises 'with the consent of the Imperial Diet'. He convokes, opens, closes, and prorogues the Diet, and may dissolve the lower House. In case of public danger, provided the Diet is not in session, he has the right to issue ordinances which have the force of laws until disapproved by the Diet. 'But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.' (Art. IX.)

The Emperor is the head of the army and navy, may declare war, make peace, and conclude treaties without the consent of the Diet. He also has the power of declaring a state of siege.

The rights and duties of subjects are dealt with in the second chapter of the constitution. They may ^{Subject rights.} not be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law by judges determined by law. The rights of property, freedom of religious belief, liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meeting or association, and petition are also assured; it should, however, be stated that the censorship of the press is more strict than in Great Britain (see Chapter on Journalism and Journalists). But Article XXXI says that 'the provisions contained in the present chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor in times of war or in cases of a national emergency'.

The Imperial Diet consists of a House of Peers ^{Constitu-} composed of members of the Imperial Family, of the ^{tion of} orders of nobility, and certain other persons nominated ^{the Diet.} by the Emperor, and a House of Representatives elected by the people.

Article XXXVII provides that 'Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet'. This does not of course apply to ordinances which are not considered laws, although they have the force of laws under many circumstances.

The Diet must be convoked every year according to Article XLI. The members have the usual privileges as to freedom from arrest and liability for opinions expressed in either house.

The Ministers of State and the Delegates of the Government may, at any time, take seats and speak in either house. They are, however, liable to be questioned by the members, although they are not obliged to answer or give explanations.

Imposition of new taxes or modification of existing taxes requires the consent of the Diet. So also in the case of national loans or the contraction of other liabilities to the charge of the Treasury. The budget is a matter for the Diet to pass upon, but as to the expenditures of the Imperial House the Diet has no control, provided the appropriation does not exceed a certain amount. When the Diet cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, money may be raised by ordinance, which must be submitted to the Diet when it is convoked. In case the Diet does not vote on the budget, or the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government is to carry out the budget of the preceding year. It is perhaps through the purse-strings that the Diet gets what control it has over national affairs. However, it is doubtful whether an all-powerful legislature would be more advantageous than the present constitutional arrangement.

In addition to the Diet and the Cabinet there is a third body called the Privy Council. Its functions

are purely deliberative. It sits when consulted by the Emperor who follows its advice or not as may seem best.

The Judicature is covered by five short articles of the Constitution. Public trial and the inviolability of judges are guaranteed. A 'Court of Administrative Litigation', a feature unknown to English and American jurisprudence, is provided for cases where it is claimed that the executive authorities have infringed upon the rights of the subject. The underlying idea seems to be that a court of law might be incapable of deciding upon questions of administrative expediency, and would also be disinclined to sacrifice the individual for the public benefit.

The most striking feature of the Japanese law as it is to-day is the fact that it is founded upon modern Roman Law—that is to say upon the codes of France and Germany, modified to suit local customs and conditions. It is not the first time that Japan has gone abroad in search of better laws. The early Japanese law was of course unwritten and hardly adapted for modern requirements. It sufficed for the needs of a people little concerned in trade or commerce. The first codes which followed the Chinese law were promulgated in the sixth century A. D., not long after the compilation of Justinian's codes. The Chinese laws were modified from time to time, but as Professor Masaakira Tomii says: 'it is an undeniable fact that these important laws continued to be of great use even up to recent times' (*Fifty Years of New Japan*).

With the beginning of the Meiji era a great need arose for laws more suitable to modern conditions. Other nations were loth to give up their rights of extra-territorial jurisdiction unless the laws of Japan were

brought into harmony with those of Europe and America. It was, therefore, both with this fact in view, and as a part of the general effort of improvement by borrowing the best from all nations, and welding them together to suit their conditions that Japan set about the compilation of the present codes. The Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure were founded upon the French codes.

On the other hand the Civil Code was built upon a German model. But as regards Family Law and the law of succession Japanese customs and usage were adhered to. German influence is also noticeable in the Code of Commerce.

Considering the Civil Code in detail we find it divided into five books.

1. General Provisions—largely concerned with the divisions of persons, rights, and things ; the accrument and loss of private rights ; prescription and so forth.

2. The book on real rights which deals with the various rights in and to real and personal property, such as mortgages or hypothecations, perpetual leases and emphyteusis, and superficies. Land is taxed and may be condemned for public use.

3. This book treats of those rights and obligations which are created by contracts, quasi-contracts, and torts or delicts.

4. Family law or the law of domestic relations. In this book the Japanese laws and customs have been retained in such matters as adoption, marriage, divorce, relationship of husband and wife as regards property, parent and child, and so forth. The new laws in relation to divorce are discussed in the chapter on population. Parental authority and adoption are more important institutions in Japan than in the Western world.

5. Succession. Here also the old law has been retained. As the title denotes this book covers such matters as wills, inheritance, and distribution of property and rights. As in other countries the State is the ultimate heir.

The Code of Commerce is divided into five books. Commercial Code
 The first book contains, besides fundamental rules relating to commercial law in general, the provision that what is not specified in the Code shall be treated according to commercial usage. In the second book, or the Book of Companies, these are classified as partnerships, limited partnerships, joint-stock companies, and joint-stock limited partnerships, and recognized as a sort of juridical person. Insurance may be carried on either by a joint-stock company or on the mutual plan, provided permission is first obtained and a minimum capital of 100,000 *yen* raised. Insurance companies may not engage in other business nor may life insurance be combined with insurance against loss. The amount of life insurance carried last year was about 500 million *yen*. Fire insurance reached about 1,000 million *yen*, and marine insurance about 50 million *yen*. In the third book, Commercial Acts, the classes of commercial acts are enumerated and illustrated; in the fourth book, or the Book of Bills, three kinds of bills, viz. drafts, promissory notes, and cheques are recognized; and in the fifth book, or Book of Maritime Commerce, provisions concerning vessels, mariners, and the like are given. As for the law of bankruptcy, which was originally part of the Commercial Code, the Government prepared it as a special law entirely independent of the commercial, for the reason that that branch of law should in its nature be compiled so as to be applicable equally to both commercial and

civil affairs and also for the purpose of making its revision easy. According to the law of bankruptcy now in force, proceedings in bankruptcy begin with an adjudication of bankruptcy; one under such adjudication loses the right of disposing of his own property, and when declared a bankrupt loses further a variety of rights appertaining to his status.¹

A feature of the Japanese judicial system which will especially strike Englishmen and Americans is the absence of juries and the appointment of judges and public prosecutors after examination.

The Courts of Justice are classed as District Courts, Local Courts, Courts of Appeal, and the Court of Cassation. Each court has its public procurator after the continental fashion. The District or lower court of first instance is presided over by a single judge who has jurisdiction in small civil and criminal cases. He also has other duties such as supervising guardians and registration.

The Local Court is divided into sections presided over by three judges. It acts as a court of first instance in civil and criminal cases not within the jurisdiction of the District Courts and also hears appeals from the latter.

The Court of Appeal is a tribunal of second instance and hears appeals from the local court.

The supreme court of Japan is the Court of Cassation. Each of its sections is composed of seven judges. It is both a court of appeal from the lower courts and of first and final instance in certain offences against or involving members of the Imperial family.

In the year 1908 there were in Japan (excluding Taiwan):—

¹ Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan*.

COURTS OF JUSTICE

Court of Cassation	1
Courts of Appeal	7
Local Courts	50
District Courts	312
District Courts (Branches)	1,409

JUDICIAL OFFICERS

Judges	1,104
Public Procurators	374
Probationary Judicial Officers	274
Clerks of Courts	4,238
Notaries Public	290
Bailiffs	500
Advocates	1,999

NUMBER OF CIVIL JUDGMENTS IN 1909

First Instance			Second Instance		
District Court	Local Court	Total	Local Court	Court of Appeal	Total
77,526	15,860	93,386	4,942	2,379	7,321
Final					
		Court of Appeal	Court of Cassation	Total	
		456	459	915	

Civil
Judg-
ments.

NUMBER OF CRIMINAL JUDGMENTS IN 1908

First Instance			Second Instance		
District Court	Local Court	Total	Local Court	Court of Appeal	Total
Men					
99,928	37,955	137,883	5,549	6,209	11,758
Women					
12,430	4,414	16,844			
Final					
	Court of Appeal	Court of Cassation	Total		
	962	1,599	2,561		

Criminal
Judg-
ments.

SUMMARY JUDGMENTS AT POLICE STATIONS IN 1908

Men	Women	Total
458,694	48,994	507,688

Legal status of foreigners in Japan is on the whole as good as that enjoyed by aliens in European countries.

A curious controversy has arisen between the Japanese Government and certain foreign residents over perpetual leases. It seems that in the early days of the European settlement in Japan the Government granted perpetual leases of land for building and recreation purposes to the foreign residents. A rent was, of course, reserved. These leaseholds were to be free from all taxes, but subject to the payment of ground rents based upon the estimated amount of the municipal taxes. Of late years the taxes have exceeded the rents and the Government has had to pay to the cities the difference between the nominal ground rents and the taxes which the municipalities would have received had the tenants been Japanese. The Government has offered to give the lessees the land for nothing, the rents to cease and the owners to pay the same taxes as their Japanese neighbours. Naturally they have declined this offer. They prefer to remain lessees unless compensation is paid them. The leaseholders are being supported by their respective Governments, but all parties are striving to settle the matter fairly.

The patent laws make no discrimination between Japanese and foreigner with respect to the protection of industrial property. Any person who has applied for the registration of a patent for an invention, a design, or a trade-mark in a country which is a party to the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property is granted in Japan a right of priority, which is valid for one year in the case of a patent, and for four months in the case of a design or trade-mark.

The term of a patent is fifteen years, which may be extended a few years under certain conditions. The term for a design is ten years, and for a utility model three years, which may be extended another three years. Trade-marks are protected for twenty years, and may, of course, be extended.

An examination of the invention, design, or trade-mark is made at the Patent Bureau, and if the application is dismissed the applicant may take the matter into court. The fees are 230 *yen* for a patent, 17 *yen* for a design, 20 *yen* for a trade-mark, and 15 *yen* for a utility model patent.

CHAPTER XXXV

PRISON REFORM

THE modern attitude towards the question of Prisons and the Prison system brings with it a sensibility which was generally lacking in those who approached this question in the past, the methods of imprisonment being nowadays of as much importance as its mere fact used to be, and the idea of imprisonment as an instrument of education being, as far as it exists, essentially a modern characteristic. The early history of Japan, as of any country, very rarely affords any direct record of prisons, and we are left to infer their existence because the accounts of the administration of the various penal codes include within their penalties and punishments that of imprisonment.

A survey of the various Japanese codes, which in no way exemplify anything that may be called a system of prison institution and control, being the outcome merely of military ascendancy, and consequently involving military rigour and suppression of all that tended to disorganize military rule, is hardly necessary to demonstrate that the movement towards Prison Reform, and the resulting change in the Prison system during the Meiji Era, were based upon principles that had hitherto never influenced those who were responsible for Prison administration.

From 1870 onwards, the amelioration of prison life and the recognition of prisoners as reclaimable members, rather than deadly enemies of society, are principles that have actuated all prison administration,

and it is interesting to note that the first Regulations for Prisons, drafted in 1870, followed upon an official visit to Hong-Kong, Singapore, and several towns in India, to inspect the state of British prison affairs in those places. Between the date of these Regulations and 1889, the system of prison rules underwent constant improvement, and though changes and modifications have occurred of recent years, the main lines of the prison regulations of to-day are those underlying the revised Regulations of 1889.

The number of prisons in Japan at present is given Statistics. as 150, the large majority of which are local prisons and their branch establishments. Central prisons, four in number, with two branch institutions, are used for criminals sentenced to penal servitude and for those sentenced to life-imprisonment under the old Penal Code. Female criminals sentenced to penal servitude, however, are confined in the local prisons wherein are imprisoned criminals of both sexes sentenced to confinement, detention, or imprisonment.

The maintenance of prisons is defrayed by the National Treasury, having been transferred from the charge of local taxation in 1899, in order to co-ordinate affairs relating to prisons which had been hitherto hampered by a lack of uniformity. The cost of prison maintenance for 1910 slightly exceeds 6,000,000 *yen*, and the prison expenses per inmate work out at a little over 100 *yen*. About one quarter of the expenses of each convict is defrayed by the proceeds of prison labour.

The prison population according to the official returns does not tend to decrease, the number of prisoners in 1909 being about 67,000, or 15,000 more than the number in the previous year. This sudden increase is to be attributed principally to the pro-

mulgation, in 1908, of the new Penal Code, which stipulates that habitual criminals are to be condemned to longer periods of detention. It cannot, however, be denied that though the increase of crime cannot be directly attributed to the introduction of Western ideas, the introduction of railways, telephones, postal facilities and the like have afforded many opportunities for crime to people who before were without such opportunities.

Japanese prisons are further classified according to the sentences imposed upon their inmates, and the prisoners are confined separately, according to difference of sex, age, nature of offence, and number of previous convictions. A like classification exists in the workshops within the prisons.

The special training of prison officials, both upper and lower, is an instance of the Japanese Government's appreciation of the fact that prison regulations, however wisely framed, inevitably fall short of their aim unless executed by individuals who have been brought into real, not mechanical, contact with the principles that inspired those regulations. A school for the training of officials was satisfactorily established in Tokyo in 1900 after an abortive attempt some ten years previously, and the students enter upon the practical work of prison administration after a course of study that covers penal and civil codes and procedure, penology, criminology, prison sanitation and hygiene, and drill. Minor officials go through probationary training in the prisons, and test examinations have to be passed before the appointments of these probationers are confirmed.

It may be due to the logical outcome of such training, a sympathy between the prison officials and their duties, or to the national characteristics of simplicity and lightheartedness, that Japanese prisons seem to

be less abodes of gloom and iron rigour than they are in Western countries, and that the bearing of the prisoners themselves during their imprisonment and upon discharge does not point, as it often does in this country, to an apparently irreconcilable conflict between theoretical and practical justice. The writer visited a prison situated on the outskirts of Tokyo and found a remarkably well managed institution. The doors and windows of the cells—dormitories would be a better name for these sleeping-rooms—were wide open, admitting light and air. The inmates were scattered throughout the workshops, industriously and apparently cheerfully carrying on their various handicrafts. The discipline was there but without unnecessary rigour.

The prison regulations regarding medals of merit awarded to prisoners for good behaviour are interesting. Medals can be awarded not more than three times to a prisoner, and the prisoners' possession of medals guides the governor of the prison in determining pardons and paroles, and also enables the medallists to secure certain not-to-be-despised privileges, such as an increase of interviews with friends and relations, increased power of sending and receiving letters, permission for the supply of accessory clothing, increase of rate of earnings, and certain favours highly valued by all Japanese in connexion with baths.

Prize money of 50 *sen* or less is granted for services rendered by prisoners in giving private information of another's contemplated escape, in rescuing or guarding another prisoner's life, or on the occasion of any natural or accidental calamity such as the outbreak of disease or fire.

Disciplinary punishments are those of solitary con-

finement, solitary confinement in dark cells, and the reduction of food. The associate cell system for ordinary prisoners is found in practically all the old prisons though in the new prisons there is a mixed system of separation and association, the separate cell system, except in the case of disciplinary punishment, being mainly for foreign criminals for whom special alterations in prison customs and circumstances are made, notably in the food.

The prison governor has it within his power to put forward to the Minister of Justice, in whom supreme supervision of prison administration is vested, though his immediate control extends only to the central prisons, a plea for parole, or conditional liberation, of any prisoner who has served three-quarters of his sentence, on the ground of his good behaviour. The reasons upon which the plea is urged have to be submitted specifically, and are considered by the Minister of Justice who may then accord the parole, at the same time placing the released prisoner under police surveillance during the remainder of the period of his sentence.

For prisoners of primary and higher education grade, education is provided, while upon those of still higher grade no obligation to attend school is enforced and books are supplied to these. The writer inspected one of these schools and found a large number of young men in a well-lighted and well-ventilated school-room busily engaged in their lessons.

The industrial work imposed upon prisoners is imposed as much with the view of training the prisoners to particular trades and employments as with the idea of increasing the prison revenue. That the latter object is achieved is shown by the figures, the earnings from work amounting in 1910

to one-fourth of the total expenditure of the prisons. The work is authorized by the Government who supply the funds for materials and implements, or by private employers and companies, after sanction has been obtained from the Minister of Justice. Government work comprises a variety of industries, and, of course, all repairs within the prison as well as the manufacture of many articles required by the prison and other Government departments, especially clothing for the army or the navy.

The hours for industrial work are scheduled, and vary from seven to eleven hours a day according to the season of the year, and they may be prolonged or shortened according to the circumstances of the locality or work, with the sanction of the Minister of Justice, from whom also sanction must be obtained with regard to the nature of the work undertaken. Industrial pursuits.

Those prisoners who work of their own free will may work for shorter hours, but they are not allowed to give up or alter their work without justification. Wages are calculated according to the nature of the prisoners' sentences and behaviour, and are handed to the prisoners at the time of liberation, except in the circumstances of those having relations outside the prison dependent upon them, or desiring to purchase books if they are of the class to whom books are permitted, when a certain proportion of the amount earned is allowed for the desired purpose.

Moral instruction is given on holidays or Sundays, or at the discretion of the Governor. Special privileges with regard to receiving moral instruction are granted to prisoners who may have received news of the death of fathers or mothers, and these prisoners may, if they desire it, apply for services to be held on Moral instruction

behalf of the deceased. In consequence of these bereavements prisoners are allowed a few days' relaxation from work for meditation, a privilege highly regarded by the Japanese. On all occasions of pronouncing discharge, provisional release, deaths of prisoners and statements of reward, the ceremony is preceded by moral instruction, which is attended by the whole or by some part of the prisoners.

Recent improvements in prison conditions show themselves not least in the measures that have been taken to secure the health and well-being of the prisoners. In the new prisons that have been built in Nara, Nagasaki, and Chiba, and in the Kojibashi Prison in Tokyo, much attention has been paid to sanitary construction, and to the provision of the maximum attainable amount of light and air. In addition to these structural reforms every precaution is now taken to ward against the spread of contagious disease among the prisoners, and very careful methods of isolating suspected cases of disease are enforced.

§ The sickness and mortality rates among prisoners are given as nearly 46 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively. The number of prisoners listed as sick at the time of entering prisons was, in 1910, roughly 25 per cent. of the men and one-third of the women. Contagious diseases are rare in prisons, only eleven cases, for example, were reported in 1909. Many of the prisoners are degenerates, but as a rule their general health improves under prison discipline. The establishment of institutions for the protection and assistance of prisoners after they leave prison is proving useful. The work of the Salvation Army in this direction has also been most successful and meets with the cordial support of the Government.

Government control, with its very obvious advan-

tages of co-ordination, especially in the matter of finance, does in its first stages tend to modify the energies, if not the aims, of individuals and private associations for grappling with reforms that are contingent upon the central one, and which may at first appear to be included within the scope of the central administration. Later on, when the extent and the consequent limitations of the activities of the Prison Bureau are clearly realized, and when the existing problem can be compared with the actual solution, come the various private agencies to fill up the gaps in the system that have not been dealt with by the central programme. A statutory interpretation of the functions of a Prison Bureau inevitably leaves such gaps, and as the individual comes into practical contact with the problem of crime his definition of such functions becomes widened by the constant process of discovering that the statutory interpretation is at many points of contact insufficient.

The work of protecting ex-convicts from the temptations to return to evil ways is one of those contingent reforms that, as we have seen, are beginning to be understood in Japan. A great many educational and moral institutions exist for the prevention of crime, and Government regulations have in this instance co-operated with private effort, but discharged prisoners, until quite recently, have fallen outside the aim of most of these societies, and such associations as exist for this particular branch of philanthropic work have only begun their efforts. It is to the increase of such societies, and to the co-extensive progress of civilization, and humanitarian ideals, that the prison system of Japan, as well as the prison system of every country, must look for its justification of the right to call itself a comprehensive system.

The
Prison
Bureau.

The pro-
tection of
ex-con-
victs.

CHAPTER XXXVI

JAPANESE PHILANTHROPY

FOR a country that has no poor law and no so-called workhouses, to which the needy and indigent may resort as a right, Japan has established an admirable system of charity and relief which apparently answers the purpose without making permanent paupers of the recipients. Her progress in the gentle virtue of charity has kept pace with the advancement of the martial and commercial spirit of the Empire. The story of Japanese philanthropy is both unique and interesting, and dates back twelve centuries.

Records of Japanese charities and relief works begin early in the authentic history of the country, and are almost invariably associated with the names of members of the reigning houses. Prince Umayado, son of the Emperor Yomei, celebrated in the sixth century a victory for Buddhism by the erection of the Shi-tenno-ji Temple, to which were attached the useful adjuncts, a charity-school, a hospital, and an institution for outdoor relief. In the seventh century 100,000 out-of-work coolies were employed upon the construction of a huge canal from the west of Kayama to Isokamiyama. A proposal of this kind would be met with something akin to horror by the professional 'out of work' of London. About A.D. 700, the *Giso* system of charity granaries was introduced from China. The construction of a large number of granaries for the storing of rice received as taxes was put in hand to provide work for the indigent, and a

law enacted that for the future the upper and middle classes should contribute to the maintenance of these stores for the benefit of the poor. Here we have a practical illustration of the mere system of providing for the poor and needy. The charitable Empress Komyo (701-60) built almshouses, orphanages, and hospitals in various parts of the country, and ordered the provincial treasuries to furnish rice for their up-keep in quantities commensurate with the size of the province. Another royal lady, Princess Masa-Ko (*circa* A.D. 860), rescued from misery a host of helpless people and, forestalling the idea of allotments, set them to the cultivation of the tiny farms with which she presented them.

The philanthropy of those times was not always so eminently practical; occasionally it took the form of an indiscriminate distribution of largesse; now and again of thanksgiving offerings, as when the Emperor Gemmyo (708-14) celebrated the discovery of copper in the province of Musashi by 'large gifts of millet to aged men and women'. But in nearly every instance the charity of Japan's middle ages emanated either from the monarch or from Buddhist priests, and was clearly an outcome of religious impulse. The spirit of charity does not seem to have animated the hearts of the common people, who were always more ready to receive than to give. A Rescript of the Emperor Daigo, issued in 930, said:—'We have seen that many sick people are lying by the roadside, and that no one gives them shelter. We order that they shall be supplied with shelter and with food. There shall be given daily to a man or a woman one *sho* of rice, one *shaku* of fine salt, and one *go* of soy, and to a boy or a girl six *go* of rice, five *shaku* of soy, and one *shaku* of salt. The rice shall be supplied from the charity granaries.'

Compulsory
distribution of
food.

To punish the indifference to suffering which the Emperor had observed the rations were fixed on a particularly liberal scale—3 pints of rice for an adult and 2 pints for a child seem ample for each day's fare—but the people of those times were not naturally charitable, and the Emperor desired to teach them a lesson.

With the fall from power of the Fujiwara family the Empire was plunged into civil war, and for a time little is heard of Imperial relief works. Buddhist priests continued their philanthropic labours. Foremost among these was Shunjo, who spent the whole of his large fortune in alleviating the distress of the famine-stricken inhabitants of Suwo and Uagato. It was in recognition of his benevolence that, for the first recorded occasion, the people voluntarily brought an annual tribute of rice to the Todaji temple which the good monk had rebuilt.

It is conceivable that the charitable actions of the Hojo family were inspired by the desire to secure popularity for their rule, but the benefit derived from their charities was great in an era which saw many bad harvests and consequent famines. The regent Hojo-Yasutoki lent or gave vast quantities of rice and modified or removed taxation from farms in such districts as were most seriously affected. His successor, Tokimune, sold his palace in Tosa to pay for a charity hospital which he built in Kuwatani, and upon his death in 1284 the priest Ninsho continued and extended his philanthropic endeavours.

Shortly before his decease the regent Tokimune allowed his benevolence, or his socialistic tendencies, to run away with his judgment. The invasion of the Tartars under Kublai Khan (1281) necessitated the imposition of a war tax so extraordinarily heavy as to

create a financial panic in which the poor, as usual, were the chief sufferers. In the days of the emperor's distress thus caused would have been alleviated by temporary remission of taxes and exemption from personal service. Tokimune, not content with so parsimonious a bounty, ordered in addition the immediate cancellation of all mortgages upon the property of his protégés, the proletariat. Exemption from old debts followed by order of his successors. The result of these eccentric actions was disastrous. The common people, until then moderately industrious and thrifty, degenerated gradually into a mob of idlers and sturdy beggars. The inch they had received in the name of charity failed to satisfy them; they were soon clamouring for their ell in the shape of confiscation of property for redistribution in accordance with their advanced ideas, a condition of affairs which we are not unfamiliar with in Europe, and to study which it is not necessary to examine Japanese records. Riots became frequent occurrences, and the disturbance increased under the weak rule of the regent Yoshimasa (1449-72), culminating, in the first half of the sixteenth century, in a popular demonstration at the gates of the Imperial Palace.

Of the victorious warriors whose era began at the close of the Ashikaga régime, Uyesugi Kenshin was the most famous for his charity. In the intervals of fighting he is said to have busied himself with good works. In 1574 he introduced a system of old age pensions, paid in rice. But the times were too troublous for the practice of organized and discriminating benevolence, and it is not until the assumption of power by the Tokugawa Shogun that any improvement took place in this direction.

Then, indeed, both the Shogunate and the feudal

lords systematically attacked the problem of pauperism and with some degree of success. In 1666 Maeda Tsunanori, Lord of Kaga, ordered his officials to take a census of the beggars in his province, and meanwhile commenced the construction of a hospital and a collection of almshouses which covered five acres of ground. To these he admitted 2,000 beggars, adults and children, and his administration of the asylum from the economic point of view is said to have been almost perfect. Food and clothing were supplied to all the inmates, and the sick were medically treated by the best physicians that could be found. Those of the able-bodied who possessed skill were taught crafts in which they might utilize their attainments, and employment was found for them outside the asylum; the renowned sword-smith, 'Beggar Kiyomitsu,' learned his art while an inmate. To those who possessed no special talent simple tasks were given, such as the making of ropes and sandals. The articles thus manufactured were sold and the proceeds banked for the benefit of the makers upon being discharged. When they wanted to leave, the money standing to their credit was handed to them together with some rice and new clothing, and they were sent as servants to families or were assisted to emigrate or to begin farming on their own account.

The principles of this institution may sound familiar to English people, but there were certain circumstances in connexion with Lord Maeda's undertaking with which, as payers of poor-rates, they are not so well acquainted. The first is that the almshouses rapidly became self-supporting, and in a very few years the money which the founder had advanced was repaid to him. The second is that, with rare delicacy of feeling, this excellent noble did all in his power to

secure a due measure of respect for his 'friends', and to protect them from the stigma of pauperism. An edict is still extant in which he commands that his asylum should be regarded not as 'beggars' shelters' but as *O-koya*, 'honourable lodgings,' where belated travellers through life might purchase rest and refreshment before starting on their journeys again.

In the Government institutions known as *Tamari* ^{The} *Tamari*, less tender solicitude was shown for the susceptibilities of the inmates, but the hopelessness of the material upon which they had to work is evident from the meaning of the name—'a place where the scum of humanity is thrown'. The first *Tamari* were established in Tokyo (then Yedo), another in 1687 in the Asakusa district and one three or four years later in the Shinagawa suburb. They were originally intended for the reception of released felons and of those who had contracted diseases during incarceration, but subsequently became open to honest people in poor circumstances and to homeless imbeciles and other human derelicts. For better-class folk the Shogun Yoshimune built at Yedo the Charity Hospital, accommodating about 120 patients. Their treatment was tempered with kindness; food, clothes, bedding, and medicine were provided, and each patient was allowed to stay a period of eight months, if necessary.

But charitable undertakings were not the prerogative solely of the Government and the daimyos. The scholar, ^{The private relief of} Miura-Baien, a student of Confucian doctrines, founded ^{paupers.} in the province of Bungo, in 1756, a 'Charity Club', whose members were bound to mutual assistance in times of trouble, and to the relief of paupers and the sick or aged poor. Beginning in modest fashion in a small village, the philanthropic operations of the original club never attained a particularly wide scope;

its importance rested upon the example which it set to other villages, and upon the fact that it revived the admirable 'family' system, the *goninguni*, by which every five families in a town or village were banded together to render mutual aid in 'the improvement of agriculture, the promotion of morality and religion, and the exercise of charity and general benevolence'.

In the years of peace, under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate, much more was done in the cause of charity, than can be even hinted at here. The *Giso*, or charity granaries, which had lapsed as institutions during the preceding period of anarchy, were re-established on a larger scale and a better system under the wise administration of Lord Matsudaira-Sadanobu, Counsellor to the Shogun Iyenari. By economizing municipal expenditure he was able to build fifty-three *giso* in Yedo and its vicinity, and time and again, during the terrible famines which afflicted north-east Japan in the Temmei and Tempō eras, his granaries rescued from starvation those who could avail themselves of their aid. In his own fief of Shirakawa, Lord Sadanobu initiated public works for the employment of the poor, and encouraged large families by giving grants to mothers of triplets.

Many other names of bygone philanthropists could be cited—Shigegata Hosokawa, lord of Kumamoto; Harunori Uyesugi, lord of Yonezawa, contemporaries of Sadanobu Matsudaira; Navatsir Takegaki, and Shirobei Suzuki, friends of poor children; Shin-en Sato; Sontoku Ninomiya, the organizer of *Hotokusha*, a benevolent trade union—space, however, prevents further enumeration.

In the confusion which attended the opening of the Meiji era the poor were necessarily somewhat neglected.

It is true that the name of *hinin*, which for centuries had clung to beggars, and which means, literally, 'an inhuman being,' was abolished by law, but though these outcasts were given a moral status in society they were for a time left physically helpless. With the resumption of order, and with the reintroduction of Christianity into the country, arrangements for their treatment were systematized and widened in scope, while numerous additions were made to the existing charitable and philanthropical undertakings.

The City of Tokyo Asylum for the Poor took its origin from part of the fund amassed by the economies of Lord Matsudaira. At the Restoration this money was used for the purchase of the mansion of the former Lord of Kaga (now, however, the site of the Tokyo University), and for the maintenance, primarily, of 140 poor men and women. To-day it is the largest and most important of Japan's charities, with over 1,500 inmates, and since its foundation has cared for more than 20,000 poor people. Since 1885 H.I.M. the Empress has marked her appreciation of its labours with an annual gift, and, with other contributions, its funds amount to about £40,000. From 1883 it has opened its doors to sick travellers; since 1885 it has received waifs and foundlings, and in 1900 it began to take in refractory boys for correction.

The Tokyo Charity Hospital, founded in 1882, provides free medical treatment for the poor. Like the Toyko City Asylum it enjoys the special patronage of Her Imperial Majesty, and at the end of 1908 it possessed a fund of £60,000. During that year there were 74 patients in the Hospital, and nearly 40,000 out-patients were treated. It is closely associated with the Red Cross Society, and has as Director the Naval Surgeon-in-Chief, Dr. Kanehiro Takagi.

The Sugamo Hospital of Tokyo is an asylum which receives lunatics, either as paying inmates or for free treatment, and poor people generally. In an average year its inmates number over 400, and as its revenue from donations does not usually amount to one-half of its expenses, it is dependent in great measure upon subsidies from the Central Treasury. The Fukudenkai Orphanage at Kogaicho, Azabu (Tokyo), is a private charity, founded in 1879, which ordinarily takes charge of some 120 orphans. The Ryuge Orphanage at Fukuyaina, the most successful of all the charities conducted on Buddhist principles, was founded in 1899 by the priest J. Shichiri, son of a noted philanthropist. It receives children for education at the public schools and youths for training to a business life, and in 1908 had 138 inmates.

The Okayama Orphanage was founded in 1889 by Juji Ishii, a medical student of the Christian faith, who was induced by the miserable state of the children of the poor of Waki, a village in the Okayama Prefecture, to devote his life to the succour of orphans. His philanthropy has been recognized by the court, which in 1904 made him a grant of £100, and signified its intention of repeating the gift annually for ten years. At the end of 1909 the orphans under his care numbered 597 (385 boys and 212 girls) about 70 of whom, the very young or the physically weak, are boarded out in farmers' families. Others are trained in agricultural colonies, and the orphanage possesses 17 acres of land in the Miyazaki Prefecture where farming and tree-planting are successfully carried on by 40 of its protégés, girls and youths. Some who show promise are even sent abroad for the prosecution of special studies. Primary education is provided at the school-houses in the orphanage compound, which

covers 9 acres of grounds, and comprises 70 buildings. A feature of the revenue of this splendid institution is the 15,000 *yen* (£1,531) annually contributed by as many life members.

Until 1907 all the leper hospitals in Japan were those founded by foreign missionaries. The first, which is also the largest, owed its origin to the devotion of Father Testewinde, who started in 1889 with 70 or 80 patients in a house and compound near the Gotemba Station in Tokaido. The Ihai-yen Hospital at Meguro, a suburb of Tokyo, was established in 1894 by Miss Youngman, an American lady, and has from the first been in charge of Mr. S. Otsuka and his wife. At this institution the famous Dr. Kitasato, known and honoured everywhere for his research work, attends thrice weekly. The Kwaishun Hospital, founded at Kumamoto in 1895 by Miss Hannah Riddell, an English lady, takes care of about 50 patients. Miss Riddell, whose work has been recognized by the Government, was decorated with the blue ribbon of the Order instituted in 1881 for the purpose of honouring such work as hers. The Taira-in Hospital, established in Kumamoto in 1894 by Father Corre, has at present 14 or 15 patients, and its benevolent founder has been similarly decorated. Eight Sisters of Mercy, aided by Japanese assistants, carry on the work under the superintendence of Father Lebel. In the 1906-7 session of the Imperial Diet a Bill was passed for the establishment, at the expense of the State, of five hospitals for lepers, and these are now all in being in the vicinity of Tokyo, Osaka, Kumamoto, Kanazawa, and Aomori respectively.

The largest private charity hospital in Japan is the institution which the Mitsui family founded in Kanda, Tokyo, and which has nearly completed three years of

Leper
hospitals.

The
Mitsui
Hospital.

magnificent work. It is a Japanese boast that their progress in the healing art has kept pace with their advance in the science of war, but a visit to the Mitsui Charity Hospital will lead one to believe, and almost to hope, that in vaunting their development in the more humane branch of knowledge they have been unduly modest. On this point the writer speaks from personal experience. Within the plain and substantial building, which encloses a grassy quadrangle, shaded by trees and bright with flowers, the surgical and medical skill and learning gained in years of close study in Europe and America is dedicated gratuitously to the relief of 120 in-patients, and of 700 or more out-patients, who daily throng to the dispensary for free treatment. From the large reception room on the first floor, the visitor is taken along wide corridors, covered with polished brown oil-cloth, and up and down carpeted stairs, through the library, in which German books seem to predominate, the laboratory, the consulting-rooms for day-patients and for special cases, and the dispensary. There are two rooms devoted to ophthalmic patients, and here it may be mentioned that eye trouble is the most common of the ills which afflict the Japanese poor, and is due, in most cases, to their habit of sleeping upon mats on the floor. The operating theatre, with its white-tiled walls, electric lights, and glass roof, is equipped throughout in the style of the best European hospitals. In the lofty and well-aired wards the wooden bedsteads each have a diagnosis-board at the head, precisely as at Guy's or St. Bartholomew's, and the nurses wear white washing-dresses made much in the English fashion, with caps of a mode of their own. There are forty nurses, and thirty-five student nurses, the latter distinguished from their more practised

sisters only by two little red embroidered marks on the collars of their dresses. These student nurses enter the institution between the ages of seventeen and twenty-six, and undergo a three-years' course of training.

The tour of inspection includes the wing recently built for infectious cases, the vivisection theatre, and the morgue. This last is one of the brightest places in the whole building. It is a room, furnished in the severely simple Japanese fashion, into which the sunshine streams through windows 'glazed' with paper. A huge bowl of flowers decorates one corner, and the only feature that in any way suggests the funereal purpose of the apartment is the stretcher which stands against a wall.

There are forty-eight physicians and surgeons attached to the Mitsui Hospital, who all give their services freely and gratuitously. Many of them come from the Imperial University to study for one or two years, often practising outside at the same time. Doctors from all over Japan attend the lectures on the latest developments in medical science which are given three or four times a year by the Senior Physician and the occupant of the Chair of Medicine at the Tokyo University.

Baron Mitsui, who, in the name of the Mitsui family, founded the institution, gave for the purpose the sum of 1,200,000 *yen* (£122,500). In the initial expenses some £52,000 was sunk, and the interest on the remainder is sufficient for the cost of maintenance on the scale we have attempted to indicate.

Reform work in Japan is mainly in the hands of Christian or Buddhist philanthropists. There are fifty-five houses for ex-convicts, of which the first to be established was Mr. M. Kimbara's institution at

Shizuoka (1888), but only six or seven of them are of perceptible utility. They were mostly started shortly after the death of the Empress Dowager in January, 1896, when 13,500 convicts were liberated, and a grant of 400,000 *yen* was distributed amongst the prefectures for their assistance. Mr. Hara's Home for ex-convicts is the largest and one of the most successful. The founder is a Christian who suffered several years' imprisonment for a political offence, and who afterwards acted as chaplain to a prison, reclaiming, in this capacity, no less than 305 discharged convicts. Since its foundation his Home has befriended a total of 1,071 ticket-of-leave convicts, with the result that 561 were re-habilitated and are now supporting themselves, 115 died, and 175 escaped and were re-convicted, the whereabouts of the others being unknown.

At the Imperial Household Dairy Farm (Shibuya, near Tokyo) the Tokyo Reformatory is doing valuable work in the direction of making good citizens out of refractory children. It was established in 1885, and since then has reformed an aggregate of 440 boys, of whom 27 are now in the army, 24 are merchants, 51 are mechanics, 9 are Government officials, 89 are students, and 25 are farmers, the present occupation of the remainder not being definitely known. Prince Nigo is the President, and the institution has the patronage of the Emperor and Empress, the Royal Princes and other subscribers.

According to an investigation carried out last year there are over 400 charitable institutions, public and private. For the most part they are excellently conducted, combining economy and efficiency. Their operations cover most of the wide field of human misery and misfortune, and while there are no 'fancy'

charities in Japan, there is no class or condition of poor people that need seek help in vain.

But it is a curious fact that in this country where so many subsist on the merest pittance a state of necessity does not indicate, to the extent which obtains in many other lands, a willingness to accept aid. Especially among the farming class in the interior is this independence apparent, and as an instance may be cited the fact that, in the last famine which afflicted north-eastern Japan, an entire village, though on the verge of starvation, politely refused all offers of assistance. Again, for the relief of the soldiers who were invalided home from the war with Russia, a large grant was voted and distributed amongst the prefectures, and in addition Japan's rich men vied with each other to swell the fund; but the writer heard that, maimed and helpless as many of them were, applications for relief had up to the present been amazingly few. They had their tiny pensions, and they had their families to care for them; to ask for help under these circumstances would have made paupers of them, and sooner than sink so low they would starve. A significant token of the strength of the 'family' feeling in Japan is that often enough, overflowing the limits of one household, it extends to the members of another scarcely less poor.

The Government, anxious to avoid all danger of pauperizing the needy, does what it can to encourage this sentiment. There is no Poor Law in Japan; its substitute is the Relief Regulations issued in 1874 for the benefit only of those who, having no family and being unable to support themselves, have failed to receive that neighbourly help which is usually so ungrudgingly dispensed. To be entitled to this relief the applicant must be under 13, over 70, or disabled

The independent spirit of the poor.

Relief regulations.

by disease or accident, and the grants are calculated to discourage a tendency to idleness. Those who are disabled or over 70 and who fulfil the conditions mentioned are given annually 150 *sho* of rice; those who are under 13 receive 70 *sho*. (A *sho* is less than one-fifth of a peck.) To such as are temporarily unable to work owing to disease or accident a daily ration is given, one-fifth of a *sho* to a woman and half as much again to a man. To the protectors or guardians of foundlings or orphans an earlier decree (1871) grants 70 *sho* per annum. There are also regulations which provide for the treatment of 'diseased or dead travellers' by the mayors of towns or the headmen of villages, but here again any proneness to travel at the expense of the State is checked by the system of collecting from those who are relieved, or from those who should support them, the cost of their treatment. Where this is impossible the prefecture which rendered the service bears the loss.

For the relief of sufferers from disasters, such as floods, storms, earthquakes, fires, plagues of vermin, and kindred ills, there were issued in 1897 the 'Relief Fund Regulations', a revised version of the 'Regulations for Times of Calamities' (1880), which again were a modification of the old system of 'Charity Funds'. The fund stands at present at about £4,500,000, and each prefecture is bound to hold in reserve for this object at least 500,000 *yen* (say £51,000). In the case of widespread damage the Central Government contributes a sum of money in proportion to the need, dispatches to the scene of the calamity war-ships or soldiers, as the case may be, with provisions, clothes, fuel, and medical aid, and places at the disposal of the survivors the resources (fuel, food, and timber for building) of the State Forests in the vicinity.

No statistics are published which show the extent to which application is made for assistance from these funds and whether it tends to increase or diminish, and it is only possible to quote the following figures as illustrating the sums disbursed in two recent years which were, however, practically free from catastrophes of any description :—

	Central Gov't	Prefectures	Cities, towns, and villages	Sufferer's Relief Funds (prefectures)	Total
1908	£18,829	£19,239	£18,840	£4,451	£61,359
1909	6,527	23,347	?	8,394	38,268

In addition to its expenditure in these directions the Central Government has, since 1908, granted sums of money to charitable undertakings, which also, in some prefectures, receive ear-marked subscriptions from the local authorities.

The splendid munificence of the Royal Family of Japan has been a shining example to philanthropists throughout the Empire. There is scarcely a charitable undertaking, Christian or Buddhist, which cannot claim the recognition or support of the Emperor or Empress, or of the Princes or Princesses of the Blood Royal, and Imperial benevolence mitigates the effects of every calamity that overtakes the country. The scale upon which the Emperor's gifts are conceived is lavish enough to be remarkable even in a land where the liberality of the monarch is traditional. The latest instance occurred on February 11¹ of this year, when His Majesty summoned to his presence Prince Katsura, then Premier, and handed him an Imperial Rescript which may be translated as follows :—

‘ We have observed that the urgent need of means

¹ This is the date of the public holiday known, as *Kigensetsu*, which commemorates both the accession of Jimmu Tenno in 660 B.C. and the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889.

for the development of national power in order to keep pace with the progress of the world has wrought a change in the economic condition of the nation. In such a state of affairs the thoughts of the people are apt to take a misguided course and to deviate from the proper way. Those who have charge of the administration of the affairs of the nation should therefore strive to encourage and assist the people in their occupations, and to help them towards the attainment of a more perfect development as a nation by providing them with the means of securing thorough education. It is a matter of deep regret to Us if any of Our poorer subjects should perish prematurely from lack of medical aid, and We are anxious to relieve and befriend them.

For this purpose We have commanded that a sum of money belonging to Our household be set aside and used as a fund for the benefit of the helpless among Our people. You, knowing Our will, must endeavour to carry out Our wishes, to the end that Our people may be at ease.'

The sum referred to was a million and a half of *yen*, or £153,637.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE RED CROSS WORK

‘OCCIDENTALS,’ says Surgeon-General Baron Tadanori ^{The} Ishiguro, ‘seem to hold, with a certain amount of pride, ^{Japanese} that the spirit of humanity which tends to alleviate ^{a humane} the horrors of war is a product peculiar to their own people. modern civilization. But this magnanimity, which enables men to treat enemies who have lost their fighting-power no longer as adversaries but as brothers, and to extend kindness and protection to those who have surrendered, has been a special characteristic of our nation from all time. It is not a mere accident that the people of Japan have of late years devoted so much attention to the development of the philanthropic work of the Red Cross Convention of Geneva; it is rather attributable to a love of mercy deeply rooted in the hearts of all true Japanese, and transmitted through their forefathers through many a generation.’

Though unable to agree with the first sentence of the paragraph quoted, the writer can vouch for the truth of what follows. Amongst the exhibits of the Red Cross Convention held at Kyoto in May, 1910, was a collection of ancient documents, some of them dating back to the eighth century, bound so as to present, opposite each original, a French and an English translation. They were mostly orders issued upon battle-fields that have long since been covered, year by year, with smiling crops, and one and all furnished indisputable evidence of the merciful sentiment which inspired the warriors of old Japan. ‘Spare all who

yield' is their invariable tenor, and often enough they convey to subordinates injunctions as to the kindly treatment of captives and the burial, with priestly rites, of the dead of both sides. A common practice was the erection upon a field of combat of one monument 'in memory of friends and foes who fell in the battle'.

To Baron Tadanori, Surgeon Ki Hayashi, and Surgeon-General Jun Matsumoto is due the inception of the Japanese Red Cross Society. Upon the establishment in 1871 of a War Department for the Army and Navy the last-named officer was appointed Director of the Medical Bureau. Rumour had reached them that in Western countries there existed an association which in time of war rendered medical aid impartially to the belligerents, and whose members and place upon the field were distinguished and protected by a badge which they displayed. The idea appealed insistently to men familiar with the saddest aspect of war, and they petitioned the Council of State that the Japanese Army Medical Service might adopt the badge and the principles, as far as they could understand them, of the beneficent Occidental society. To their grief the petition was rejected, as savouring too highly of slavish admiration of everything Western. At the time Mr. (now Marshal Prince) Oyama was in Europe studying modern military science, and was a witness, in France and Switzerland, of the operations of the Red Cross Corps in the Franco-Prussian war. Upon his return, deeply impressed by what he had seen, he added his influence to the arguments of the little band of army surgeons, and the Council of State was gradually persuaded that to come into line with the Powers Japan must formally join the Convention of Geneva. Arrangements to that end were being concluded when the Kagoshima rebellion broke out.

In this unhappy civil war the fighting was so fierce that opposing detachments sometimes lost two-thirds of their strength in casualties. At Baron Tadanori's urgent solicitations the authorities established a temporary military hospital at Osaka in which the wounded of both sides were cared for, and in the meantime Mr. (now Count) Tsunetami Sano, who, as Japan's Minister in Vienna, had seen the field-work of the Red Cross Ambulance Corps at manœuvres, organized with Viscount Ogyu in Tokyo an institution modelled on the same lines, and finally inaugurated with the title of *Hakuaisha*, or Society of Universal Love. With this, the precursor of the Red Cross Society of Japan, permission was obtained to join the Imperial troops at Kumamoto, where, in an improvised hospital, wounded prisoners to the number of fifteen or sixteen were tended as well as circumstances would allow.

In 1886 Japan was admitted to the Geneva Convention, and the *Hakuaisha*, thoroughly reorganized, became the first Far Eastern branch of the Red Cross Society, adopting the well-known badge. In the following year Baron Tadanori, with Drs. Taniguchi and Mori, represented his country at the Fourth International Conference of the league, held at Karlsruhe, Viscount Noritsugu attending on behalf of the Japanese Red Cross Society.

An incident which occurred at this Conference on the sixth day of the meeting must have amazed the European representatives. To the question before the delegates, 'How is antiseptic surgery to be effectively performed on the battlefield?' Japan had responded by showing the disinfected bandages which were sewn inside the tunics of her troops, and had explained that as a result of training in times of peace the men were able to bandage their own or

The
Kago-
shima Re-
bellion.

Japan
admitted
to the
Geneva
Conven-
tion.

their comrades' wounds until surgical aid was forthcoming. In the discussion of the methods by which the spirit of the Geneva Convention could most effectively be inculcated among the troops, Japan's answer that copies of the Red Cross Compendium had been distributed amongst her own men, was very well received. But later in the proceedings a delegate representing the Red Cross Society of a certain Power placed before the Conference the extraordinary question, 'Whether or not the assistance and protection which the Red Cross League mutually rendered in time of war should be extended to countries outside the boundaries of Europe, even when those countries happened to be members of the League?' There was a scene of some animation, and the motion was eventually withdrawn; before the close of the Conference the Japanese Red Cross Society had concluded arrangements for being recognized formally as a member of the League.

Since then the history of the League in Japan has been one of uninterrupted progress. The institution that started in 1877 with thirty-eight members and a subscription-list of about 150 *yen* can boast to-day nearly 1,600,000 members, twelve hospitals, two hospital ships, 3,787 doctors, pharmacists, and nurses, and property valued at over £1,630,000. The two steamers, the *Hakuai Maru* and the *Kosai Maru*, were built in England in 1897, and in time of peace they form part of one of the passenger lines of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, upon the condition that in a case of emergency they may at a week's notice be held at the disposal of the Society completely equipped as hospital-ships. Their efficiency was fully proved in 1900, during the Boxer trouble, when they were dispatched to Taku, and brought French and Austrian

as well as Japanese wounded back to Japan for treatment.

The splendid work of the Red Cross League in the Russia-Japan war is well known throughout the world and requires no mention here. It established Japan as a humane as well as a courageous nation.

The principal hospital of the Society is the Red Cross Hospital at Shibuya, and in accommodation and general arrangement it is the best in the Far East, surpassing the Mitsui Hospital in the matter of beds, of which it maintains 267. The branch hospitals are in Miye, Nagano, Shiga, Wakayama, Kagawa, Toyama, Osaka, Himeji, Hyogo, Port Arthur, and Mukden, and between them they number 1,137 beds, many of them devoted to charity patients. The number of ward-patients who were treated in the twelve Red Cross Hospitals during 1909 was 2,126, in addition to 6,977 out-patients. Poor patients are also admitted at a nominal charge, to enable them to retain their independence.'

The organization of the relief corps is in very capable hands. At the end of 1908 the Society was in a position to mobilize for immediate service 221 medical officers, 93 pharmacutists, 263 chief nurses, 2,534 nurses, and 117 probationary nurses, 61 chief attendants, and 575 attendants, 133 stretcher-bearers, and 48 clerks, and in the last two years the strength of the corps has been increased. During 1909 there was fortunately little in the way of national calamities whereby the efficiency of the organization might be tested, but the relief work accomplished in connexion with the Shiga earthquake, the great fire in Osaka, and the famine in the Ham-Gyeng Do province in the south of Chosen was worthy of all praise. In their operations with the troops in Formosa they tended 2,607 sick

and wounded, and but for the utter intractability of the savages they would have extended their benevolence to them. The present year, unhappily, has been more disastrous, the eruption of Asama-yan and the typhoon and tidal wave at Tokyo and Yokohama having been attended by considerable loss of life and damage to the people's crops, and though no particulars can yet be given, nothing can be more certain than that the aid of the Red Cross was prompt and effectual. To be assured of this one has only again to recall the magnificent work of the Society in the late war with Russia.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the Red Cross Society of Japan enjoys the special patronage and the constant recognition of the court, receiving therefrom a regular subscription of £2,600 a year, in addition to large sums given on special occasions. Many of Japan's wealthiest men contribute freely to the funds, and the finances of the Society have lately been placed upon a solid and stable basis. With Marquis Matsukata as president, and Baron Ozawa as vice-president, the one a noted financier, and the other a particularly able statesman, there can be little doubt as to the future prosperity of the Society.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

KOREA

WHETHER the Japanese have experienced more difficulties in dealing with the sorcerers, necromancers, and 'sea-thieves' of Korea than in the work of taming the human-skull hunting savages of Formosa will perhaps never be known. Both tasks have been difficult and dangerous and have required infinite patience, forbearance, and tact. To convert semi-fanatics and semi-pirates into peaceful citizens requires as much skill and firmness as to domesticate savages. Gentle methods, kindness, and diplomacy have been tried in both instances, only to be requited by assassination, violence, and brutality. Then what the Japanese ingenuously call 'a stronger pressure' has been brought to bear, and it would be folly to deny that hard blows have been dealt alike to those who would despoil and assassinate. But when all milder measures fail, there remains but one method of dealing with armed insurgents and bloodthirsty savages, and that is to shoot them.

From 1905 to 1910 Japan attempted to administer the affairs of Korea under a so-called protectorate. The dual administration had undoubtedly broken down when, last year, the Japanese Government decided that annexation was the only remedy for the existing condition of affairs. We are told that the Korean administrators were constantly at cross-purposes with the Japanese advisers, that there was no unity of aim, and nothing but serious and con-

Difficulties encountered in Korea and Formosa.

The Annexation.

tinual misunderstandings. Added to this a strong Korean party had been formed to agitate for annexation. The Emperor had abdicated, his nominal successor was in seclusion and described himself in the rescript ceding the sovereignty of Korea to the Emperor of Japan as having 'long been in delicate health' and in a condition that 'has now become incurable to our sorrow'. He was afraid he would no longer be able to 'discharge his great task' and therefore decided to entrust it to 'other hands with a view to perfect the system of government and carry out reforms'. The plaintive, almost childish tone of the rescript pictures for us a monarch indeed fortunate that his constitutional delicacy, in the physical sense of the term, enabled him to bow with such dignity to the inevitable. His personality could have commanded no real respect from his subjects, and probably when the Koreans have grown accustomed to the change, they will not be unwilling to show loyalty to the Emperor of Japan. The extent of their acquiescence will depend largely upon the policy adopted by Japan, but judging from the past, there is every reason to believe that this will prove to be a conciliatory and a generous one. The protectorate had, in fact, become a fiction. Korea was in all but name part of the Japanese Empire, and this last act simply regularized its position and made it possible to establish a stable and efficient government. There was nothing in this action that could, in the slightest degree, cause humiliation to Korea, but, on the contrary, it will enable Japan to maintain public order and security and to advance the happiness of the Korean people.

It is proposed to give a brief historical sketch of the relations which have existed between the Government of Korea and that of Japan together with an account

of the incidents which led up to the Chinese and the Russian wars. The disputes over the affairs of Korea, as we shall see, precipitated both of these wars, though other and perhaps more far-reaching reasons than the control of Korea undoubtedly influenced Japan in her declaration of war against Russia.

It has been said that in the dawn of history a Japanese Empress led a successful expedition to Korea, and down to the middle of the sixth century Mra at the head of Chinghai Bay and the Bay itself were held by the Japanese. It is now proposed to make a naval port in Chinghai Bay which a glance at the map of Korea shows lies directly opposite the island of Tsushima. Within Chinghai Bay there is everywhere ample depth of water for the biggest war-ships, and sufficient area for the manœuvres of modern fleets.

History of Japanese relations with Korea. Traditional invasion by Empress Jingo.

Historically this Japanese expedition to the Peninsula seems to have been the earliest, and it was not until a thousand years afterwards that the expedition to Korea sent by Taiko Hideyoshi was undertaken (1592), the Japanese tell us, purely to gratify the lust of conquest. These warriors must have followed the Empress and landed somewhere in the vicinity of Chinghai Bay, the map indicating that a battle was fought here in June, 1592. For eight years Korea was plundered and overrun by the Japanese, and the helpless Koreans were compelled to call upon the Chinese for protection. Twenty years afterwards the Chinese themselves invaded Korea, and it is said that Korea was never able to recover from the effect of these two disasters. On the death of the warlike Hideyoshi peaceful intercourse was established between the two nations, and for many years a Korean embassy was entertained in Kyoto on the occasion of the accession

Hideyoshi's expedition.

Inter-course between Japan and Korea established.

of each new Shogun. Subsequently owing to the impecuniosity of latter-day Shoguns, the place of meeting was transferred to Tsushima island, where the lord of the island received the Korean envoy on behalf of the Shogun.

Thus matters remained between the two countries until 1868, when an incident occurred which nearly caused a war. The new Japanese Government, in courteously informing the Korean Government of the restoration of the Imperial authority, used an expression which, in the opinion of the Koreans, could only be used by the Emperor of China himself. The Koreans refused to receive the letter, returning it through the provincial authorities of Fusan with an expression of their surprise and horror at such an apparent usurpation of Imperial dignity and title. Had it not been for the counsel of some of the wiser statesmen this incident would have led to hostilities. Japan, however, was not then ready for such an adventure, and the matter was wisely allowed to drop. In 1876 the first treaty of friendship and commerce was signed, and from that date the modern relations between the two nations may be said to have commenced. In the first article of that treaty Korea was set forth as an independent kingdom having equal rights with the Empire of Japan. The insertion of this clause, however, did not remove the shadowy claims of China over Korea, who, apparently, desired to maintain the fiction of the independence of Korea, and at the same time to evade the responsibility of a protectorate. This attitude of China, it is claimed by Japanese authorities, was the source of all the trouble in Korea until the close of the Japan-China war.

In accordance with the new treaty, a Japanese legation was established in Seoul in 1877, and until

1882 the relations between the two countries seem to have run smoothly. Factions had, however, arisen within the Korean administration, and these troubles terminated in a campaign for the expulsion of foreigners. As the Korean recruits were being trained by a Japanese officer with the view to organizing an army on modern lines it was not difficult to arouse a spirit of resentment in the ranks of the old army of incompetents, who mutinied in a body, attacked and killed the Paymaster-General, attempted to seize the Queen, a personage of much political weight, and committed other depredations including the burning of the Japanese Legation. The Minister and his staff escaped and, after enduring many hardships, reached the sea coast where they embarked in a small boat and were finally rescued by a British gun-boat. The Tai-won-Kun, the father of the Korean king, who had recently abdicated and to whose intrigues the anti-foreign policy was largely due, was temporarily restored to power.

Events leading to Korean anti-foreign policy.

Burning of Japanese Legation in Seoul.

The tales of anarchy existing in the Hermit Kingdom aroused China to action, and General Ma, with 4,000 men supported by the Chinese northern fleet, was dispatched to Seoul. The leaders of the disturbance were taken prisoners, the disturbing elements removed from the Government, Tai-won-Kun sent, practically as a prisoner, to China, and Yuan-Shih-Kai was appointed as Regent-General to maintain order and reform the administration. The trouble, however, was too deeply seated to yield to treatment from the representatives of a country which, whilst claiming suzerainty, had for long evaded all responsibility. The Queen and her party, believing the Chinese power more firmly established than it subsequently was found to be, cultivated the favour of the Regent-General, but

Chinese action.

Anti-Chinese movement.

in her efforts to strengthen her own position she seems to have offended those of her supporters who believed in an independent Korea, and the dissatisfied elements naturally turned to Japan for support and sympathy. At the close of 1884 conspirators led by Kim-Gyok-Kun attempted to annihilate the whole Government at a banquet to which the Ministers had been invited to celebrate the inauguration of the Korean postal service. The scheme was, however, only partially successful. According to Count Hayashi, the Japanese Minister, who was said by the conspirators to have countenanced the plot, was sent for by the King to guard his person with the Legation troops consisting of two companies of infantry. The Palace was soon besieged by the soldiers under Yuan-Shih-Kai, and the first collision took place between Japanese and Chinese troops, but a mere handful of Japanese, two companies in all, could not resist the attack of 4,000 Chinese soldiers. The King and Queen, together with the whole court, went over to the Chinese camp, while the Japanese Legation, followed by the Japanese residents in Seoul, withdrew to Chemulpo. Some of the conspirators took refuge in Japan. Much damage was done to the property of the Japanese and many lives were lost, while many partisans of the conspirators, together with their families, who were unable to escape in time, were arrested and put to death.

The time had not yet arrived for Japan to test the strength of China, and in April, 1885, a treaty was signed between China and Japan, in which both countries agreed to withdraw their soldiers from Korea, and it was stipulated that when the necessity arose for one of the contracting parties to dispatch troops thither, previous notice should be given to the other. The spirit of this convention was that both parties

should be placed on an equal footing, and that Korean affairs should be dealt with accordingly, but the actual ascendancy remained with China. Such arrangements between nations never last, and this one continued for less than ten years, under somewhat strained conditions, during which period China and Japan continued to watch Korea much as two cats might watch a mouse. So far as Korea, then, was concerned it was not of much importance which sprang upon its prey first. Both nations were embarrassed by the stipulation of the treaty to the effect that when the necessity arose for one of the agreeing parties to make a move, notice must be given to the other. It is not necessary to give particulars of the incidents which brought about the crisis of 1894. Korean refugees in Tokyo, a Korean assassin who murdered Kim-Gyok-Kun in Shanghai, and the violent language of young legislators in the Japanese Diet, all played a part. China, thinking the time had come to make a display of military force, and assert her practical suzerainty over Korea, dispatched veteran troops to Seoul under the pretence of helping the King to suppress an insurrection; Japan followed quickly with her soldiers, nominally to protect the Japanese residents. This time Japan was prepared. Negotiations were opened between the two Governments as to the future conduct of business in Korea. Pending these negotiations Captain, now Admiral Viscount, Togo, challenged a Chinese transport escorted by two men-of-war carrying reinforcements to Yashan, which, refusing to surrender, was sunk after some shots were fired. This concluded what may be called the Chinese sovereignty of Korea and brought on the Japan-China war in which Japan forced out China, only to have Russia step in. The end was not yet.

Events
leading
to Japan-
China
War.

By the treaty of peace signed at Shimonoseki, in which China ceded Formosa with its troublesome savages to Japan, the independence of Korea was formally recognized. Had it not been for the intrigues of other countries and the weakness and incapacity of the Korean Government, there is no reason why a capable and stable Government could not have been established. It is certain that the Japanese would have offered no obstacle to such a course, and would have given their aid to such a movement as earnestly as the United States has aided Cuba to establish an efficient administration. France, Germany, and Russia were not content that Japan should enjoy the fruits of her legitimate victory, and, misjudging the ultimate strength of Japan, intervened, both in the Liao-Tung Peninsula and in Korea. The influence of China had vanished from the latter place, and Russia was now the disturbing force at Seoul. Japan had been compelled by Russia to withdraw from Liao-Tung, which had come to her under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. When the writer was in Japan in 1896, he found some of the Japanese bemoaning their fate and declaring they had exchanged King Log for King Stork, and, like the frogs in the fable, they were very unhappy. There were, however, at that time 'Japanese Patriots' who were convinced that the inevitable war with Russia would come, and who were satisfied in their own minds as to its outcome. A few years later when Russia treacherously leased Liao-Tung, the act was regarded in Japan as one that could only be settled in one way, and from that time war was certain.

Returning to Korea we find Russia taking China's place in Seoul, but with a far greater skill and subtlety. The Queen, faithful to her policy of ranging herself

on the side of the biggest battalions, placed her interests in the hands of Russia. For several years in succession, we are told, 'intrigues, counter-intrigues, murders, and treachery kept the capital of Korea in a constant state of commotion.' The conclusion of the treaty under which Russia obtained the lease of the Liao-Tung Peninsula from China was resented by Japan, and was denounced as 'rank treachery contrary to international morality'. In short, the attitude of Russia, both in Korea and in Manchuria, became unendurable and the Japanese were driven to resist her encroachments at whatever cost. Then followed the second conflict which Japan waged over Korea in ten years, with the result that Korea was saved from becoming a Russian province, as ten years previously she had been saved from becoming a Chinese one. Russia-Japan war.

This brief survey of the history of Korea's relations with Japan makes clear the inevitable character of the latter's present responsibility, and at the same time shows the Koreans to have been utterly incapable of maintaining their independence without the help of some Power. They are thus described by a Japanese writer :—

'The mass of the Korean population are simply ignorant, submissive peasants, who had been accustomed for ages to be treated as inferior beings, existing only in order to maintain the upper classes, who in their turn lacked all sense of public duty. There is no real patriotism in Korea, for every one considers only how to promote his own personal interests, and the well-being of the State is a matter of very secondary consideration, readily sacrificed for selfish purposes.'

Previous to the war with Russia (1904) Japan concluded a treaty with Korea, by which the latter pledged

herself to consider the advice of the former as to administrative improvements, and to place her territories and waters freely at Japan's disposal for strategic purposes should any necessity arise to protect the integrity of Korea against foreign aggression or domestic disturbances; while Japan pledged herself to secure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea as well as the independence and integrity of the Korean Empire.

This treaty may be regarded as the entry of Japan into the active management of Korean affairs. Between 1883 and 1894 Chinese sovereignty had been eliminated. Then for a short time Russia seemed in ascendancy until the treaty of 1904, which undoubtedly brought on the war, at the conclusion of which we find Japan practically in control of Korean affairs. By the Convention signed in 1905 the Government of Japan obtained control of Korea's foreign relations, being represented at the Korean Court by a Resident-General, and Japan pledged herself to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Korean Throne. But no promise was given as to the independence or territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

The next step was the treaty signed July, 1907, which was regarded by the other Powers of the world as a transfer of administrative authority to Japan. No reference whatever was made either to the independence of Korea or to the safety of her Imperial Household. The treaty practically placed Korea under Japan's suzerainty. The Korean Government was to receive instruction and guidance from the Resident-General in all matters relating to administrative reform; was to obtain his approval as a preliminary to all enactment of laws or adoption of important measures of statecraft; was to have his consent before

nominating or dismissing high officials; was to appoint to public posts in Korea any Japanese subjects recommended by him; and was not to give any official positions to foreigners without his sanction.

Under this treaty it was possible for Japan to begin her work of reform, which was impossible so long as Korea had the right to adopt or reject at will. The activities of Japan in Korea during the three years in which the treaty of 1907 was in force are of sufficient interest to be treated in a separate chapter, together with an account of the existing resources of the country and some reflections on the future possibilities of Korea now that it has become part of the Empire of Japan.

We now come to the last, and perhaps the wisest, ^{The An-}step in this long series of negotiations, the concluding ^{nexation,} 1910, treaty between the two countries and the proclamations of the two Emperors announcing the annexation of Korea.

The first public intimation of Japan's intention to annex Korea was made in April, 1909, when Prince Ito, the Resident-General in Korea, speaking before Korean tourists, said that Japan and Korea had hitherto stood side by side, but that they should now proceed together and form one Empire.

This statesman's experience of the protectorate ^{Prince}system of administration in Korea had for some time ^{Ito's share}convinced him of the *de facto* transitional nature of ^{in an-}the Residency-General and of the necessity of eventual ^{nexation.}annexation, and it is no secret that Prince Ito's views on this question were shared by the Katsura Cabinet in Japan. No step to effect what had doubtless long been contemplated by Japan, was taken until August, 1910, when the new Resident-General, Viscount Terauchi, who took the place of Viscount Sone,

Prince Ito's successor, was instructed to proceed to Seoul, authorized to make the necessary arrangements for annexation. The assassination of Prince Ito in October, 1909, a few months after his resignation of the Residency, had been in part responsible for the delay in carrying out a policy that had been formulated for at least a year previous to its execution, and Viscount Terauchi's immediate action upon his arrival in Seoul was prompted by the conviction that the existing condition of affairs in Korea was such as to permit of no further postponement. After submission of the views of the Japanese Government to the Korean Government, and several conferences for the exchange of opinions preliminary to the drafting of the treaty, the latter expressed their concurrence as to the necessity for annexation, and the terms of the treaty having been telegraphed to the Japanese Government, and having received Imperial sanction, Viscount Terauchi was authorized to sign it. Two days only elapsed between the Japanese Government's receipt of the final draft treaty and their authorization to proceed to signature, telegraphed to the Resident-General on August 22, 1910. The Korean Emperor's approval of the treaty having been likewise obtained, the treaty was signed on the afternoon of the 22nd, between the Resident-General, Viscount Terauchi, and Mr. Yi-Wang-Yong, Minister-President of the State of Korea. The Japanese Government then communicated the treaty to all the Powers concerned, at the same time declaring the rules to be followed by Japan in dealing with the external affairs of Korea, and the treaty was promulgated on the 29th of August.

The Imperial Rescript of the Emperor of Japan stated that 'for the four years and over that had elapsed between the Agreement' by which Korea was

placed under the protection of Japan, 'in the hope that all disturbing elements might thereby be removed and peace assured for ever,' the Japanese Government had exerted themselves 'with unwearied attention to promote reforms in the administration of Korea', and their efforts had 'in a degree, been attended with success'. But, as was common knowledge to those familiar with the condition of Korea, the existing régime of government in that country had shown itself 'hardly effective to preserve peace and stability', and, 'in addition,' the Rescript stated, 'a spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominates the whole Peninsula.'

Imperial
Rescripts
from
Japanese
and
Korean
Em-
perors.

The office of Governor-General of Korea was, therefore, to be established. The Governor-General would, under the direction of the Emperor of Japan, exercise the command of the army and navy, and a general control over all administrative functions in Korea. The Emperor of Korea and the members of the Korean Royal Family were to be accorded 'due and appropriate treatment', and all Koreans being then under the direct sway of Japan were assured of a growing prosperity and welfare.

Governor-
General
of Korea
estab-
lished.

The Korean Emperor's Rescript has already been alluded to. It merely announced that the cession of the Sovereignty of Korea to the Emperor of Japan had been decided upon under circumstances that pointed to the inability of the Korean Emperor any longer to conduct the government of his country. It ended with the assurance, rather in the tone of one who is somewhat sceptical of blessings in disguise, that the Annexation of the country by an Empire 'which is fully realizing the condition of things and the world's progress' would ensure the welfare of Korea and peace in the Far East. The reasons that had led to the Annexation were again set forth in the Proclamation

Japanese
Proclama-
tion.

which further declared the rules in accordance with which matters relating to foreigners and foreign trade in Korea should be conducted. Such rules, in outline, pledged the extension to Korea of Japan's existing treaties as far as possible; all privileges granted by her to foreign residents in Japan and protection under Japanese jurisdiction of legally acquired rights of such, and with regard to the existing disputes in any foreign consular courts in Korea the retention of the same by such courts until final decision; the maintenance for a period of ten years of the Korean tariff, and for the same period the continuance of maritime trade between Korean and Japanese ports by vessels of the Powers having treaties with Japan. The two points in this proclamation which chiefly concern Great Britain are those bearing upon commerce and the rights of extra-territoriality. Those rights which Japan does not grant to foreigners are to come to an end in Korea, Japan considering that their continuance would prove a serious obstacle to and interfere with the unification of the administration of Korea. It is not unreasonable to expect that information may shortly be forthcoming from the Foreign Office as to the position of affairs which allowed Sir Edward Grey to acquiesce in the somewhat arbitrary extinction of extra-territoriality in Korea without apparently obtaining any reciprocal concessions.

A question arising out of the position of British interests in Korea, and due to the apprehensions of foreign landowners in that country that the Foreign Land Ownership Law would be made operative in the peninsula, has lately received a satisfactory answer from Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons to the effect that the Japanese Government had undertaken to abide by the Declaration made at the time of

the Annexation whereby the protection of the legally acquired rights of foreigners in Korea was assured. He said, moreover, that the Japanese Government had lately recognized that British owners of lands or mines in Korea 'had the right to hold and dispose of such property without being subjected to the conditions and restrictions of the Foreign Land Ownership Law or of the Mining Law at present in force in Japan proper'.

This statement is of great importance, and the textual terms of its confirmation which will, doubtless, presently be made public will be awaited with interest by those on whose behalf the parliamentary question was addressed. The harmonization of Japanese law with these assurances is a matter, too, of even greater importance since the Japanese Civil Code has had to be amended, noticeably in regard to the recognition of the status of leases in perpetuity after the Japanese treaties that came into force in 1899, and a similar inconsistency between diplomatic assurances and legal formalities may be looked for in the case of Korea.

In the matter of trade the British merchant has no cause for complaint, as the Korean tariff remains unaltered for ten years. The Japanese, unlike the French in the Madagascar incident, have not acted on the principle that annexation justifies the cancelling of existing arrangements. In short, the Japanese Government seems to have met the British Government in a very friendly and liberal spirit, and it would be difficult to find anything upon which to base a grievance or complaint. *The Times*, discussing the annexation of Korea, in its issue of August 25, 1910, referred to the fact that Great Britain had passed through a similar experience, and admitted that it would ill become the nation which still reluctantly keeps the ex-king of Upper Burma a prisoner in a

small town upon the west coast of India to offer any opposition. Such a significant development in the foreign policy of the ally of Great Britain received the following clear and able exposition in the concluding paragraph of the leading article in question :—

‘At the same time, it must be recognized that Japan has at last definitely and irrevocably taken a momentous decision, and has finally abandoned that insular position which she has hitherto occupied from the beginning of her history. Until now she has always had the option of withdrawing from the Asiatic mainland. She holds both the Liao-tung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway upon leases determinable within a term of years, and the protectorate of Korea was not necessarily permanent. Henceforward, however, her frontier is no longer the inviolable sea, but lies far away upon the continent of Asia. Some Japanese, at least, regard the change with considerable misgiving, and the railway projects, both in construction and in contemplation, in North Korea show that the Government is fully aware of its new and grave responsibilities. Yet, upon a careful review of the situation, we do not see how any other conclusion could have been reached. Korea could never again stand alone, and Japan could never again leave the peninsula to become a prey to the first comer. The die was cast on that day fifteen years ago, when China finally renounced her claims to Korea and Japan made herself responsible for internal reforms in the Hermit Kingdom. Every step taken since has been consecutive and inevitable, and could only have the ultimate result we are now invited to contemplate. We are convinced that Japan will face her new and larger destinies with the lofty and unfaltering courage which always distinguishes her attitude in the domain of high politics; but we trust her statesmen will remember that the world will watch their future policy in Korea with much expectancy and some anxiety.’

The only way to forecast the future attitude of Japan towards her greater responsibilities as a Power controlling the destinies of other nations is by a study of what she has accomplished in Formosa since she acquired that island, and of the results of the administrative and other reforms that she has been able to effect during the period of her partial control of Korea. That the condition of the former country has immensely improved under Japanese rule does not admit of a doubt, while those who knew Korea under Chinese sovereignty, and have visited the country recently, do not hesitate to acknowledge that its material prosperity has greatly improved, and that its progress towards a more stable and more efficient administration of affairs has been marked.

Japan's own admission that the reforms which she initiated during her protectorate of Korea have been attended, only in a degree, with success, is a sign of the high level of administration at which she aims since a less ambitious suzerain might have remained sufficiently content with the progress it had brought about, progress which, in this case, is as noteworthy on account of the short period of its inception as on account of the manifold ways in which it is evident. In the following chapter the aims, methods and apparent results of the Japanese administration will be more fully discussed.

CHAPTER XXXIX

KOREA, 1905—ANNEXATION, 1910

FROM 1905 Japan may be said to have been practically in control of Korea, and the checks and hindrances to the reforms which she initiated or attempted to initiate during every stage of that control gained for her experience that has justified successive stages, and has at least made clear to her and to students of her administrative schemes the exact value of each extension of her authority. The reference in the Proclamation on the occasion of the annexation of Korea to the inevitable necessity of such a step was no mere piece of phraseology: it was in intimate connexion with the experiences of the last five years, and bore the same relation to those experiences as a scientific conclusion bears to its preceding experiments. The Annexation was inevitable in the most scientific sense of the term, and the realization of its inevitability can best be gained by a survey of what Japan has achieved in Korea, and the manner in which she has met her responsibilities there.

The protective responsibilities of the Japanese Government in Korea were established by the 1905 Agreement and by the appointment of the first Resident-General, Prince Ito, the opening of the first Residency-General in Seoul in February, 1906, and the conversion of Japanese consulates or their branches into local Residencies. The Subsequent Agreement of 1907 and Imperial Ordinances provided wider

organization and functions for the Resident-General upon which administrative basis all reforms in Korea have proceeded.

In accordance with the guarantee of the Japanese Government 'to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea', almost the earliest efforts of the Resident-General were used, first, to urge a clear differentiation of the functions of the Court from those of the State, and second, to purify the chronic state of corruption which had become so characteristic of the Imperial Household. This condition of things partly proceeded from the confusion of the sphere of the latter with that of the executive, and the consequent conversion of the court into a centre of political as well as personal dissensions, and partly because the palace precincts were the haunts and rendezvous of a tribe of fortune-tellers, fortune-hunters, and men and women of disreputable origin and less reputable futures.

The superfluity of offices that were created, and the bribes, confiscations, and abuses of power that were prevalent, completely obscured the legitimate business of the court and state, and it was not until 1909 when new regulations for the Imperial Household were promulgated providing for the nomination of capable Japanese subjects to important household posts and a Bureau of Re-adjustment of the Imperial House Property, as well as a Committee for the investigation and separation of Imperial and State property were established, that the general disorder was brought within compassable limits. The insufficiency of advisory powers merely to promote the necessary reforms in Korea was nowhere more apparent than in this instance, where practically no reforms in the Imperial Household were satisfactorily carried

into effect while the powers of the Resident-General were limited to intervention by means of advisers and councillors and the court was free to accept or reject this advice at will.

The abdication of the Emperor in 1907 and the succession of his son, the present Emperor, necessitated the choice of a new Imperial Palace, as the ex-Emperor continued to live at the Kyong-un, or old Palace. This move, involving considerable outlay for repairs, extensions, and modern equipment of the new Palace, a significant characteristic of which was the substitution of modern carriages for the old palanquin form of conveyance and the substitution of electric light in place of the old oil lamps, set a definite seal upon the abandonment of the old methods and the beginnings of the new.

Even more significant of the reformed condition of affairs were the two Imperial Progresses throughout the country that the Emperor, in the company of the Resident-General, was next induced to make. In contrast to such Progresses of olden days, often the occasion for imposing extortionate exactions from the people by officials, these two visits were marked by a liberal bestowal of gifts to the cities and towns through which the Emperor and the Resident-General passed, and served, more than any public declaration of the new policy could have done, as a manifestation to the people of the new régime as well as a valuable object-lesson to the Emperor himself.

The Emperor's appreciation of the attention, courtesy, and information which he received during these journeys from the Resident-General was expressed in a message which he subsequently handed to the latter, in which he referred to the manner in which the Resident-General had given valuable information and

counsel to the people as well as to him—the Emperor—and to the enthusiastic and harmonious reception as ‘some of the first-fruits of the constant sincerity of the Resident-General and the faithful exertions he has put forth on behalf of Korea and Japan’.

Meanwhile the duty of guiding a future Korean monarch towards enlightened administration was not being neglected. Arrangements were completed whereby the Crown Prince was to go to Japan for purposes of education, and the persuasive arguments in favour of a modern education for the Heir to the Throne that had been used by the Resident-General, and had at length obtained Imperial sanction, were set forth in two edicts to the Korean people which made these arrangements public, and at the same time explained the necessity for such a step. The minute and careful direction of the young Prince’s studies and recreations form interesting and amusing reading, especially the solemn official references to his increase in weight and height since he has enjoyed the benefits of Japanese education and has been received in frequent audience by the Emperor and Empress of Japan. In view of the emphasis laid upon the maintenance of the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House in nearly every Convention concluded between Japan and Korea, it may be advisable also to speak of the system inaugurated by the Resident-General relating to the support of members of the Imperial Family. Hitherto the term ‘Member of the Imperial Family’ had included the remotest connexion of the Imperial House, and the Treasury had been subject to constant and unauthorized depletions by individual members, who, moreover, never hesitated to interfere in the political affairs of the country. Regulations were instituted by Japan whereby the support of members of such

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a numerous Royal flock was regulated by the degree of their relationship, all Imperial Household responsibilities for debts incurred beyond the limits of such support being disavowed and the interference of Imperial Princes in political matters prohibited. The inquiries made by the Bureau of Re-adjustment of Imperial House Property and the Committee for the Investigation and Separation of Imperial and State Property resulted in a very considerable transfer of property and taxes to the State. The Kyong-li-Won, or Financial Board of the Imperial Household, had in times past, especially under the direction of a certain Yi Yong-ik, showed undue zeal in bringing under that Board's control lands and monopolies which had been previously assigned to other definite State purposes. To speak, therefore, of the 'confusion' of State and Imperial property that existed is as polite a reference to Imperial robbery as 'readjustment' politely signifies Imperial cession of that which has been unlawfully acquired.

The Kyong-li-Won was abolished, and the management of State lands, including the collection from the same of revenues and particular fees and taxes hitherto received by the Imperial Household, was transferred to the Finance Department. The debt obligations of the Imperial House were also transferred to the State, and an 'Imperial Debt Examining Committee' was created in order to secure a just and equitable settlement of the debts. The debt claims submitted reached a total of over a million *yen*, out of which about one-third has already been paid by the Imperial Household.

The dismissal of many hundreds of superfluous officials, court ladies, and employees, the nature of employment of many of whom seemed nothing more

than ludicrous pretexts for the receipt of pay, the reduction of superfluous ceremonies, and the prescriptions for the conduct of such ceremonies as remained with the greatest possible economy as regards 'offerings', as a result of which ceremonies hitherto performed 792 times a year have been reduced to 201, are but a few, though the most important of the reforms that were undertaken at the Imperial Palace.

Reduction of court officials.

That these reforms were not effected in a wholesale manner by a general upheaval of the existing system of administration (if indeed the word administration can be applied to such casual and haphazard conditions) but that each reform occupied particular attention from the Resident-General and was not undertaken without careful investigation shows the energy and insight with which Japan has attacked the Korean problem.

As to the reforms of the Central Administration, Japan's first suggestions were concerned with the abolition of unnecessary officials and the increase of the salaries of such as were retained. The palpable inadequacy of the salaries formerly paid to Korean officials afforded a constant temptation to them to supplement official incomes by sales of office, speculation, and additional levies of taxes, and the Japanese Financial Adviser, in urging a readjustment of the salaries of all ranks which, in fact, in 1905, doubled the general salaries of civil and military officers in the Central Government, and the granting of liberal pensions upon retirement, went some way towards removing one of the chief causes of corruption and abuse of office.

Reforms of Central Administration.
Abolition of unnecessary officials and increase of salaries of those retained.

The salaries of Japanese appointed to posts in the Korean Government are not only higher than those received by Korean officials of the same rank, since

they receive an allowance in addition to regular salaries, but are 50 per cent. higher than those they receive under the same circumstances in Japan. This is justified on the grounds that the Japanese find living in Korea more expensive than do their Korean brother officials, and that the strain of maintaining the example of a high standard of integrity as well as the necessity of inducing competent officials to accept posts outside their own country requires to be supported by commensurately better salaries. The substitution of a large number of Japanese officials for the host of inefficient, indolent, and frequently dishonest Korean ones, would have been easy under the 1907 Convention, which provided for as many such appointments as the Resident-General should direct, but Prince Ito, during his Residency, was anxious to proceed slowly with changes that might wound Korean susceptibilities, and the sequel to the regulations of 1907 providing for the appointment of officials in the Korean Government showed that the numbers of Japanese and Koreans engaged as high officials were 9 and 15 per cent. respectively of the whole number of officials in the Korean Government, while the Japanese engaged as subordinates were 31 per cent. against 43 per cent. of Korean subordinate officials.

A study of the distribution of Japanese and Korean officials in the various departments of the Korean Government shows, too, that in the Imperial Household, Cabinet, Department of Home Affairs, and Educational Department, the Koreans outnumber the Japanese, while in departments requiring greater technical knowledge (the Departments of Finance, Justice, and Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry) the Japanese exceed the Koreans in number. The maintenance of

an example of honesty to Korean officials by the Japanese has not been altogether a passive obligation on the part of the latter. The Japanese have been responsible for the strict enforcement of regulations as to proper conduct of officials and disciplinary corrections—indeed it may be said that until the appointment of Japanese to the Korean Government no respect whatever was paid to these regulations, although they had been enacted since 1905; they were merely pigeon-holed and ignored.

Until 1905, with the exception of one short interval from 1894-5, when a Cabinet system existed, the Central Government was conducted by what was called a Deliberative Board consisting of Ministers of State and other influential personages in the Imperial Court. The Chief Minister of this Deliberative Board had no adequate power to control or to co-ordinate the work of the several departments and the individual Ministers of State were similarly hampered. Here, too, the usual confusion between Court and State prevailed.

But in 1907 the Korean Government, acting on the advice of the Residency-General, reverted to their brief experiment of the Cabinet system, wherein no Minister of the Imperial Household was included, and this organization has continued under the guidance of the Resident-General, who in his capacity as director of reforms in the general administration of Korea has presided weekly over a meeting of Cabinet ministers at the Residency-General.

The local administrative system stood in even greater need of reform than the Central Government. The principle of decentralization had been allowed literally to run riot, and with the increasing disregard of any superior control had arisen the most flagrant abuses of local autonomy in the direction of extor-

tionate taxation by provincial governors and district governors, as was only too evident in the impoverished condition of the people. Such reports as could be obtained from these magistrates (in some cases even self-appointed) gave little idea of local conditions, and too often betrayed the complete ignorance of local officials of the policy and general attitude of the Central Government. In spite of protest from provincial governors, after a year's operation of regulations that transferred a considerable part of their powers with regard to taxation and jurisdiction to the Central Government, the policy of shaping their functions in accordance with central control was proceeded with and resulted finally in the removal of seven out of thirteen governors from their posts, and the reappointment of the remaining six to different provinces, while new and better-qualified men were appointed to the vacancies. The administrative districts were left very little local autonomy, and the functions of the governors, prefects, and magistrates were almost wholly limited to putting into effect laws, ordinances, and instructions issued by the Central Government. Special local needs, however, were to be met by the levying of additional taxes by provincial governors, but in all cases the items of these, and their rates and periods were to be approved by the Minister of Home Affairs and Finance, while to avoid a repetition of local official extortion, the Central Revenue officers were made responsible for the collection of all such additional taxes.

The removal of judiciary powers from provincial governors and local officials was one of the first steps towards judicial reform in Korea. It is true that a code for the establishment of law courts was promulgated in 1895, and at the same time a law school

was founded for the purpose of training legal officials. But, with the exception of the Court of Cassation, and the Seoul local court, these never came into existence, and provincial governors and other local magistrates continued to discharge judicial functions in the usual corrupt and unjust manner. Bribes went a long way towards securing decisions, criminals were undefended, and torture played a considerable part in procuring evidence. Even the conduct of the Seoul local court was marked by no real judicial ability, and the security afforded to innocent people accused of crimes was of the slightest.

Judicial affairs were formally separated from the ordinary administration of Korea by an Agreement in 1907, and there have since been established a supreme court, appeal courts, local courts, and district courts, with a very strong Japanese element in the composition of the judges and personnel of these tribunals. The Regulations for civil and criminal procedure have been entirely revised; there is now a penal code; a law defining the qualifications and functions of a barrister, a profession which had hitherto not existed in Korea, was enacted; the Seoul Legal Training School has been reorganized to provide a thorough judicial education for Koreans, and between its opening and 1908, 210 graduates have passed out. With regard to the new prison system it is pointed out that consequent upon law court reforms the progress achieved in grappling with crime has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of prisoners, a fact that, but for this knowledge of its cause, might not have been viewed as such a gratifying feature of prison reform. The improvement of prison buildings and prison routine and the decisive abolition of torture have secured for Korea a prison system which, if still

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open to certain criticism, can at least boast that it has almost entirely swept away the terrible evils and almost unspeakable brutalities which characterized the old administration.

Until Japan assumed advisory control there was practically no police force in Korea. The first improvements in this direction were effected by the Advisory Police Board, under the supervision of the Resident-General, and the existing force is a combination of native constables and Japanese formerly engaged under that authority, with the Japanese police force originally maintained by the Residency-General and the local Residencies.

Owing to the various functions associated with the protection of life and property in Japan that have not hitherto been allocated to officials, of whose several duties the general nature might seem to suggest these particular allocations, the ordinary police functions, such as maintenance of peace and order, form by no means the whole duty of the Korean police. They may have to act as public bailiffs in the matter of distraining properties; they may be required to act as procurators in district courts; they deal with census matters, and are responsible for the safe escort of mails, officials and private travellers, or the products of the ginseng harvest. Neither are they free from the responsibilities of military service nor from the necessity of co-operating with the Gendarmery and Garrison Army in suppressing insurgents. The personnel of the force, about 5,000, as well as the number of stations (484), is still inadequate for the extent of the country, though the expenditure incurred for police administration increases yearly as the state of the revenue makes it possible. It amounted in 1909 to about a quarter of a million sterling. The Gen-

darmery organized from the basis of a body of Japanese gendarmes that were first stationed in Korea after the China-Japan war have been gradually increased till they now rather outweigh the police in number, many of whose functions they share.

The outlines of Korean history, such as these chapters have given, make it hardly necessary to say that Korea's military condition has never been sufficient for preserving internal peace, much less for defence, against outside aggression. The outbreak of the Russian war hastened the recognition of Japan's 'permanent military interest in Korea'; the right to take such military measures as she thought fit to preserve the territorial integrity of Korea and the integrity of the Imperial House was first acknowledged by Korea in an Agreement of 1904, and the Treaty of Portsmouth and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance brought international assurance of this responsibility. Since 1904 Japan has maintained a Garrison Army of one Division in Korea, and upon the disbandment of the Korean standing army of useless mercenaries in 1907, the necessity of raising the garrison troops to one division and a half became urgent, as much for the purpose of coping with increased possibilities of insurrections and brigandage arising from the addition of several thousand lawless soldiers to the already overstocked profession of bandit-brigands as for the expediency of not appearing to have reduced the military force of the country.

The occupation of Chinghai Bay in the south and Kyong-heung Bay in the north-east as naval bases by the Japanese Navy dates from the same time, and Naval Defence Stations controlled by the Japanese Admiralty have since been established in both these bays.

Of the expenses defrayed by the Japanese Govern-

ment in Korea, the grand total of which from 1906 till the present time amounts roughly to 13 million sterling, those incurred on account of the Garrison Army, both ordinary and extraordinary, are by far the largest. These have amounted each year to between a half and a third of the whole year's expenditure, and have involved in all a total outlay of over six million sterling. Japan has been much criticized for her methods in dealing with insurgents, but, as in the case of Formosa, it must be pointed out that though perhaps the responsibilities of taking life increase with the disparity between two conflicting ideas of civilization, yet the superior civilization is reduced, after all persuasive methods of inducing surrender have failed, to subduing armed insurgents by shooting them, thereby putting an end for the time being to a menace to public security.

Brigandage and marauding as a means of livelihood assuredly reflect wretched social conditions, and their existence in Korea may undoubtedly be traced to the miserable conditions in which a large number of the people have lived from time immemorial. Japan has never imagined for one moment that a military suppression of the present evils will suffice to ensure the non-recurrence of such evils, military measures have been justified merely on account of the necessity of securing comparative settlement, so that the material reforms to which Japan has pledged herself may have the opportunity of proving themselves ultimately the only real instruments of civilization.

Financial reforms, including the establishment of a National Treasury; the increase of the revenue by the organization of the existing tax system and by the introduction of the method of collecting minor taxes,

licences and fees by means of authorized stamps ; the floating of public loans ; currency reforms, and the institution and encouragement of banks, can only be referred to within the limits of this chapter as having equipped the newly organized Korean Government with all the advantages of a modern civilized State that Japanese experience could offer.

And still there remains to be mentioned the building of roads and railways upon which the economic development of a country perhaps most depends. Except the so-called 'Grand road' from Seoul to the Chinese border and a few roads between the capital and some provincial cities, Korea possessed hardly any public roads. Such as existed were in sore need of repair, for the money that from time to time was granted by the Government for their maintenance was not only insufficient but three-fourths of it went into the pockets of the local magistrates. Bridges were left in a broken condition and in rainy seasons the roads were almost impassable. Roads and
Bridges.

Japanese activity in Korea has nowhere been more manifest and continuous than in the building of roads and the provision of facilities for communication such as posts and telegraphs. Three principal roads—the Seoul-Chemulpo highway and the two trunk roads from Seoul to Wonsen and Wiju—were made by the Japanese army during the wars with China and Russia respectively. Since 1906 money has been allotted from the loan for Public Undertakings for the construction of four roads connecting the principal open ports with railway centres and agricultural districts ; these as well as seven other roads in different provinces are now completed and it is expected, will form the models for similar work to be undertaken in future by local governments. Recon-

struction and improvements in the cities of Taiku, Seoul, and Chemulpo, including the planting of trees in the streets and open places (for the Japanese have brought their love of nature with them to Korea), have been carried out, and over a quarter of a million sterling represents the total outlay since 1907, the date of the first stage of highway-making in Korea, upon road and street construction.

The first railway—the Seoul-Chemulpo line—was opened in Korea in 1901, and the Seoul-Fusan line, 268 miles in length, was finished four years later. The Seoul-Fusan section now includes the line between Seoul and Chemulpo and the Sam-rang-jin-Masampo line; the Seoul-New Wiju section includes the Ryuzan-Sin-Wi-ju, the Kosshu-Kenjiho, the Ping-yang-Chinnampo, and the Dogyo-Hekirando lines. The Seoul-Fusan and Seoul-Sin-Wi-ju lines meet at Ryuzan and form a trunk line extending from Fusan in the south to Sin-Wi-ju in the north-west. Beyond Sin-Wi-ju connexion is made across the river Yalu by steamboat or in winter by sleds with the Mukden-Antung line of the South Manchuria Railway, which joins with the Siberian Railways through the Eastern Chinese Railway and which also leads from Mukden to Peking through the Northern Chinese Railway. The completion, in November of this year, of the bridge over the Yalu, which the Japanese Government is building to connect the Antung-Mukden road with the trunk line through Korea, and its opening, which it is hoped will take place in February, 1912, together with the reconstruction of the line between Mukden and Antung, only 60 miles of which remain to be done, will be events of enormous economic importance to Korea.

The reconstruction of the Antung-Mukden line is really the building of another line, a standard-gauge

track (4 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.), sometimes alongside the present narrow-gauge line, sometimes higher, sometimes lower. As the latter is only 2 ft. 6 in. broad, the width of the car can be left to the imagination. The new line, part of which is finished and in actual use, has not been an easy one to construct, for there are many rivers and streams to bridge, and frequent necessity has arisen for embankments, which are made from stone quarried in the neighbourhood. The old Antung-Mukden line. The old Antung-Mukden line was built during the actual progress of the Russian Japanese war, and as circumstances then afforded very little time for engineering technicalities such as tunnelling the mountains, which is now being done for the broad-gauge track, the line was carried spirally around them for many miles.

All the railways in Korea are under the management of the Railway Bureau of the Governor-General of Korea. They are of standard gauge with a total length of about 675 miles, and they form links in the shortest overland route between Japan, Korea and South Manchuria, Siberia and Europe.

There are also two railways projected, one about 170 miles long between the trunk line and Mokpo, an open port in the south, and the other from Seoul to Gensan (Korean name Wonsan) of 130 miles. Wonsan is at present the only port in the north of Korea. These lines, it is hoped, will be open in five years' time. At first eleven years was fixed for the time of construction, but now the period has been altered, and the work is being pushed on as quickly as possible.

Having regard to the prejudices of Koreans to this unaccustomed means of transit and to various accidental causes reacting upon tourist activity, such as occasional appearances of insurgents in some parts of the country, outbreaks of disease in others, and floods,

the general condition of traffic is by no means discouraging to its promoters. The railway net earnings in the last year for which figures are obtainable show a small profit, whereas in the preceding years there had been a slight deficit.

Till now the account of Japanese reforms in Korea has been confined to what may be called preparatory measures—measures that must be looked for from any husbandman of a ground from which he ultimately hopes to secure a hundredfold for his labours. The chief aim of such administrative reforms that Japan has initiated in Korea has been material well being. The subtler tendencies of human nature that have to be considered, when administration is not immediately directed to this end and pursues wider aims, make too elusive a target for administrators of a country whose continuous organic administrative experience is so blank as Korea's has been, and whose response to measures proceeding from tentative modern European principles, necessarily tentative when applied to a country immersed in Oriental traditions and customs, it has been impossible to gauge. The achievement of material welfare in Korea, in however slight a degree, will encourage Japan to proceed with more complex reforms, and as the wretchedness of Korea has been so greatly responsible for the problems she has presented and still presents, changes such as are now being effected can hardly fail to bring with them developments in the general attitude of Korea towards civilization that may make the Koreans real, not treaty-bound, co-operators and intellectual kinsmen of their new fellow-subjects, the Japanese.

CHAPTER XL

CHOSEN (KOREA). RESOURCES AND FUTURE

WE have now to deal with the measures that Japan has taken in Chosen, bearing more closely upon the development of the latter's natural resources. The reforms treated in the last chapter were of a fundamental and primary nature—they cleared the ground, so to speak, and established conditions under which secondary reforms could be proceeded with, and an effective central organization capable of co-ordinating such reforms. It must not, however, be concluded that the encouragement of agriculture and industry was deferred until the central organization was in full working order; on the contrary, experimental steps in this direction were undertaken soon after the Residency-General was established, and the Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, upon its inception, found work to hand already past the first stages of development.

The mountain ranges of Chosen cover more than half the total area of the country, and owing to the general practice that had prevailed of felling trees indiscriminately, the afforestation of the country appeared to be one of the most obvious matters to be undertaken. Not only were the lack of firewood and material for house-building pressing heavily upon the population generally and the rural population in particular, but the general deforestation was one of the principal causes of injury to agriculture. The Japanese Government have established model forestry stations and

nursery gardens under the supervision of Japanese experts in forestry, and have made every effort to plant the bare mountains throughout the country. A special course in forestry has been added to the curriculum of the Agricultural and Industrial Model Station at Suwun, and graduates from this school are now employed by the Government in the various forestry stations. A Bureau of Forestry has been established, and special legislation has been directed towards the protection of forests, public and private, while conditions in the interest of forestry are made upon the sale or lease of public lands.

The Government has, moreover, encouraged the utilization of waste lands—which it is estimated cover nearly 66 per cent. of the total arable area and whose existence is largely attributable to the ravages of floods in the absence of embankment, drainage, and irrigation—by a law granting the right to rent such lands to applicants, native or foreign; and during the year 1909, 85 out of 646 applications by Koreans, Japanese, and English were approved. The Government's further interest in the agricultural development of the country has been shown by its holding shares in the Oriental Development Company, a concern whose main business it is to furnish to settlers, farmers, and others in Chosen funds and assistance for colonization. The payment for the shares has been made for the time being in grants of land for the conduct of agricultural and immigration undertakings of the company.

Agricultural and industrial model farms have also been started for the purpose of conducting experiments in the cultivation of cereals and other staple products, in sericulture and in the raising of poultry and live stock. From these stations, moreover, are distributed seeds, plants, and improved agricultural tools and machinery

among the farmers. Sericulture, in particular, is receiving the attention of the Government, which has lately granted liberal subsidies to various sericultural associations. The Empress, too, has given her patronage and has made a visit of inspection to the sericulture department at the Suwun Model Farm—and last year there was an exhibit of cocoons obtained from sericulture conducted at the Palace under her personal supervision.

All the resources of modern science for dealing with cattle plagues and diseases are available at these farms, and in districts where any particular disease is prevalent veterinary staffs are established; detailed regulations concerning the slaughter of animals are enforced by the local authorities acting under the Sanitary Bureau of the Home Department.

An association for the promotion of the newest methods of cotton cultivation, to which the climate and soil in the south of Chosen are particularly adapted, is subsidized by the Government; and an Industrial Training School has been established with the object of re-invigorating the old industrial activity of the Koreans in the various crafts for which past generations of Koreans have been famous. A Seoul exposition, under the auspices of the Korean Government and the Residency-General, was held in 1907, and its exhibits of Korean and Japanese manufactures, affording a striking contrast between the methods of decadent and advancing civilizations, served as a great object-lesson to Koreans and has stimulated their interest in modern industrial life. Particular native industries selected by provincial governors after careful investigation, have, as the most desirable to be encouraged, been subsidized by the Government.

The conditions of living among the Koreans are not

yet compatible with a compulsory system of education. Prior to the China-Japan war there was very little general educational work done in the country. Village schoolmasters taught Korean boys domestic etiquette and writing and reading of Chinese characters, and the more intelligent Koreans completed their studies of the Chinese classics in the Confucian School at Seoul. Foreign missionary Schools have brought some principles of educational reform to bear upon the Koreans, but until the inauguration of Common and Normal Schools by the Japanese, based on the educational system of modern countries, education was never looked upon as a matter of public interest.

The village schools now form preparatory institutions to the Common Schools established by the Central Government, where the curriculum includes moral teaching, the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese languages, arithmetic, geography, and history, and physical exercises. The girls learn sewing and domestic work, and there are additional agricultural and industrial courses. The attendance at these schools is voluntary, and tuition and books are free, such being the method adopted of encouraging Korean parents to send their children. A Normal School for the training of teachers upon the same lines as the Normal Schools in Japan has been founded by the Government, and a High School and Foreign Language School for boys who have passed through the Common School are both State-maintained. A certain number of private schools are recognized by the Minister of Education, and the educational efforts of foreign missionaries receive every encouragement. There is universal freedom of religious teaching.

In dealing, even briefly as we have done, with the wide sphere of Japanese activity in Chosen—far wider

than the details given in this chapter can cover—there is the risk of tiring the reader with what may seem a monotonous description of reform. As we have said, Japan has during the last few years offered without stint to her new compatriots every advantage that her own civilization—and we know that to be an advanced one—can afford. Where she has been prevented hitherto, by lack of time, from making every feature of Korean political, industrial, and commercial life a counterpart of her own, she has still not left anything actually untouched by her administrative organization, but has subjected all to scrutiny, and though much that reflects the old system is still retained, yet it has been controlled and revived by contact with the ever-increasing sphere of new conditions. Reform has travelled with seven-league boots in Chosen, and everywhere there are evidences of its visitation—the Japanese occupation of the country is as easily discernible as the onward march of a conquering army, though the results are different. Any one now visiting Chosen after a term of years would stand amazed at the change and at the rapidity with which the same has taken place.

Upon entry into the country at the old and original Korean port of Fusan one is struck by the many evidences already apparent of Japanese enterprise and industry. The water frontage of the new town, built in recent years mainly through Japanese initiative, appears already to extend quite a distance and is being steadily increased. Harbour works, involving an outlay of nearly £400,000 are to be completed in four years, while quite a pretentious railway station of brick and stone, with inquiry and booking offices and waiting rooms on the European plan was started only in September last; a Japanese restaurant and

Improve-
ments at
Fusan.

bookstall are already in use, and a European hotel which is being built immediately over the station will, it is hoped, be finished early next year. In addition there is a fine new Post Office (also European in style) receiving its finishing touches before being opened for public use. Much money and energy is being spent literally in 'removing mountains', so as to afford more ground space for the important international port which it is expected Fusan will become in a very few years, when the completion of the standard-gauge track between Mukden and Antung (anticipated for November of this year) and the new bridge across the Yalu river between Antung on the Manchurian side and New Wiju on the Korean side will make it possible to transport passengers without change of car from Mukden right through Chosen to Fusan on a standard-gauge track. And what has taken place in Fusan has taken place in many other Korean towns as well—in Chemulpo, where the dock accommodation has been planned on similar lines to that at Fusan and involves about the same expenditure; in Seoul, in Ryusan, Taiku, Shingishu, and wherever Japan has found it necessary to concentrate her administrative agencies.

The Koreans have shown themselves, with the exception of the insurgent section of the population, comparatively ready subjects, but their assimilative powers seem small. They take what Japan gives them—they submit themselves to her reforming agencies, without showing any evident signs of ever being able to initiate similar reforms themselves. The spirit of reform seems a stranger to them—a stranger alongside of whom they are quite willing to live, accepting his advice, and obviously profiting

thereby, but not one whom they welcome into their houses. It is early, of course, to judge, and it may be said that judgment should at least be deferred until the younger generation has grown to manhood, and that such immature criticism as we have offered only points to the naturally conservative instincts of the Korean character.

In estimating the present resources of Chosen, her capacity for industrial work must be reckoned among her smallest assets. Chosen is an entirely agricultural country—such industrial products, mainly of home industries, as she can show have never been sufficient for her own wants and are of a very primitive nature. To give one instance of Korean ignorance of industrial processes, the prevalence of white clothing is mainly due to the fact that the art of dyeing has not yet been acquired. In consequence Korean women spend most of their time at laundry work, and they may be seen and heard all day long and far into the night pounding the multitudinous garments with heavy sticks on stones down at the water's edge. Until recent years Koreans made their own cotton, but now they import largely from Japan—the Japanese goods being stronger and firmer in texture—and where white gives place to colour among the younger generation the brightest reds and greens and yellows are worn. Away from the cities and direct Japanese influence life still preserves its primitive, uncivilized nature; villages are composed of nothing but the most rudimentary kind of mud huts with matting roofs and there is no attempt at furniture of any kind.

The Korean fields are almost always cultivated on a small scale, the farmers generally working as tenants for the better-class owners, who practise much extortion upon their tenants. The cultivated area is esti-

Present
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mated at about 5,000 square miles, equal to about two-thirds of the land not yet brought under tillage. There are, besides, about 62,000 square miles of forest, hill, and wild lands, which difficulties of irrigation render almost impossible to cultivate.

Parts of Chosen are exceedingly fertile. Rice is the staple agricultural product. Two crops a year are raised throughout Central and Southern Chosen. Wheat, barley, millet, *kaoliang* (a kind of millet, the grain of which forms one of the principal foods of the Koreans, while the straw is used in the building of their houses), sorghum and beans are also grown. There are special products such as cotton, tobacco, hemp, and ginseng, a medical root, highly valued in India, Chosen, and China, and the output of which formerly amounted annually to about £165,000, but which has been much reduced in late years owing to the ravages of injurious fungi. Special investigations are being undertaken to remedy this. The revenue of the ginseng harvest was formerly a Government monopoly, and the Korean ginseng was annually sent to China by a Korean envoy as one of the principal articles of tribute, but this practice was ended with the declaration of Korean independence during the China-Japan war. The ginseng monopoly changed hands several times with no good results to the industry, and finally, in 1908, upon the advice of the Resident-General, it was brought under the control of the Finance Department, which established a Ginseng Monopoly Section that has since supervised the industry under strict laws with regard to its cultivation, districts of production, and sale, and is also directing expert attention to the prevention of destructive diseases of the plant, which have been so disastrous to the revenue from this source.

The experimental cultivation of cotton, to which ^{Cotton.} subsidies were granted by the Korean Government upon the condition that American upland cotton should be introduced, has proved most successful. It is estimated that some thousand square miles in Chosen are available for cotton plantation, and though the Korean Planting Society has not at present more than 3,000 acres under cotton it expects to enlarge its area to 375,000 acres by 1917. Also about 300,000 acres are under cotton of native varieties, but the yield from this is relatively much less than from the American upland cotton. The exports of cotton to Japan in 1909 amounted to £27,000 worth—more than four times the value of that exported five years previously.

The total foreign trade of Chosen amounted in ^{Foreign} 1910 to over 7 million sterling, being composed of ^{trade.} 4¼ million of imports and nearly 3 million of exports. The excess of imports over exports is not a matter to be regarded pessimistically, seeing that this preponderance is mainly due to the annual expenditure of between 2 to 3 million sterling by the Japanese Government for the maintenance of the administrative organization, railway and road construction, and for other improvements, or in loans to the Korean Government.

It has been partly counterbalanced, however, by an excess of exports of gold bullion annually amounting to several million *yen*. Up to the time of the Russian war the total volume of Chosen's foreign trade was about 2½ million : it increased rapidly after the war, and this last year shows an increase upon the previous year of 2 million sterling.

The chief exports are, in order of their values, rice, beans (these two exports being far and away the

largest, amounting in value in 1910 to £627,775 and £572,608 respectively), ginseng, hides and skins, wheat and barley, live stock, cotton, iron ore, fish (dried), salt, fertilizer, timber and paper. The chief imports, in the same order, are cotton yarns, sheeting, shirting and fabrics of cotton and silk, tobacco, building material, coal and coke.

The trade with Japan is naturally of the first importance, and that with China is considerable, the exports to Asiatic Russia, Great Britain, United States of America, and other countries being less than one-sixteenth of the total, the balance of which is taken by the first two countries. Japan, again, contributes more than half of the total imports, Great Britain coming next with £650,000, and China and the United States, in the proportion of 2 to 1, together send about the same amount as Great Britain.

It has, however, to be remembered that though the import trade from America and Europe has been not inconsiderable for some time, little attempt has been made until recently to differentiate between the origins of imports. American and European products, that often entered Chosen through Japan and China, were generally credited to the two last countries. Since 1907, however, the Customs Bureau has endeavoured to classify the customs returns as far as possible according to the country where the imported product originated.

An idea of some characteristic economic tendencies that occasion fluctuations in the foreign commerce of Korea may be gathered from a study of the general state of Korean foreign trade in 1909 in comparison with that of the previous year. The information for 1910 is not furnished as yet in sufficient detail to enable an analysis to be made for that year. In 1909 the foreign trade, exclusive of specie, amounted to $5\frac{1}{4}$ million

sterling (exports, £1,624,888 ; imports, £3,664,777) against a little over $5\frac{1}{2}$ million for 1908.

The decrease of a quarter of a million sterling in the total value of imports and exports in the latter year, arising from a decrease of £437,000 in imports and an increase of £200,000 in exports, may be traced to several causes.

Dealing first with the increased exports, we find that the medicinal ginseng exported in 1909 was the output of two years, as in 1908, owing to dullness of prices and depreciation of silver in the Chinese market, none was placed upon the market that year. An increase in mineral products, coal, iron ore, and graphite, the outcome of generous State encouragement of mining undertakings, brought about increased export of these, while a similar circumstance was responsible for the increase in cotton exports. The marine products, again, were particularly lucrative ; and there was a special export to Japan and Great Britain of melted and defaced nickel and copper coins of some £42,000 in value, consequent upon the recent reform of the Korean currency. A good Japanese harvest of rice naturally affected the price and the export of Korean rice, while the beginnings of a European demand for the Manchurian bean caused a rise in the price of this staple in Japanese markets, and simultaneously a larger export. Korean wheat, too, was in unusual demand in Japan owing to the high price for wheat then ruling in the United States, one of Japan's main sources of this supply. Cattle disease had a depreciating influence upon the export of live stock, but Japan's improved demand for hides almost counterbalanced this defect.

As to the imports, the values here again illustrate particular phases of the internal economics of the

country. The low price of rice and other staple products diminished Korean purchasing powers, and consequently the main imports of cotton yarns, sheetings, shirtings, and Chinese and Japanese cotton twines were less than usual. Railway construction had passed its first stages of demand for rails and rolling stock generally; the demand for coal from the Railway Bureau, the largest coal consumer in the country, was diminished owing to an over-supply in the previous year, and overstocking in 1908 showed itself with regard to the demand for kerosene oil. Lastly, a development of the home resources in respect to building material effected by the work of the Yalu Forestry Station lessened the imports of Japanese timber.

It is by a review of facts and figures such as these that we are enabled to realize what is meant by the interplay of national and international economic forces, and in so far as the foreign trade of a country is susceptible to the influences of world-wide industrial and commercial conditions that country may be said to have taken its place in the ranks of international trade. The foreign commerce of Chosen affords as yet but a dim reflection of this interplay, but each future annual report of Chosen's foreign commerce may render this reflection more distinct, and justify the policy of that country which was at the outset chiefly responsible for promoting the 'open door' policy in Chosen.

It would be foolish to maintain that Japan's Korean policy has proceeded from entirely altruistic motives, or that the vigour with which she has prosecuted her reforms does not point to a very natural desire on her part to reap as soon as possible where she has sown. The outlay disbursed by Japan for the pro-

tection of Chosen have reached large figures—between two and three million sterling having appeared in each year's Japanese Budget on account of Korean expenditure before the annexation, and in the fiscal year following that event the appropriation of over two million drew from the Marquis Katsura, the Japanese Premier, a statement that though as far as possible the Government would try to avoid making Chosen a financial burden to Japan, the annexation must for that year (1910-11) result in an increased disbursement.

Apart, therefore, from the political advantage of the annexation, Japan undoubtedly hopes that her latest extension of territory will ultimately prove a source of financial profit, and a rough forecast of her expectations in this direction may not unfittingly bring this chapter to a close.

Future of
Chosen.

It is evident that it must be some time before the agricultural and, to a lesser extent, the industrial, resources of Chosen can be relied upon to do more than pay their way. The gravest drawbacks to Korean farming, the absence of proper means of irrigation, and the danger of floods, have not as yet been overcome; changes of temperature and insect ravages make the pursuit of such a collateral branch of agriculture as sericulture still a hazardous one; the cultivation of cotton is in many places merely experimental. Again, the unsatisfactory and often unjust relationship between the owner of land and the tenant farmer reacts upon agricultural progress.

Of industrial products only a few are worth mentioning, such as fabrics, paper, hides, leathers, bamboo work, and matting, the old Korean ceramic and fabric arts having suffered decline through long neglect.

Neither can much be looked for at present from industries started by the Japanese—these are still in their infancy.

Perhaps the mineral and marine resources of the country suggest the brightest prospects for enterprise. The most important mining enterprises are gold mining and placer work, the exports from this amounting to £921,848 in 1910. Copper, iron, graphite, and coal are also produced in considerable quantities. The Oriental Consolidated Mining Company, an American corporation, is the largest undertaking and has a capital, fully paid up, of one million sterling. Since 1903 it handled 230,000 to 300,000 tons of quartz every year with an output of gold amounting to between £240,000 and £430,000. There are besides, British, French, German, and Italian concessions in the early stages of development. Alluvial gold is found to a large extent in South Pyong-an and in Chyung-chyong district, but the existing process of extraction is very primitive.

The future of graphite production seems extremely hopeful, judging at least from the sudden progress this has made recently. The output, which three years ago did not exceed £2,000, now stands at over £30,000.

Korean waters have for many years been exploited by Japanese fishermen who have there found rich harvests amply rewarding them for their daring and enterprise. Small fishing colonies founded by the Japanese are a feature of Korean shores; they number more than a thousand in all, though in the majority of cases not more than three or four fishermen make up a colony. Chosen has over 5,000 miles of coast line, and her waters are rich in fish and other marine products. Only the natural indolence of the Koreans

has militated against the proper development of this important industry. The superiority of the Japanese fisherman over the Korean is shown by a comparison of the respective catches; the Japanese averaging nearly five times as much as that of the native Korean. Salt manufacture, too, is an industry that might at least be made capable of supplying the home market; at present nearly one-third of the home demand is imported.

To the most optimistic observer it would not, therefore, appear that Japan has secured a land of incalculable promise. Prophets of her future, if indeed there be any who dare risk their prophetic reputations on the task, must condition their prophecies upon the patience and national self-denial of the Japanese. These virtues have borne Japan through a long period of apprehension while she desisted from assuring herself of the complete control of the situation; now that her responsibility has been increased they are not likely to be forgotten.

CHAPTER XLI

FORMOSA (TAIWAN)

FORMOSA, known to the Japanese as Taiwan, was part of the territory ceded by China as the outcome of the war in 1894-5. It is recorded that in the course of the peace negotiations Li Hung-Chang asked Prince Ito if he was in earnest in saying that Japan wanted Formosa, and the Prince replied in the affirmative; Li Hung-Chang remarked that he had never supposed that Japan would want to be bothered with it, as the inhabitants were rebellious and hard to govern and the whole country was given over to lawlessness and strife. Such has, indeed, proved to be the case. When the Japanese Government took over Formosa the interior swarmed with outlaws from the Chinese mainland, savage aborigines roamed where they pleased, many of the tribes, vindictive by nature, were accustomed to consider it their highest honour to collect human skulls as trophies of victory. Referring to this pernicious practice, a report from the Head Office for Savage Affairs of Formosa naïvely remarks, 'They boast of the stern and rugged aspect of this local feature and of their military valour and are prone to brutalities.'

The Japanese have every reason to remember the words of Li Hung-Chang, for the Formosans have bothered and perplexed the officials to a serious extent. At first, we are informed, a method of 'taming and inducing them to obedience' was tried, but 'their stubbornness was such that they have always taken

advantage of our kindness to them and have committed all manner of violence against us'. In short there seemed to be 'no end to their brutality', and simple methods of persuasion having utterly failed, a line of defence against them has been established, and 'a stronger pressure brought to bear upon them to make them behave'.

The natives who show the slightest desire to become civilized are encouraged in every possible way to follow the habits of peaceful labour. They are supplied with agricultural implements and with seeds, and are taught how to plough fields, sow crops, and raise cattle. Their sick and wounded are accorded medical and surgical treatment, and every inducement is offered to persuade them to settle within the territory allotted to their use. On the other hand, 'hard blows' are dealt to savages who still persist in their human-skull gathering propensities. And these blows have been necessary, for the Japanese have lost hundreds of valuable and useful lives in their attempts to civilize the savages, who were originally spread in some 800 groups over six-tenths of the Island. Public officials, postmen, and travellers have alike been murdered, the crimes being generally accompanied by excessive cruelty, and as there are nine distinct tribes speaking different languages, no uniform method of dealing with them could be adopted.

Roughly speaking, the southern and larger half of Formosa is now completely subjugated, as is the section along the western and northern coasts. But a region still unconquered is that between the southern half and the northern section, and here, behind a rampart of almost inaccessible mountains, several aboriginal tribes still maintain desperate resistance, not only to attack, but to all peaceful overtures, and are a constant

Region
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quered.

menace to the neighbouring districts. In 1909 the Japanese Diet gave its approval to a plan of campaign extending over five years and involving an annual expenditure of three million *yen*, submitted to them by General Count Sakuma. Its objective was the Gaogan region, the central aboriginal settlement in the north, from which final operations against the Taroko settlement in the east could be undertaken, and the possession of the range of mountains already referred to as the key of the whole position. This campaign, which was started in June, 1910, has entailed all the difficulties anticipated at the outset, pertaining to a campaign of investment of an unknown mountainous region guarded by aborigines who have all the advantages of familiarity with their ground combined with savage hardihood and cunning. A feature of the Japanese campaign, which for its ingenuity deserves the admiration of all who appreciate the extraordinary difficulties that this problem has presented, has been the surrounding of the region of the aborigines with electrically charged wire entanglements, which are being pushed forward until the savages will be completely caged. The possession of the mountain region is, however, the task upon which the first efforts of the advancing forces have been concentrated. The successful termination of this campaign will not only remove a perpetual menace to the peace of the Island, but will bring valuable land within the sphere of organized cultivation.

Upon the whole the Japanese have been successful, and the steadily improving condition of the Island is the reward of their patience and forbearance—for they have proved that they possess both in a remarkable degree—in the difficult work of domesticating the aborigines of Formosa. The last census returns show

that over half the savages, male and female, have become domesticated. Exactly how the enumerators decided which of the islanders were savages and which were domesticated the report does not explain, nor indeed does it matter, for no statistical tables are required to elucidate the improvements which have taken place in Formosa since the Japanese occupation. They are visible in every direction. The inhabitants of the Island are the descendants of rebellious subjects and of robbers who fled from China, and until Governor-General Kodama accepted the task of ruling over them they had never been controlled. As far as possible this work has been performed with sincerity and good faith, and the writer has repeatedly heard foreigners whose feelings are decidedly anti-Japanese admit the wisdom and ability displayed by the new rulers in the administration of Taiwan. Especially is this true in the case of those who, having seen the Island in 1896, have recently visited it. The progress, they admit, has been remarkable—from a pitiful state of savagery to a condition wherein every one who wishes to do so may enjoy material prosperity and be protected in his rights.

Little was accomplished in the civil administration of Taiwan until the advent of Governor Kodama in the spring of 1898. Outrages by the savages were not the only trouble. The finances were in a deplorable condition. Expenditure had largely increased and the revenue was insufficient. The Island had been badly governed by the Chinese. There was no good harbour, and it possessed only a few miles of railways. Malarial fever and various infectious diseases were prevalent; the insurgents committed depredations unmolested, and the untamed aborigines continued their ferocious practices without hindrance. The

Condition
of affairs
previous
to Governor
Kodama's
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foreigners of European and American origin who inhabited the Island were of an inferior class, and were chiefly engaged in making unduly large profits out of the ignorant natives.

With abundant resources and opportunities for development the Island had been allowed to go to waste. Most of the valuable agricultural lands were in the possession of savages, many of whom had both arms and ammunition. From 3,000 square miles the area controlled by them has now been reduced to less than 300. Thus a large extent of land has been opened up for productive forests, and some space has become available for sugar cultivation, for the growth of timber, and for other agricultural purposes. Having secured a measurable degree of order, the next step of General Kodama was to undertake the building of railways, harbour works, Government offices, the survey of the whole Island, the construction of sewage and waterworks, and the adoption of vigorous measures to encourage colonization enterprises.

Upwards of £10,000,000 was required for all these purposes. The most urgent were, however, begun first; the railway which has now been completed at a cost of nearly £3,000,000 was one of the earliest of these undertakings and it is already a paying investment. The main line starts from Keelung in the north and, crossing the western plains, passing Taihoku, Taichu, and Tainan, the last the oldest town in the Island, ends in Takao in the far south. In the north there is a branch line from Taihokuto to Tamsui, and in the south a short line runs from Takao to Kyakyadado. The total length amounts to 270 miles, of which 247 miles represent the main line. The revenue from this railway in 1909, the last year for which figures are

obtainable, was £280,000, of which £130,000 was net profit. This result, in view of the fact that an annual loss had been predicted, is very satisfactory. The railway was begun in 1899 and took nine years to complete. A new railway commenced in 1909, the Taito line, will traverse the eastern part of the Island and attain a length of 57 miles; it will be finished, it is expected, in seven years. A line 41 miles in length is projected to the Arisan forest, and there are several small private narrow-gauge railways, belonging to the sugar-refining companies, with a total length of about 409 miles. The progress, and the establishment of industrial enterprises have furnished freight for the railways in the shape of sugar, rice, salt, tea, and other commodities, and additional lines are projected with the object of accelerating further the development of the Island. Tea in the north, rice in the centre, and sugar in the south, form the three staple crops. These, with the salt industry along the coast, camphor-refining, timber, and various other industries, make Taiwan a good field for railways, and provide an opening for an industrial population. At the Nagoya Exhibition the Formosan building was a feature of special interest. Here could be found all the products of this interesting Island, methodically arranged, displayed to the best advantage, and explained by polite attendants who spoke English and were residents of Formosa. There will soon be, if there are not already, a hundred thousand Japanese residents in Taiwan.

The work of the Japanese Government in Formosa calls to mind very forcibly that of the little group of brilliant statesmen who have gradually transformed the mother country since 1868. Japan has shown herself more than generous in her attitude towards

her colony, and no restrictions have been placed upon the reforming energies of the Formosan governors. Once again we are confronted with the spectacle of a small, enlightened minority striving to raise a whole race to a civilization infinitely superior to that which it has hitherto known. Whether the attempt will prove successful or not only time can tell. The task presents more difficulties in Formosa than it presented in the mother country. The very fact of conquest makes it impossible to appeal to the national spirit of the race, and the docile obedience, so strong a characteristic of the Japanese, appears to be lacking in the Formosans, while the Government is seriously hampered by the continued resistance of the savages. That the restless spirit of reform which seems to characterize all Japanese statesmen has not yet spent itself is only too apparent in the progress made in all the Japanese colonies, and what has already been accomplished since 1895 is a continual source of astonishment to visitors to the Island. Perhaps it is early days to judge of the success of the experiment. Civilization brings its own problems, and as Formosa becomes civilized, these will be added to, and may, perhaps, complicate those that already exist, so that the task of government will not tend to become lighter.

In view of the fact that Japan has not long entered upon the rôle of a colonizing country it is not out of place to consider the financial policy of the Government and the attitude adopted towards industries, for a sound financial policy is essential to success in colonization. Japan took possession of the Island, no doubt, in order to relieve her own growing population and extend the market for her own manufactures, and it was, perhaps, a little unfortunate

that her first experience of colonization had to be undertaken in a country with which she had had so little commercial contact. There was no 'East India Company' at work in Formosa previous to the establishment of the Japanese Government. Had commercial exploitation, even in a narrow sense, preceded political occupation the Formosan Government would have been spared many difficulties, to say nothing of the expense of creating the market. This drawback, coupled with the unsettled condition of the country and the backward and ignorant state of the inhabitants, has forced the administration to adopt an extremely parental and protectionist policy towards trade and industry, which is somewhat opposed to the traditions of British colonial policy. To say this is not necessarily to condemn Japanese policy. The *laissez faire* attitude of the British nation is at this moment undergoing the severest test it has ever known, and the issue is doubtful. The statistics of Formosa point to great prosperity in the Island, the finances seem sound and satisfactory, and the Japanese at present have much reason to be proud of their work.

The Government of Formosa reflects very closely the spirit of the home administration. It shows the same desire to secure efficiency and zeal among its officials, the same impatience to exploit the material resources of the country, and the same eagerness to raise the people to the standard of the Western races. The higher officials have striven to make up for their lack of experience by an intimate study of the colonial history of other nations, and they seem to be saturated with theories of colonial administration.

The adoption of the system of Government monopoly, the financial encouragement of nascent industries by the granting of subsidies, and the establishment of

System of government monopoly.

model industrial institutions are among the distinctive features of the financial policy of the Formosan administration. Apart from this the Government has undertaken a lengthy programme of public works, such as the irrigation of the country, and the building of railways and roads involving the expenditure of several million *yen* and extending over several years.

The Government monopolies are four in number, namely, camphor, opium, salt, and tobacco, and are managed by the Monopoly Bureau, the revenue for which, taken from the official reports in 1909-10, was :—

	1909	1910
Camphor	£442,782	£552,955
Opium	446,739	467,434
Salt	82,469	82,121
Tobacco	371,270	400,934

Camphor is another product, such as rubber, for which the general demand has only risen within the last fifty years. It is essential to the making of all celluloid articles such as balls and combs, and is an important ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder. The camphor forests of Japan and Formosa are the richest and most extensive in the world ; indeed it was thought at one time that they constituted the sole source of supply, and consequently their value was somewhat over-estimated. Experiments have since proved that camphor can be grown with success in numerous other countries, but naturally it will be some years before it can be produced elsewhere as profitably as in Japan and Formosa.

The condition of the industry when Japan took over the Island necessitated the serious attention of the Government. The Chinese had been very reckless in the cutting down of trees, and the value of the property was being grievously undermined. In addition to this,

some of the most productive forests were situated in the territory of the barbarians, and the workers were in urgent need of the co-operation and protection of the military, so that there were good grounds for the establishment of the stricter governmental control, and the Formosan Government finds ample justification for its policy in the present flourishing condition of the industry.

The avowed object of the Government in instituting ^{Opium} the opium monopoly was the gradual suppression of the industry, which had assumed such proportions in the Island as to be a grave public danger. It was decided to establish a factory under Japanese control, but as the Japanese were totally ignorant of the manufacture of opium, it was necessary for them to study the methods pursued in the Chinese opium factories. Great improvements have been made since the industry became a Government monopoly; nowadays the Japanese opium manufacturers of Formosa are the most skilful in the world, and the United States, when confronted with a similar problem in the Philippines, were unable to devise any better expedient for stamping out the abuse than to adopt the Japanese system and study Japanese methods of manufacture. However, the Opium Treaty between China and India has completely changed the outlook of the opium trade, and it remains to be seen whether Japan will follow in the footsteps of China and put an end to the practice by entirely prohibiting the importation of the product into Formosa.

Salt was a monopoly inherited by the Japanese from ^{Salt} the Chinese. Some doubts were entertained as to the wisdom of maintaining it, and it was abandoned for a time to private enterprise, but owing perhaps to the general turmoil produced by the introduction of new

and the consequent dislocation of old methods of business, the trade proved to be utterly disorganized and prices rose to such an extent that the Government was obliged to resume the monopoly.

Tobacco has been made a State monopoly chiefly for the purpose of raising revenue. The quantity grown in the Island, though it has greatly increased, is still insufficient to meet the demand, and the balance, nearly four-fifths of the total quantity consumed, has to be imported from China.

It has, therefore, not been without serious consideration that the Formosan Government has adopted the system of State monopoly. It is a system which has much to recommend it at first sight, and having regard to the impatience of the Japanese to reap immediate benefit from their acquisition, it is difficult to see what other course they could have adopted. At present the State monopolies seem to be honestly and efficiently managed, and the abuses which are usually prevalent in such a system do not seem to have yet appeared. In this instance attention might be drawn to the revenue from the opium trade which, in spite of the Government's avowed intention to suppress this industry, shows little tendency to decrease. This is only one of many examples of Government monopolies that have failed in their purpose.

The Island, originally known as Loochoo, attracted the attention of Portuguese explorers, in the sixteenth century, who were so impressed with its advantageous position, its fine climate, its obvious fertility, and the natural beauty of the scenery, that they called it 'Formosa' (beautiful), the name by which it has since been known by Europeans.

The territory consists of the main island of Taiwan,

and the Hoko (Pescadores), together with the adjacent islands, lying at a distance of over 90 miles north of Amoy in the Fukien Province, China, and over 200 miles north-east of the Philippines. Formosa is about 260 miles in length, and between 60 and 70 miles broad in its widest part. It covers an area of about 14,000 square miles. From north to south the Island is traversed by a range of high mountains, with parallel ranges which slope lower and lower towards the west until they become merged in the large, fertile, undulating plain upon which the Chinese, Spanish, Dutch, and Japanese successively fought for mastery in by-gone days. Looking towards the east, the view of the successive elevations is most impressive. The mountainous district extends right to the eastern shore of Formosa, forming cliffs which at places show an estimated height of about 7,000 feet sheer from the sea—said to be the highest known sea-cliffs in the world.

The climate and soil of Taiwan are thoroughly adapted to agriculture, which the Japanese Government has done a great deal to encourage. The minute trigonometrical survey of the country made by Count Kodama's Government was invaluable as a means of ascertaining the resources of the country, and the land legislation which followed, settling the pressing question of land-ownership, did much to place agriculture on a firm footing. The gradual reduction of the savages has brought larger areas under cultivation, while the extensive programme of irrigation now being carried out by the Government, involving the expenditure of some £3,000,000 and the construction of fourteen canals and numerous reservoirs and dams, has greatly increased the fertility of the land. According to the census, nearly 160,000 households

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cultivate their own lands, and there are 210,000 tenant families.

Rice, which occupied the chief attention of the Chinese, is still one of the most important products. The quality of the crop is very good and is generally considered to surpass that of Indian and Rangoon rice. The irrigation works which have now been completed over some 571,000 acres have done much to improve the growth, and as a result two and sometimes three crops of rice can be raised in a year in the irrigated districts.

The Japanese, however, finding that sugar plantations yield a far better profit than rice cultivation, have determined to make that the staple industry of the country, and are using all their efforts to improve the growth and extend the area under cultivation. Owing to the increased yield of rice per acre it is now possible to convert large tracts of paddy-fields into sugar plantations, the crops, of course, being raised in alternation with others, and it is now the aim of the authorities to devote as small an area of land to the cultivation of rice as is capable of supplying the demands of the population.

The development of sugar planting in Formosa is an undertaking which should have a great interest for the Japanese, for the striking feature of the sugar industry in Japan proper in recent years is the small quantity raised in comparison with the quantity imported. The Formosans, therefore, have a large market near at hand, and one in which they should have little trouble in securing a good share of the trade. Formosa is clearly destined to play an important part in the sugar trade, and progress has been rapid since the introduction of modern methods of manufacture in 1895. The erection of the old buffalo type of mill is now pro-

hibited, and the improvement in the position justifies the absolute control exercised by the Government over the industry. New factories were erected and fitted out with modern machinery imported from America. At first these measures provoked a good deal of opposition from the old native factories, but in time the natives were induced to see where their real interests lay, and now nearly all the old native factories have disappeared.

The Government, in order to attract capital to the industry, has encouraged the formation of companies to undertake the cultivation of the sugar-cane on a large scale. Foremost among these companies is the Formosan Sugar Company, originally formed by a small group of Japanese millionaires, which has just commenced negotiations for amalgamation with two other important sugar companies. The industry is practically controlled by the Raw Sugar Guild. This Guild has been the object of much criticism, and doubtless its existence gives rise to a great deal of abuse, but it has done good work in the past. Otherwise it is interesting as an example of the general tendency of great industrial concerns throughout the world to combine in some form or other, and is illustrative of the slow and silent economic changes that are everywhere modifying social conditions. . Whether the Guild be good or bad, it would be difficult to replace it, as these combines are usually called into being through the exigencies of foreign trade, and doubtless the union of the merchants enables them to secure a far better hold on foreign markets.

The expedient of importing new shoots from abroad to improve the home growth has been adopted in Formosa with conspicuous success ; Lahaina cane cuttings were found to flourish, and the Rose Bamboo is largely

Government
encouragement
of sugar
cultivation.

The Formosan
Sugar
Company.

The Raw
Sugar
Guild

Species of
sugar-
cane im-
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from
abroad.

imported from Hawaii, while in 1902 experiments were made with a new species of cane from Java and Australia. Statistics show a rapid augmentation of the area devoted to sugar-cane growing, and at the same time a gradual decline from favour of the native species. In 1908 there were 68,645 acres under cane, and of these 28,055 were planted with native varieties and the remainder with improved and imported canes. By 1910 the total area had increased to 162,108 acres, of which only 24,081 were bearing indigenous plants. The yield per acre, too, had increased by about 13 per cent., and there was an improvement of nearly 5 per cent. in the amount of sugar extracted per ton of cane. The following figures, taken from the twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Agriculture and Commerce Department, show the export from Taiwan of white and brown sugar in recent years:—

Year	To Japan Proper Tons	To other Countries Tons	Total Tons
1903	22,524	2,027	24,551
1905	42,463	142	42,605
1907	56,536	76	56,612
1909	125,848	13	125,861

The figures for 1910 are not available, but it may be mentioned as showing the increasing output of the Taiwan sugar plantations, that the value of the sugar exported to other countries in that year amounted to over £50,000. The industry is now in a very flourishing condition, and the Government has found it possible to make a large reduction in the subsidy granted to the trade. The sugar merchants have lately been emphasizing the increased importance of the industry on the ground of the revenue it brings to the State, and are now urging the Government to push its development in every possible way.

Tea is another important product and one that ^{Tea.} seems to have a future before it. The famous Oolong tea of Formosa has almost entirely supplanted the green tea of Japan in American markets. The trade is now largely in the hands of English, American, and Chinese merchants, and the expansion of the industry has not yet brought much profit to the growers themselves, although the industry is very profitable. Tea planting, like sugar, enjoys the active ^{State en-} support of the Formosan Government, which has ^{courage-} established an experimental tea plantation at Toshien, ^{ment} and a model tea factory at Anpingchin. Some diffi- ^{of tea} culty is experienced in maintaining the quality of the ^{planting.} growth, owing to the ignorance of the natives, but the Tea Merchants' Guild, formed in 1898, has done very good work in this direction, and serious efforts are being made to produce a growth capable of competing with Ceylon tea, which now almost completely monopolizes the English market. Whether Formosan tea growers will be successful in this undertaking remains to be seen. The area under cultivation for ^{Area} 1910 (83,863 acres) shows a slight decrease on that ^{under tea} of 1908 (85,920 acres) with a consequent decrease in ^{cultura-} the amount produced, but it is significant that the ^{tion.} amount of refined tea has increased from 22,251,593 lbs. in 1908 to 24,250,008 lbs. in 1910.

Other products are sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, ^{Other} sesamum, peas and beans, barley, wheat, grain-bear- ^{products.} ing grass, Italian millet, maize, vegetables, flax and hemp, yellow hemp, pineapple fibres, and indigo. Some attention has also been given to the cultivation of fruits, especially oranges, bananas, and pineapples, and these are regarded as constituting a promising industry. The Formosan Government is encouraging ^{Stock-} stock farming in every way by the protection of those ^{farming.}

engaged in it, and also by the importation of superior breeds and species from foreign countries. So far the pig is the most valuable animal, and the value of pigs slaughtered in 1910 was £899,929, showing an increase of nearly £100,000 since 1908. This has probably been very uphill work, as previous to the coming of the Japanese the number of domestic animals was very small and their species very limited. Horses have always been very rare, and the chief animals were two breeds of oxen, the bullock, probably of Dutch importation, and the water buffalo. Wild animals are far more numerous, and tigers, bears, wild boars, monkeys, and snakes are still to be found in parts of the Island.

There are over seven million acres of valuable forest lands in Formosa, and as civilization extends these will prove constantly increasing sources of wealth. The building up of the camphor forests is both an interesting and an important work. In order to maintain a sufficient supply of the product, efforts are being made to increase the number of plants. Nurseries are being established with good results in various parts of the Island, and by the end of March, 1908, over $6\frac{1}{4}$ million acres had been replanted. An attempt is also being made to cultivate rubber-trees. The important undertaking of the Fujita firm, which has expended about 2,000,000 *yen* on laying rails to bring out the valuable Hinoki timbers in the Arisan district, has had to be abandoned owing to the difficulties experienced, but the company has been bought up by the Government, which is prepared to spend some 5,900,000 *yen* spread over five years on the work.

Formosa also produces gold, silver, copper, coal, petroleum, and sulphur, but not in very large quanti-

ties, though efforts to develop the mining industries have made some progress.

It is impossible in the space at command to give more than a summary of the public improvements, other than the railways, which have been inaugurated by the Japanese. The streets of Taihoku, which were narrow and dirty, with unspeakably offensive odours, have been cleaned and reconstructed, while a drainage system has been started. A good harbour, which, when completed, will cost nearly £1,000,000, is being constructed at Keelung, the principal port of the Island. Another harbour, costing half this sum, has been begun at Takao, the southern port. Waterworks have been undertaken at Taihoku and Keelung. Nearly 4,000 miles of roads have been reconstructed and repaired. Buildings for Governmental purposes, an industrial museum, hospitals, law courts, banks, post and telegraph offices, and residences for officials have been built, while the traveller has been provided with an excellently equipped European hotel at Taihoku.

Remarkable progress has been made with irrigation works, and it is proposed to spend £3,000,000 on such undertakings, which, it is believed, can be made a profitable investment for the Government and of considerable value in developing agriculture. The utilization of watercourses for irrigation purposes will lead to the supply of hydro-electric power. There is now one hydro-electric plant at Taihoku, and the Government, having taken over the rights in connexion with the irrigation schemes, proposes to build five more electric light works at a cost of nearly £500,000. A good telegraph and telephone system has been established, and with the increase in the

Public
works.

Irrigation
works.

Electric
light,
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and tele-
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works.

demand for telephone exchanges they have been introduced in all important centres.

The topography of the Island has been carefully studied and a bureau has been established for the purpose of conducting cadastral, trigonometrical, and topographical surveys. The result of this necessary work has made it possible to rearrange and settle many disputed questions in relation to taxation and ownership of land. These matters had been a source of much trouble to the Chinese. A census of population has been taken and the published report forms an interesting volume, filled with detail concerning a population of which but little was heretofore known. The following is a summary of the inhabitants at the end of 1910 :—

Formosan	3,086,981
Savages	124,985
Japanese	96,402
Foreigners (including Chinese)	14,813
	<hr/>
	3,323,181

In the matter of education also, the Japanese have shown themselves to be wise and skilful administrators. It was evident at the outset that two different systems would have to be adopted—the one for the natives of Formosa and the other for the Japanese settlers in the Island. For the former there are elementary schools and secondary schools, both for boys and girls, and for the latter there are public schools, the National Language School, and the Medical School. There are technical branches, where a training may be obtained in handicraft, as well as one adapted for those who intend to engage in agriculture.

Special mention should be made of the Police School, which numbers 360 students. The curriculum consists of two courses, in both of which the method of inspec-

tion, ceremonial, etiquette (for the inmates of Japanese prisons must not neglect their manners, though their morals go astray), military drill, fencing and ju-jitsu are taught. What with the subjugation of brigands and guarding the railway against the encroachment of savages, together with their usual duties, the courage and ability of the police force of Formosa have been put to a severe test. They have proved highly successful, and deserve credit for having brought order out of the extremely chaotic conditions which existed ten years ago. The conduct of the Japanese troops in suppressing the rebellions and in dealing with the savage tribes has been equally praiseworthy. Many lives have been lost in the pacification of savages and in the repression of outlawry, but of late years much of the work has been entrusted to the police.

Legal and penal matters are no longer settled by court-martial, but by a regular judiciary with judges and courts of various grades, and several thousand cases are annually disposed of. Improved prisons have taken the place of the provisional houses of detention, and every effort is being made to reform the inmates. It has, however, been found necessary to retain the old punishment of flogging, as detention in the fine new Japanese prisons was not a hardship to the Formosan criminal, but a pleasure. There are twenty-two groups of handicrafts and fifty-four different occupations carried on in the Formosan prisons. In addition to the Bureau of Savage Affairs there is the institute referred to for the training of police and prison officers who have to deal with the savages. The object to be attained is as much 'enlightenment and domestication' as punishment. Japan wants to pacify the aborigines, not to exterminate them.

A Bureau of Marine Affairs has been set up to look

after the interests of seamen and regulate harbours, lighthouses, and marine signals. This office also supervises marine transportation, and sees that a regular steamship service is maintained with what the Japanese call the 'Mother Country'. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha provide a service *via* Nagasaki, Moji, and Ujina, whilst the Nippon Yusen Kaisha have a service between Kobe and Keelung *via* Moji. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha also maintain a service from Hong-Kong, and there are numerous Chinese vessels engaged in the coasting trade. There are four open ports, namely, Tamsui, Keelung, Anping, and Takao. For Chinese junks there are several other minor ports. The foreign trade of Formosa for 1910 amounted to £3,183,865, the principal exports being tea, camphor, plant fibres, and hemp. The principal import, in spite of the efforts on the part of the Japanese Government to reduce the consumption, is opium. Wheat, flour, petroleum, cotton goods, timber, and leaf tobacco are among the imports. With the decline of the foreign trade, both export and import, there has been a satisfactory increase in the trade with Japan, the total value of which in 1897 was £596,985, and in 1910 £7,700,734. The principal commodities sent to Japan are rice, sugar, camphor, and camphor oil. The export and import trade between Japan and Formosa taken for a period of ten years about balances.

The following table shows the value of the foreign trade of Formosa for five years (in *yen*):—

	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Imports	12,737,460	11,220,685	17,074,766	11,657,000	11,986,096
Exports	9,779,085	9,741,429	9,297,875	12,591,000	19,852,562
	<u>22,516,545</u>	<u>20,962,114</u>	<u>26,372,641</u>	<u>24,248,000</u>	<u>31,838,658</u>

The finances of Formosa have been admirably managed. Beginning with a revenue of some £800,000,

and a deficit for which the Japanese Government had to provide, it now has a revenue of over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling, and is financially independent. These results have apparently been legitimately attained, and have not been secured by imposing extortionate taxes. From April, 1896, to April, 1910, the Formosan Government has expended 328,160,000 *yen* or over 33 million sterling. This money has been spent to the extent of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling on railways and roads; some 7 million on the purchase of and expenses pertaining to the monopolies; and $18\frac{1}{2}$ million in administrative expenses. At first the Home Government, as has been said, had a deficit to make up—in all nearly £3,000,000—but during the last three years Formosa has been self-supporting. The total debt of the Island is about £4,000,000, principally incurred in railway and harbour construction. Sur-Taxation. veying the system of taxation, it must be admitted that in obtaining the income for the State and that required for local purposes almost every species of taxation is resorted to. The annual revenues of Taiwan consist of inland taxes (those imposed on land, tea, sugar, *sake*, mining, registration taxes, clearance fees, textile fabrics, and petroleum), customs duties, tonnage dues, proceeds from the Government undertakings and property, stamp receipts, licence fees, miscellaneous receipts, home subsidy and funds transferred from the previous year's account. Besides these there are local taxes including (1) the additional land tax; (2) house tax; (3) business tax; and (4) miscellaneous taxes. It will be observed from this list of taxes that Formosa is rapidly taking its place with the civilized countries of the world by obtaining its taxes from almost every available source.

For guarding the frontier to prevent the descent of

the savages upon the plains, volunteers were organized even when the Island belonged to China. The system was kept up on a larger scale by the new rulers, who in 1897 organized the Government Frontier Guard of 150 men. In 1903 the volunteers were superseded by the new guards, who were increased to 2,700. Further expansion was made in 1906, and the corps grew to a strength of almost a whole military brigade, composed of 102 police inspectors, 435 policemen, and 4,467 guards, enlisted from the natives. The outlay kept pace with the expansion of the service, and from 35,000 *yen* at first it grew to 230,000 *yen* in 1900, 400,000 in 1903, 700,000 approximately in 1906, 1,680,000 in 1907, and 1,900,000 in 1908. At present there are 333 sentinel posts, while 15 field guns, 68 mountain guns, and 41 quick-firers are employed in the work. The expenditure involved in the systematic campaign already referred to is of course additional to this.

Formosa can be reached both from Hong-Kong and from Japan. The Hong-Kong-Tamsui Line has weekly sailings from Hong-Kong *via* Swatow and Amoy to Tamsui, and the Hong-Kong-Anping Line three sailings a month from Hong-Kong *via* Swatow and Amoy to Anping. To and from Japan the Kobe-Keelung Line runs vessels five times a month from Kobe *via* Moji to Keelung, and the Yokohama-Takao Line, sailing twice monthly, takes passengers from Yokohama *via* Kobe, Ujina, Moji, Nagasaki, Keelung, Pescadores, and Anping to Takao and back. To reach Taihoku, the capital of Formosa, travellers coming from the south by these steamers of the Hong-Kong-Tamsui Line land at Tamsui, and thence take train to Taihoku, the latter part of the journey occupying about fifty minutes. Travellers from Japan land at Keelung,

the northern terminus of the Formosan Railway, whence Taihoku is reached by train in about an hour. There is a comfortable railway hotel situated just in front of the Taihoku station, which is managed entirely on the European system, and where guests will find accommodation similar to that provided in other good hotels in the East.

The facts show that the Japanese have improved the condition of the inhabitants of the Island, and at the same time have largely increased its productive capacity. They have furthermore demonstrated to the world their capacity as administrators. The task was fraught with difficulties, many of which they have overcome, and all of which they have approached with a just regard of the rights of others, and with an apparent determination to exhaust every resource known to civilization before resorting to arms in dealing with the turbulent, and at times ferocious, aborigines.

In following the milder methods they have not infrequently suffered severely from the brutalities of these savages. With great forbearance and patience the Japanese have continued their policy of moderation and at last seem to be reaping their reward, for the Island is in a peaceful and also a prosperous condition. From a material point of view the Japanese appear to have performed wonders. They are fairly entitled to any financial benefit that may arise from the largely increased trade between Japan and Formosa, and to the advantages the Island affords for Japanese immigration. Whatever may be said of Japan's attitude elsewhere, even the enemies and rivals of the Empire of the Rising Sun can find very little fault with what has been accomplished in Formosa.

CHAPTER XLII

KARAFUTO (JAPANESE SAGHALIEN)

THE cherry-tree does not blossom northwards of the 50th degree parallel of latitude, and it is said in Japan that this is the reason why the Island of Saghalien was divided from the 50th degree. This may be, and doubtless is, nothing more than a poetical idea, and the story is repeated for what it is worth, because there appears to be little else of a poetical nature in connexion with this strip of land, the best part of which, according to some experts who claim that they have looked into the matter, the Russians seem to have kept for themselves.

A long narrow island, bordering the eastern shores of the Russian Coast Province, Saghalien is about 630 miles in length from north to south, its least width being 17 miles, and its greatest width 93 miles. Its area is 29,100 square miles, nearly the same as that of Bavaria, and its inhabitants are concentrated into 99 villages and 4,715 'settlements'. Its first appearance in history dates back only to the seventeenth century, but descriptions of it probably exist in old Japanese and Chinese documents, for as early as 1615 a Japanese expedition touched at the Island, and made a prospective map of its southern part. Since the Japanese gave the name of Karafuto to this part of the Island, we may conclude that at that time Saghalien was held to be a part of the Chinese mainland, as 'Kara' is the old Japanese name for China; indeed, records show, until the end of the eighteenth century,

that Saghalien belonged to the Chinese, and was of importance for the supply of furs and seal skins.

In Europe, Saghalien was thought, until the middle of last century, to be a peninsula, Newelski and La Perouse being the first to show that it was an island. The Chinese in Saghalien, about the time when La Perouse (in 1787) determined its insular character, were being more and more supplanted by the Japanese, until in 1800 the Russians came upon the scene. From 1807 onwards the Island received Russian penal colonies, and in 1853 Russia built the fort of Dui for the protection of her fur hunters. Shortly afterwards large deposits of coal were discovered in the interior and interest consequently increased.

After several treaties with the Japanese, Russia, in 1875, assured for herself the sole possession of the Island, by ceding the Kuriles to Japan. By Clause 9 of the Treaty of Portsmouth, however, Russia subsequently relinquished to Japan that part (a little more than two-fifths) of Saghalien lying south of 50° north latitude, together with the adjacent small islands, the freedom of passage in La Perouse and Tartary Straits being guaranteed. The territory in question occupies an elongated area north and south, having a length from north to south of approximately 121 *ri* (295 miles) whilst its width from east to west is only about 40 *ri* (98 miles) in the broadest part near the mouth of the river Horonai, and less than 3 *ri* (7.3 miles) in the narrowest part, between Kusumai and Numai.

Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien) covers an area of about 2,200 square *ri* (13,101 square miles). Generally speaking, it has comparatively little steep land. Two mountain ranges extend north and south, but the loftiest peak in Kara, which is situated near the north

boundary, between Japanese and Russian territory, does not exceed in height 4,000 ft. above the sea-level. Between the two mountain ranges lies a low plain, through which the rivers Horonai, Naibuchi, Suzuya, Rutaka and others flow slowly.

It is popularly supposed that Saghalien is little but a land of ice and snow. This is not the case, however, even in winter, though the climate of the island is by no means uniform, owing to its physical position, features and currents. The general flora of Saghalien, like its forests, is remarkably rich. The central zone of the mountain slopes is covered with fine coniferous timber, reminding one of the Tyrolese Alps, while the rocky peaks and spurs are clad with a splendid Alpine flora. Wild grapes, wild roses, and hazel-nuts abound, and on the moors, rosemary and bilberries, together with the rarest mosses, are to be found.

The population of Saghalien at the end of 1908 was 26,393, of which the native inhabitants, consisting of four tribes, Ainu, Gilyaks, Orotshones, and Tunguses, do not appear to number more than 1,500 in all, though owing to diversity between the figures supplied from various sources the writer cannot vouch for the correctness of this estimate. In the last fifty years the native races have been absolutely decimated, men, women, and children drinking 96 per cent. pure alcohol. Many villages in Saghalien have completely died out, the men having drunk themselves to death.

Before the outbreak of the war Southern Saghalien contained several thousand Russians, but of these a bare handful remain—chiefly poor people who were devoid of means for removing to Russian territory after the cession of this district to Japan in 1905. Japanese form the largest proportion of the population, each recent year being marked by a very considerable

emigration of these from Japan proper, and there are some Chinese and Koreans. Here again conflicting statistics make it wiser not to adopt any particular set of figures.

When in Tokyo the writer had the pleasure of meeting the Governor of Saghalien, Mr. Hiraoka. The interview, which took place in the office of Baron Goto, then head of the Department of Communications, in whose charge were the interests of the Island, and who was giving instructions and approving plans to be put into operation in Karafuto—was not very long, but the writer was struck with the energy, ability, and grasp of problems which the Governor displayed. He is as enthusiastic as the Governor of a North American territory, and appears to be quite hopeful of developing this rather dreary part of the world, though, perhaps, the word 'dreary' is misapplied, as, from what he says, the climate of Saghalien Island is good. Already they have something like 7,500 Japanese immigrants who find work there for six months in the year, but the Government is determined, by the introduction of modern methods, and by the aid of applied chemistry, to furnish these people with employment all the year round, so that they may settle and build homes in the province. With this object in view he is prepared to encourage the production of wood alcohol, and he has many other interesting schemes which he proposes to put into operation. The colonization of the territory of Hokkaido was conducted after the Japanese style by introducing agriculture and industry, and Mr. Hiraoka is adopting the same policy in the development of the islands under his care.

Immediately after the cession of Karafuto to Japan in October, 1905, the Karafuto Civil Administration

The
Governor
of Sagha-
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Office was organized, which managed civil affairs in the new dominion until April, 1907. After that date, when the finances of Karafuto had been made independent and placed on a firm foundation, the Karafuto Administration Office was established, and the Governor of that office was empowered to take over the control of the correspondence and meteorological observations, in addition to the ordinary local administrative affairs. The ordinary revenue for the year 1909-10, proceeding from public undertakings, state property, land taxes, and licences, amounted to £103,822, and the extraordinary revenue, in which the National Treasury grant (a fixed grant) is included, to £80,115. The total expenditure for the same year was £157,885. The Civil Administration Office first concerned itself with a general survey of the agricultural capacity of the Island, and upon the results of this survey agriculturists have been encouraged to settle in suitable districts. The Government's interest in the cultivation of the Island has been as practical as it has been in Chosen, the distribution of seeds, agricultural appliances, and live stock, together with the furnishing of other facilities to would-be settlers, being features of State encouragement in both places.

The settlers numbered about 1,113 families at the end of 1910, and the total area of land cultivated by them was 4,248 acres. According to an official investigation begun in 1905 and completed in 1909 more than 300,000 acres remain within the range of cultivation.

Notwithstanding the cold in winter there are many agricultural products which can be raised successfully, owing to the comparatively high temperature in summer. Thus barley, wheat, oats, rye, peas, pota-

toes, kidney-beans, radishes, carrots, turnips, burdock, cabbages, cucumbers, and other vegetables, as well as many grasses, can be cultivated satisfactorily. Hemp, flax, peppermint, and tobacco also grow tolerably well, and it is expected that buckwheat, soya beans, beans, rice, and millet will flourish, if proper seeds are selected and sown. The vast forests which cover certain parts of the Island will yield considerable supplies of timber both for fuel and for industrial purposes, and the large unoccupied areas of land will, it is hoped, encourage colonists to settle in Saghalien.

The total forest acreage is 8,312,143 acres, an Forests. extent unparalleled in any other part of the Japanese Empire, and is mainly unexploited. The investigation of the condition of these virgin forests affords the most optimistic grounds for relying upon them as a great source of wealth. Certain species of conifers which abound, while well suited for engineering and building purposes, will also be invaluable for the manufacture of pulp for paper-making, an industry which, as far as the supply of raw material goes, should be capable of enormous development.

The larch, too, will be a great asset to the provision of building material, and the turpentine oil and resin obtainable from it, as well as a variety of by-products of other trees, should promote an extensive chemical industry. The situation of the forests is another feature that will diminish the outlay that usually has to be considered in the forestry industry, for the table lands and sloping valleys upon which so many of the forests are formed will in the winter snows be natural conduits for the transport of timber.

Fishery is by far the most important resource in Fishery. Karafuto, and it is carried on under two distinct conditions—either as seine-fishing under special licence,

or under ordinary licences for the usual fishing grounds. Herring, trout, and salmon are the chief fish to which the seine fishery right applies, and the development of the herring fishery, which now stands at the head of the industry, has of late years been especially marked. Of the common fisheries the cod is the most important, though lately crabs have been caught in great numbers, and canned crabs find a constant market in America. The interests of fishery are upheld by special regulations with regard to limitation, and, in some parts, entire restriction.

Of the mineral products of Saghalien, the most important is coal, which is to be found in abundance in a series of seams from 2 feet to 5 feet in thickness all over the Island, and which, being almost free from sulphur, yields as much as 60 per cent. of coke and gives very little ash. Since 1905 investigations have been made into the geology and the metallic veins of the Island, including the mineral products, and alluvial gold has been found in large quantities in the beds of the rivers which come down from the Tohoku, Suzuya, and Shiretoko mountain ranges, iron pyrites exist also in the Notoro peninsula. In 1907 oil fields were discovered on the western coast. As there are many points yet remaining for further research, it is expected that, as exploration work proceeds, more coal seams will be found and other useful mineral products may be discovered. The coal in Karafuto extends over all parts of the Island, and can be mined everywhere. The principal coalfields are at Horonai, Seitonai, Naibuchi, Tomariro, Fusetaki, Notoro, and Shiretoko. In 1898 the first gold mines were discovered in Central Saghalien, and their yield seems promising, but means of communication and the spirit of enterprise so far have been lacking to make this discovery

profitable. Fine amber is found on the east coast of the Island, while the petroleum fields have recently awakened great interest. German science and capital have so far played a large part in their development. As will have been gathered, Saghalien is in many ways richly blessed by nature, but its development as an important colony demands much work and other kinds of men from those who up to now have been seen there.

Until the cession of Karafuto to Japan the road Roads. from Otomari to a place near the mouth of the river Naibuchi *via* Toyohara was the only one in the Island worth mentioning. The Karafuto Administration Office has, however, since constructed a road from Toyohara to Mauka across the Western Karafuto mountain ranges, thus making communication between Toyohara and Mauka by horse or sledge possible even in winter. Minor roads leading to important towns and villages have been repaired; bridges have been built over small rivers; ferry boat facilities on the larger rivers have been placed under official protection and opened to the public, either free or at a small charge fixed by the Administration authorities.

The parts where roads have been made are eight in number—namely, Otomari, Toyohara, Mauka, Kusunai, Nodasan, Tomarioro, Kitanayoshi, and Shikika. Otomari includes two districts, formerly called Korsakoff and Totoantomali, and as it possesses a good anchorage merchants of influence were already engaging in business there at the time of the acquisition of the Island by Japan, and articles of daily use are now imported chiefly into this place. Roads extend in the direction of Sakae-machi from the coast of Korsakoff for about one *ri* (2.44 miles). The

buildings to be found here include the Otomari Local Administration Office, a branch of the Karafuto Administration Office Hospital, an Observatory, and a Railway Office, and a part of the garrison troops are stationed here.

Toyohara, formerly called Vladimirovka, is situated in the centre of the Suzuya Plain, about ten *ri* (24.4 miles) north of Otomari. This neighbourhood has proved one of the districts best adapted for colonization, and a considerable number of farmers and peasants have already settled there and are engaging in cultivation. Two roads start from Toyohara, the one leading to Mauka on the west coast, and the other to Defki on the east coast, and the removal of the Karafuto Administration Office and the head-quarters of the Karafuto garrison from Otomari to this place in August, 1908, caused it to gain considerably in importance. At present the Karafuto Administration Office, the Toyohara Local Administration Office, the head-quarters of the Karafuto garrison, the District and Local Courts, the Hospital of the Karafuto Administration Office, the Post Office, and a branch of the Sapporo Prison are all situated in this town.

Mauka—one of the most important places on the west coast of the Island—had become the head-quarters of the fishing industry on that coast since the time of the Russian occupation. As there are many good places for fishing on the west coast, this station presents much activity and movement in all directions during the fishing season. The fact that even in the winter time vessels are safe in the port of Mauka gives it additional importance as a centre of communication between the Island and Japan proper. Kitanayoshi and Shikika, although they have not yet

attained to a position of commercial activity, are promising towns.

The light railway between Otomari and Toyohara, ^{Railway.} extending for a distance of 25 miles, was first constructed for military use, but in May, 1907, it was handed over to the Karafuto Administration Office, and since then it has been working under public management for the general transport of passengers and goods.

Post offices have been established at Toyohara, ^{Postal} Otomari, Mauka, and other places of importance. ^{service} The usual postal services are conducted at all of these offices, and telephonic communication is available at the three post offices at Toyohara, Otomari, and Mauka.

Many vessels run between Karafuto and Japan ^{Steam-} proper and between the various ports of the Island, ^{ship com-} and these may be classified in three categories, namely, ^{munica-} the steamers subsidized by the Karafuto Administration Office, those of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Company, subsidized by the Japanese Government, and other merchant ships. ^{tion.}

The increase of inhabitants in the Island since its ^{Educa-} occupation by Japan has made it necessary to establish ^{tion.} educational facilities for the children, in consequence of which elementary schools have, since August, 1906, been founded by the Karafuto Administration Office at three places, namely, at Otomari, Toyohara, and Mauka. At the same time, rules concerning subsidies to private elementary schools have been issued, and permission has been granted for the establishment of elementary schools at various points in certain selected localities. Thus the educational system has been placed on a fairly satisfactory basis.

Although the sanitary system cannot yet be said ^{Health.}

to be perfect, there are not many cases of disease amongst the inhabitants. Outbreaks of beri-beri and scurvy are occasionally met with amongst the fishermen and farmers, who are careless of hygienic rules, but, generally speaking, the people are in sound physical condition.

CHAPTER XLIII

HOKKAIDO

FOR a variety of reasons the island of Hokkaido should be considered in a separate chapter. Climat-ically it is colder than the political and commercial centre of the Empire, partaking of almost arctic conditions for five months of the year; and while this fact has had much to do in determining the nature of its vegetable products it has also not been without its effect upon the characteristics of its inhabitants. Industrially it is distinct, the traditional occupation being fishing. Physiographically it is peculiar, mainly by reason of the volume and navigability of its rivers, one of which is the longest in all Japan. Zoologically it has its points of divergence; the species which exist in Hokkaido are not always identical with those found south of the Straits of Tsugaru. Geologically it has been divorced for aeons from the mainland, a few miles distant. In the matter of population it can only number about forty inhabitants to the square mile, as compared with the 350 of Japan proper; and it is noteworthy for the fact that it shelters the last of the Ainus, the aborigines of Japan. And, as a final claim to separate consideration, it is only since the Restoration that it has really formed part of Japan proper.

In olden times Hokkaido was Yezo, or 'Yezo-ga-Shima', and was peopled by the warlike Zezo race, who claimed, and to all intents and purposes enjoyed, independence of the Imperial Ruler in the south. Indeed, they frequently invaded his territory, though

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Early
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never with any measure of success. Their hostility, however, at least discouraged emigration from other parts of Japan, and until Yoritomo, the first Shogun, hunted the retainers of the house of Fujiwara off the mainland, the inhospitable northern island was left in the undisturbed possession of the intractable northern folk. The refugee new-comers seem to have settled in feudal style in the west; in 1454 we hear of the great warrior Nobuhiro Takeda, of the province of Waka-sam, waging war upon the independent lords and finally subjugating the island. He it was who founded the House of Matsumaye, and his successors, from their seat of government in the town of Matsumaye (now Fukuyama), ruled over most of the west of Hokkaido until 1868, the eastern half being under the jurisdiction of the Shogunate. Heavy taxes on the fisheries constituted the sole source of revenue of the Matsumaye clan; in place of the farms which other feudal lords would have allotted their people were given fishing grounds. No attempt at development was made, and at the Restoration the condition of the west of the Island was practically the same as it had been in 1600. In the east, however, the Shogunate had accomplished some good work in the direction of exploration and colonization.

The new Government at first (1872) appointed a Colonization Commission to administer the Island, naming it Hokkaido, or the 'Northern Circuit', and dividing it into eleven provinces. The idea was to fortify the northern frontiers, to pacify the people, and generally to reclaim the Island for Japan. Roads were therefore opened for the purpose of communication, the first being that between Sapporo, the new seat of Government, and Hakodate; extensive and ambitious public works were begun with the aid of

American advisers; land suitable for agriculture was granted to those who would undertake to reclaim it, and agricultural immigration was strongly encouraged. The country was prospected for minerals, and coal-shafts were sunk at Poronai, whence a railway was built to the port of Otaru; sericulture was introduced, and to stimulate public enterprise the Colonial Government took the lead in the construction of factories, filatures, flour-mills, breweries, and other concerns. Grants were made to the fishermen, and much was done to develop the markets of Vladivostock and China for marine products. The civil administration was based upon the representation of towns and villages; posts, telegraphs, and lighthouses were established, channels were buoyed, and schools and penitentiaries were built. Many more improvements were either initiated or in contemplation when, in 1882, some errors on the part of officials caused serious public discontent, and the Colonial Government was abolished, at a time when Hokkaido was in a fair way towards real progress.

The present administrative system of Hokkaido, which embraces the Chishima (Kurile) Islands, differs very little from that of the prefectures, except that there is no city or county to constitute an administrative division, while 3 *ku*, or districts, and 16 *shicho*, or branch governments, have been established, each of the latter being subdivided into *machi* (towns) and *mura* (villages). *Ku*, *machi* and *mura* are self-governing corporations, precisely as are cities, towns, and villages in the Prefectures.

Hokkaido has an area of 30,275 square miles, and an estimated population (at the end of 1910) of 1,200,000 inhabitants. Physiographically it is distinctly mountainous, the two main ranges sending

out short branches in all directions, but the altitude of the highest peak is no more than 7,108 feet. The Island is well watered, and besides the Ishikari, which is 224 miles in length and carries a considerable volume of water, it has two rivers of importance in the Teshio and Tokachi.

No more than a general idea can be given of the natural resources of Hokkaido, but it may be mentioned that their value is growing more evident each year, and that the Government, which has reason to believe that the northern island will very shortly prove to be a storehouse of natural treasure, is using every means in its power to secure its exploitation in an intelligent and methodical manner.

Forests of valuable timber, chiefly occurring on the slopes of the mountains, cover nearly half the total area of the Island; and the value of forest produce in 1909 was about £540,000. Logs and barks, railway sleepers, and charcoal are the principal items, and the exports of the three first named to the United States increased from £73,000 in 1909 to £140,831 in 1910.

The area of land available for agriculture is estimated at 3,300,000 acres, about a third of which belongs to the people, and the remainder to the State. But much of this is as yet unreclaimed, and the area actually under cultivation probably falls short of 1,250,000 acres. At the end of 1909 nearly 75,000 acres were growing rice, and although the average yield per acre was low as compared with most districts in the mainland, it is increasing satisfactorily. Of the food crops the soya bean and the small red bean are the most important, but in 1909, for the first time, a shipment of peas was made to England, and the experiment having proved successful, the cultivation of this product thereafter received special attention. In 1910 a total

of 5,300 tons was shipped, and it is expected that the production for this year will be 200,000 bushels. Rape seed is also an important crop, and the production of flax amounted in 1909 to 13,250 tons. The flax-fibre raised in the Island is much in favour with Belgian importers. In sericulture very fair progress has been made, the total amount of raw silk produced in 1909 being 34,213 lbs., valued at over £23,000.

Though agriculture now constitutes Hokkaido's principal source of wealth, the authorities have always recognized the importance of the fisheries. A cold current from the Behring Sea and a warm current from the vicinity of Tsushima combine to fill the Hokkaido fishing-grounds with a great variety of marine products, but as these have been described in detail in Chapter XV we need not allude to them here. Of late Japanese officials have been studying British fishing methods, particularly among the Grimsby trawlers, and they have now secured four modern steam trawlers and a number of Grimsby fishermen who will remain in Japan until the Hokkaido men are familiar with the new work. This will, undoubtedly, require some little time, for up to the end of 1909 the Hokkaido boats were mostly of the open Japanese style, and under 30 feet in length, and there was not a single vessel with steam as motive power, or even with an auxiliary engine. Last year the fishing season was fairly satisfactory, even under these conditions, and there was a particularly heavy take of *Kombu*; but with improved methods the industry will, it is hoped and believed, begin to show a better return for the workers, a result greatly to be desired.

The visible mineral resources of Hokkaido consist for the present largely of coal—the brown bituminous

Flax.

Sericulture.

Fisheries.

Mineral resources.

variety. There are seven or eight mines regularly producing coal of fair quality, the Yubari (two mines), Shin-yubari, Sorachi, Poronai, Ikushumpetsu, and Pompetsu, mine between them about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons annually, valued approximately at £750,000, and employ nearly 13,000 workers. There are, besides, three mines, the Kunitomi, Shiribeshi, and Poropetsu, with a moderate annual production of gold (£28,000), silver (£9,000), and copper (£23,000), but these are new concerns, and their possibilities are a matter of conjecture. The five sulphur mines, Oshino, Kobui, Shikabe, Iwaonupuri, and Furanu, employ 1,400 people, and yield about £58,000 worth of this mineral, which is largely taken by the Swedish match factories. Hokkaido's revenues from mines amounted in 1910 to about £38,000.

Thanks largely to Government initiative since the Restoration, Hokkaido promises to excel as an industrial centre. There are already about 260 factories of some importance, and the general conditions obtaining in the Island render it favourable as the site of new enterprises. The Muroran steel foundry, mentioned in Chapter XVI, has commenced work upon a number of orders from the Navy and the Railway Departments, and it is expected that by 1914 the works will be in full operation, manufacturing guns and armaments for the Government. It has a capital of 15,000,000 *yen* (£1,531,250).

Another new concern is the Hokkaido Gas Company, the first of its kind in Hokkaido, which is erecting plant at Hakodate, Otaru, and Sapporo, for the supply of gas to these districts, and subsequently to others, including Asahigawa and Muroran. The company was promoted by Tokyo business men with a capital of 3 million *yen*.

Hokkaido can also boast, since last year, the largest paper manufactory in the East, the Oji Paper Company's mill at Tomakami having started work in 1910 with a capital of 7 million *yen* (£714,583). The forests of the Island supply the pulp, which is to be converted only into paper for books and newspapers, and the factory is said to be able to turn out 300 to 400 feet of paper, 100 inches wide, per minute.

If the fact be taken into consideration that Hokkaido has only quite recently come under really efficient Government control, and is a difficult country from the standpoint of railway construction, then the railway system of the Island must be regarded as distinctly good. At the end of 1910 the aggregate length of lines was 724 miles, 44 of which were double track. On the new line, from Ikeda in the south-east to Abashiri in the north-east, 48 miles of line were completed, namely from Ikeda to Rikumbetsu, and on the line from Fukagawa to the thriving port of Rumoe on the west coast, a total of 31 miles was constructed. Other less important additions were also accomplished, and the work of last year foreshadowed a great improvement in the communication and transport facilities of Hokkaido. Still further to assist matters, a Bill for the development of the Island which passed the Diet early last year provided for the expenditure, spread over the next 15 years, of £7,145,800, the projected works including the building of 35 bridges and 4,200 miles of new road.

The same Bill contemplates the development of the best of Hokkaido's harbours, which, it must be admitted, stand in need of improvement. On the east coast the bays and inlets are for the most part very shallow, but Nemuro and Abashiri are to be dredged and generally extended, and works are

already in progress at Kushiro. Wakkanai in the extreme north, Muroran in the south, and Rumoe and the rising port of Otaru in the west are also to be taken in hand, but the harbour works of most consequence are those which are being undertaken at Hakodate at a cost of £101,000. When the principal breakwater is completed in 1917 it will extend north and south, from outside the western extremity of the harbour as it is at present, for 3,300 feet, enclosing a safe anchorage of a little over 1 square mile in area. The work was necessary in view of Hokkaido's steady growth in population and commerce and should do much to revive the dwindling importance of Hakodate as a port for foreign trade, to which it was opened in 1859.

Hakodate, as a sea-port, has suffered from the rivalry of Otaru, which dates its prosperity from the annexation of the southern half of Saghalien and the concession to Japan of fishery rights on the Siberian coasts. As a city Hakodate is prosperous enough, with a population of approximately 80,000 as against 50,000 in 1895. Electricity lights its streets, though it is not yet used as a motive power for its tramways, and there is a fairly extensive telephone service, and a good waterworks. Many of Hokkaido's factories are situated in Hakodate, where also some 65 commercial companies and 7 banks have their offices. It is, in short, a flourishing modern city, entirely devoted to commerce and making little claim to be picturesque, though the bluff, fort-crowned rock which dominates it lends it a mildly romantic air.

Otaru, forty years ago a small fishing village with 400 houses, is to-day the largest city in Hokkaido. It is probably the nearest approach to anything in the nature of 'mushroom' cities that Japan can boast.

Its geographical position was its fortune, since it is nearer the centre of Hokkaido than is Hakodate; then railways began to link it with other important points, providing the town with a transportation industry, and, to smooth its road to prosperity, the end of the last war linked commercial Japan more closely with Kamchatka and Siberia. The port, which became a free open port only in 1899, provides good anchorage and, as mentioned above, is to be improved. Its growing importance is well shown by the fact that the British Consulate has recently been removed thither from Hakodate. In appearance it is what might be expected from its history, a bustling and business-like town, but it has a rather fine public park and the surrounding scenery is pretty.

Sapporo is the capital of the Island, and is the Sapporo. site of several Government institutions including the Agricultural College. It is also a manufacturing centre, with hemp and flax factories, flour and saw-mills, and a large brewery. A garrison is stationed there.

Hokkaido's material progress has been rapid enough to justify the Government's comparatively heavy subsidization of the Island. In more ways than one it is an invaluable asset to Japan, for emigration thither will relieve the congestion of the older and over-populated districts of Japan proper in addition to developing fresh sources of food supply. To the land-starved agriculturists of the mainland it is a paradise of spaciousness, and farming there is carried on in almost British style as far as area is concerned. Cattle-breeding has been found to pay, and fruit-farming, at present on its trial, holds out considerable promise for the future. Much of the cold northern half of the Island, inhabited by the Ainus, still remains

Hokkaido
an asset
to Japan.

to be exploited, and even to be explored, and it is fairly certain that the mining industry is but in its infancy. Add to its natural resources the fact that capital and labour are flowing into the Island to develop them, and it will appear that Hokkaido may look forward to increased prosperity in the near future.

CHAPTER XLIV

MANCHURIA

THE descriptions of Manchuria one is accustomed to read in the newspapers, especially in the American Press, convey the idea that it is a newly-discovered Eldorado of inexhaustible resources and unheard-of riches. Having spent several weeks in Manchuria, and having visited its principal cities and towns, and travelled over its railways, the writer is ready to testify to its great agricultural possibilities and to agree with those who believe in its future as a mineral-producing State. Manchuria is a province of 360,000 square miles, consisting of wide plains and fruitful valleys, and fulfilling all the conditions for the production of staple agricultural products, the two principal of which are *kaoliang* and the soya bean. There are several varieties of this new agricultural product—two larger kinds, a green and a yellow bean, as also a smaller green bean which is used especially in the manufacture of biscuits. In the Dairen Laboratory will be found fifty varieties of these beans. Ingenious artists make mosaic pictures of them, and these when hung on the wall appear at a distance something like Japanese cut-velvet work.

In a country of such vast extent great rivers are to be expected, and Manchuria is singularly well provided for in this respect. The majestic Amur, one of the great rivers of the world, is fed by streams having their sources far in the interior of Mongolia, and in the Baikal districts of Siberia. If one includes the

Shilka River, the Amur can be navigated by steamers for more than 2,000 miles. The Sungari, which flows into the Amur near the north-east frontier, is in Manchuria throughout its total length, and is navigable for nearly 700 miles. The Argrun flows into the Amur near the northern frontier, and steamer communication is possible for 500 miles of its length.

From the south there are two great streams, the Liao and the Yalu. The Liao flows into Liao-Tung Gulf near Newchwang, and can be entered by the sea-going steamers which anchor off the port mentioned. Chinese river junks can ascend the stream for more than 175 miles. The Yalu River flows into Korea Bay and forms the north-west boundary of Korea. It is navigable for small coasting steamers for thirty-five miles. Chinese boats, however, can ascend several hundred miles.

The population of Manchuria is much denser in the south than in the north, but the best land for the culture of the bean lies in the north. In travelling over its hundreds of miles of marvellously cultivated fields one is reminded of the journey from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, in Argentina. The Manchurian fields are, however, far better tilled than are those of the Argentine Republic. The area of Manchuria is not so extensive as that of Argentina, but if the actually cultivated areas of Argentina were compared with that of Manchuria the difference would not be great. Manchuria, however, has twice the population of Argentina, though it is probable that the $7\frac{1}{2}$ million population of the latter consume more than twice as much as the 15 million population of Manchuria.

The Manchurians convey their produce in primitive carts such as were used 200 years ago, but the

Argentino moves his crops on a perfect network of railways. In the planting and harvesting operations, Manchurian methods are quite primitive. Apparently nothing is done by an implement that can possibly be done by hand, whereas with the Argentino nothing is done by hand that can be done with an implement. Thus the efficiency of the $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Argentina is probably more than twice, and perhaps three times, as great as that of the 15 million inhabitants in Manchuria. With this population now in possession of the fields of Manchuria and with an equal number near at hand, ready to take up the remaining lands—there is an immense area of land untouched and awaiting immigrants—and to work them in the same way, it is unlikely that any great transformation scene will take place in the next few years in Manchuria. There will be no rapid changes such as have been witnessed in north-west Canada, for example, nor such progress as the present generation has seen in western America. The Canadian provinces to-day have not one-fifth of the population of Manchuria, but they possess a consuming population that will have things, and are willing to exert their ingenuity to obtain them. They are not like the Manchurians, contented with cultivating immense tracts of land by hand, and with bringing their produce fifty or even a hundred miles over bad roads in carts to a river, or sending it to the seaboard in junks.

Forecast
of agricul-
tural
future.

The South Manchurian Railway, now that Japan is looking for business south of Chang-chun, and Russia has actually awakened to the importance of the bean trade for its port of Vladivostock, is teaching Manchurian farmers a useful lesson, and already we hear of demands for more railways. These railways, how-

ever, cannot be laid down as British capitalists in Argentina have laid them down. Argentina probably has at the present moment 20,000 miles of railways in operation and many additional miles projected, while Manchuria, including the lines under Japanese and Russian control, has not over an eighth of this mileage. The interests to be consulted are not national, as in Argentina, but international. By the time Russia and Japan agree, and China makes up its mind, and other countries decide on the financing and material to be used in construction, a good many years must have elapsed. The agricultural possibilities of Manchuria—and they are great and varied—will, therefore, be developed slowly, and in all probability by a population that will stick to old methods as long as possible, and by reason of their small wages will not become so important as consumers of foreign produce as the less densely inhabited agricultural regions of North and South America. Manchuria has an estimated population of 15,000,000. The provinces are Fengtien (Mukden), area 60,000 square miles, population 8,000,000; Kirin, area 110,000 square miles, population 5,000,000; and Keilungkiang, area 190,000 square miles, population 2,000,000.

Manchuria, which was once regarded as a colony of China, is now an integral part of the Chinese Empire. It is at present governed by His Excellency Chao-Erh-Sun, who is known as the Viceroy of the Three Eastern Provinces. If one may judge from the interest which his predecessor took in industrial exhibitions, in tourists who visited Japan, and in foreigners who visited Manchuria, the Chinese, like the Japanese, desire to encourage industry and enterprise. His Excellency Hsi Liang's administration of the Three Eastern Provinces was economical, and he tried to do

away with useless offices and to discourage 'graft'. The seat of Government is at Mukden, and during the writer's stay there, and during his entire journey through Manchuria, the Viceroy was most anxious that every facility should be afforded to him to see and understand the condition of the country. The Viceroy's wishes in this respect were carried out by Mr. Tan, whose kindness will long be remembered. During the recent plague, Mr. Tan, now promoted to the office of Taotai, was in charge of the Harbin district, and successfully prevented the spread of the disease.

The writer was granted an audience by Hsi Laing, who said, in the course of conversation :—

'Manchuria, or, as it is now known, the Three Eastern Provinces of our Empire, is an integral part of China, and is no longer regarded as one of our colonies. We are trying our best to bring this region into full harmony with the rest of my master's dominions, but I feel keenly that I have not been able as yet to carry out all the improvements I have so much desired, and I am conscious of many shortcomings, but our friends will have realized that a country which has had the great misfortune of having to play so conspicuous a part in the making of modern history must have been badly handicapped in its ordinary and industrial pursuits and in its general development. You will pardon me if I say that I have earnestly tried to carry out the decrees of my Imperial Master for the best securing of the peace and prosperity of our beloved, and I may add industrious, people, and to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of those honourable countries with whom we have relations. To fall short of one's ideals seems but human, yet regret must be expressed that more cannot be done.'

More recent intimation of China's policy was given in the instructions, according to a Peking telegram, from

the Prince Regent of China to the new Viceroy, which enlightened opinion in Japan regards as characterized on the whole by sound wisdom and sober judgment. That which bore principally upon the existing political situation was the instruction to proceed with the 'utmost circumspection in all negotiations, having regard to the widespread influence of Japan and Russia'—and it is to the Chinese point of view, embodied in the word circumspection, that criticism must for a moment be directed.

It is true that circumspection is necessary in view of the presence of Russia and Japan in Manchuria, but it is also true that had circumspection on the part of China in the past been supplemented by more loyalty in the observance of treaty agreements and more sincerity in co-operation with the civilizing work of foreign Powers, the politics of her frontier provinces, owing to the presence of foreign Powers, would not be, as they are, a constant source of irritation and anxiety to the rulers of China. It has been China's want of straightforwardness in her dealings with foreign Powers that has been the cause of much of her recent trouble in Manchuria. There would have been no China-Japan War of 1894 had she faithfully adhered to the terms of the Tientsin Treaty of 1886. Arrogance, quibbling, delay, and the policy of playing off one nation against the other have invariably characterized the attitude of her statesmen—she has only herself to blame for the 'widespread influence of Japan and Russia' in Manchuria at the present time. The writer is a sincere friend and well-wisher of China and fully appreciates the many excellent qualities of the Chinese character. These observations, therefore, are not made in a spirit of unfriendliness. Her future policy should be marked by circumspection certainly, but by a loyal

observation of her treaty obligations too, and by efforts to co-operate with foreign Powers in introducing modern civilization and order into the three Manchurian provinces, which efforts, it is believed by many, will find no more appreciative recognition than from Russia and Japan themselves.

It is impossible in this book to give an adequate account of Manchuria, which would make an excellent theme for a volume by itself. The only reason for touching on the subject here is the fact that the Japanese Government is successfully operating seven or eight hundred miles of railway in Manchuria, and administers the Kwantung peninsula. The circumstances of Japan's control in these two spheres are the subject of another chapter.

It must not be supposed from anything said above that there are no signs of healthy progress and improved economic conditions in Manchuria. On the contrary, these are visible, especially along the lines of the South Manchurian Railway, and in a lesser degree along those of the Imperial Railways of China and the Eastern Chinese lines, which still remain under the control of the Russian Government. It must be borne in mind that Manchuria is thrice Three agencies at work. blessed, if a country may be called blessed which is being developed by three different systems of railways, each controlled and administered by a different nationality. The Japanese methods are distinctly modern, up-to-date, and pushing; the Russian cumbersome and bureaucratic, and the Chinese conservative and easy-going.

That the working inhabitants of the country, mostly Chinese from various provinces of the Empire, are able to adjust themselves to the three distinct methods speaks well for their adaptability and for their peace-

ful and industrious instincts. That there should be differences of opinion and even irritation when branch lines and extensions of railway lines are proposed is not a matter that should cause surprise. The wonder is that with the three supreme conflicting interests, as well as some others of minor importance, there should be any progress at all. Nevertheless the bean crop goes on increasing, and with it the purchasing power of the country improves. The staple crops, such as *kaoliang* and millet wheat, used for home consumption, increase as the population becomes more numerous. In the North it is believed that an area exists suitable for the cultivation of the sugar-beet.

The Changchun-Kirin railway, under construction by the Chinese with Japanese participation, will, when finished, open large tracts of forest and develop the timber supply. The construction of this line was contemplated by the Russians before the war. China and Japan, after long negotiations, have reached an agreement on the subject, and it is to be built of the standard gauge. It should be open for traffic during the winter of this year or in the spring of 1912. Japan has contributed half the capital for construction, and, in return, retains the right to appoint the chief engineers and the chief accountants. It is hoped that the cars of both railways will be constructed so that they will be interchangeable, and thus facilitate the through traffic, both on the South Manchurian line and the Imperial Railways of North China *via* the Mukden-Simmintun branch. Efforts are also being made to connect all three of these railways in one station at Mukden. At present the station of the South Manchurian Railway is about two miles from the city, and there is no direct connexion between the Chinese and Japanese lines. This is very inconvenient for through

passengers on both lines, but could easily be remedied by mutual concessions and friendly co-operation looking to the economical working of the railways.

There are signs of improvement in cattle and sheep breeding, and in the supply of milk and of hides for leather manufacture. There is an experimental farm at Mukden, which is doing good work in stimulating agriculture. These observations apply in a greater or less degree alike to North and South Manchuria, and to the spheres of all three nations. It must, however, in justice to the Japanese, be admitted in regard to the southern part in particular that the influence of Japan's economic policy is more distinctly noticeable. The management of the railways, the establishment of steamship lines, harbour construction, mining, factory building, the establishment of technical and other schools, of experimental stations, laboratories, and of hospitals, are all hopeful signs. These topics are referred to in more detail in the description of the important ports of Manchuria. The production of silk, rice, barley, maize, hemp, vegetables, salt, soda, tobacco, and medicinal plants, under proper encouragement, are all susceptible of further development. Industry is also capable of greater expansion. There is a good Portland cement factory near Dairen. The manufacture of ceramics and furniture, as also that of raw silk and many other industries, are being promoted, not only by the Japanese, but by the Chinese themselves, who in some districts have been encouraged by what the Japanese have accomplished to undertake the industrial education of their own people.

Manchuria possesses considerable latent wealth in coal, and the Japanese have made good use of the Fushun coal-mines, reached by a branch railway.

34 miles long, at Suchiatun, just south of Mukden on the South Manchurian line. In 1909 these collieries produced nearly 700,000 tons of exceptionally good coal; in 1910 the output was 856,744 tons, and this year (1911), with the modern electric plant, and the new mine to be opened, the company expect to raise 6,000 tons per day—perhaps 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons annually. Fushun coal is used entirely by the South Manchurian Railway Company for its locomotives, steamers, workshops, power-houses, and gas-works.

There are other local mines, whose total output in 1910 amounted to 295,000 tons, and the completion of the Antung-Mukden Railway will make it possible to work some serviceable iron-ore mines, which with the adjacent coal may lead to the establishment of a blast furnace in the vicinity of Yentai and Penhsihur. Gold-mining is already an important item of revenue to the Chinese Government, and systematic exploration may lead to the extension of this source of wealth.

Fengtien, better known as Mukden, is a city of many and varied attractions. It is situated in the heart of Manchuria, is said to have a population of 175,000, and is the seat of the Viceregal Government of the Three Eastern Provinces. It is the terminus of the Imperial Railways of North China for Peking and the Kirin Province, as also of the Antung-Mukden railway, and it is an important business centre on the main line of the South Manchurian Railway Company. The company has built and manages a good hotel at the Mukden station, which was much needed. It is now possible for tourists and travellers to stay at Mukden in comfort, and from that centre to visit the interesting places in the district. The city has an outer and an inner wall something like

Peking. Outside the walls, and connected with the centre by a somewhat primitive tramway, is the Japanese quarter of the town, in which is located the station of the South Manchurian Railway Company, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from the Imperial precincts.

Within the precincts is the Palace of Chinlan, built in 1642, Wensoko with its four libraries, and the Chungchen Palace, in which the ruling monarchs transacted their regal duties in olden times, with two repositories. These repositories contain, besides bookcases, old porcelains, bronzes, embroideries, and brocades, some of which are extremely rare and of great value. Through the courtesy of the Viceroy these palaces were opened during the writer's stay in Mukden, and many of the treasures were displayed. There is some pretence of keeping the porcelain in glass cases, though these cases are built so closely together, and many of them are in such dark parts of the palace, that the porcelain specimens themselves, piled together much as ordinary china would be in a well-supplied china closet, can only be seen with difficulty. It is possible, however, to admire some of the rarest and most beautiful of the objects here collected together. The other treasures are kept in huge boxes, each fastened by three padlocks and secured by official seals. These seals were broken, and sample after sample of wonderful embroideries, hundreds of years old, were taken out of the cedar chests and the yellow cloth in which each Imperial garment was carefully wrapped. They were then unfolded and the beautiful objects were laid out for our inspection. It was a slow process, but there were many officials, and one thing after another came in rapid succession to dazzle and amaze the visitor. The carved jade was especially fine and rare. The minor

Wonders
of the
Chung-
chen
Palace.

things, and there are thousands of them, are kept in cupboards, which are thrown open as one passes along. There are several rooms entirely given over to bronzes, and the Manchu Emperors must have been zealous collectors. These bronzes, some of them magnificent specimens, are packed as thickly as possible on the shelves of cupboards to a depth of three or four feet. Indeed, quite a number of these valuable specimens are crowded one on the top of the other, as if they were waiting for the melting-pot.

It is fortunate that these treasures have thus far escaped fire or looting. They were nearly destroyed during the Boxer riots, and were in more or less danger while the great armies of Russia and Japan hovered in the vicinity. The Viceroy hopes to obtain the requisite consent to establish an Imperial museum at Mukden, so that these fine specimens of Chinese art and workmanship may be safely preserved. To see them is alone worth a visit to Mukden. In the present condition, and stored as they are in wooden boxes in a wooden building, they are in constant danger of fire, while the method of keeping them affords every opportunity for their gradual disappearance.

Having feasted on these specimens of the lost arts of China, it was almost pathetic to witness at the Chinese Technical School the efforts which are being made to instruct the Chinese youths in the methods of modern manufacturing. Here may be found in operation a furniture manufactory making furniture for everyday use, also printing, bookbinding, soap-making, spinning and weaving, glass-grinding, and other commonplace industries. Thus China, which has given to the world some of the finest and most beautiful specimens of handicraft it has ever known, is

now beginning its industrial life all over again and has commenced to manufacture cheap goods by the agency of machinery. One cannot blame the Chinese, for such goods are wanted in China and cheap goods from other countries are flooding the Chinese markets—although they are now sold at astonishingly high prices.

Returning to the fascinations of Mukden, it is necessary to mention the two Mausoleums ; one about ten and the other about five miles distant from the city. They are both surrounded by fine old trees, and the approaches, with the avenues of quaint stone camels, elephants, horses, and other curious sculptures, add greatly to the picturesqueness of the scene.

Mukden was nominally opened to international trade by the Commercial Treaty concluded by the United States with China in 1903, but it was not really opened until 1906, when the Japanese troops were withdrawn. A fair development in general trade has gradually taken place since the Russo-Japanese War. Unfortunately there is no official return of trade, but judging from information received from trustworthy sources Mukden has been making satisfactory headway. The ^{Trade.} annual exports and imports of the place probably amount to 15 million *yen* (£1,500,000 sterling). The principal imports are kerosene oil, flour, sugar, candles, cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods, matches, woollens and satins, paper, glass, provisions, wines and sundries ; and the principal exports are beans, bean cake, bean oil, *kaoliang* and other cereals, spirits of *kaoliang*, cattle hides, furs and skins, bristles, bones and sundries. Distilling is one of the local industries, chiefly from *kaoliang* or millet. The spirits are exported for native use to the province of Shantung. Bean oil is still made under the old Chinese system, and no improvement has ever been effected in its manufacture,

while it is worked by modern European methods in Dalny and Newchwang.

As already mentioned, there are here two Chinese Government works, for furniture-making and tanning, which are not, however, recognized as important. Cigarette-making and glass-blowing on a rather small scale are carried on by the Japanese. The American Cigarette Company's tobacco factory is the largest concern in Mukden.

The following table shows the population figures of Mukden in 1910:—

	Within and without the walls		S. M. Railway Area		Total	
	House-holds	Population	House-holds	Population	House-holds	Population
Chinese . .	29,835	171,934	387	2,787	30,222	174,721
Japanese . .	443	1,616	752	1,913	1,195	3,529
British . .	17	37	1	1	18	38
French . .	4	9	—	—	4	9
German . .	7	11	—	—	7	11
American . .	10	21	—	—	10	21
Russian . .	8	60	1	1	9	61
	30,324	173,688	1,141	4,702	31,465	178,390

The classification 'South Manchurian Railway Area' needs a little explanation. The Japanese Government delegated certain powers to the Company to collect rates and fees from the residents within the railway area as contributions towards the cost of managing the district, and the Company determines conditions of residence within that area, and is responsible for public works and general upkeep, defraying any deficit that the rates and fees do not meet. In the various railway towns on the South Manchurian Railway the total railway area amounts to about 46,000 acres, and during the last few years there has been steady development of these areas, population and housing both having increased very considerably. The Company have

identified themselves with town-planning and all the subsidiary activities, such as road construction, the building of waterworks, hospitals, agricultural stations, slaughter-houses, cemeteries, and crematoria, and have re-modelled sanitary arrangements.

There are three Manchurian ports, Dairen, New-Ports. chwang, and Antung, together with Vladivostok, the Russian port, competing for the trade of Manchuria. A fifth may yet be established, namely, the maritime port of Shongchin in Korea. In 1909 China and Japan made a treaty for the extension of the Kirin Railway, when finished, to Hoe-ryong, on the Korean frontier, thus effecting a connexion with the Korean railway system, and in this enterprise Japan will participate. The length of the Kirin-Hoe-ryong line will be 400 miles, constructed at the cost of £3,000,000. At the Korean extremity it will connect with a railway which the Korean Administration will construct, linking it with the port of Shongchin. Railway enterprise.

The effect of the building of these railways will be to create a fifth line of communication, this time with the eastern side of Manchuria and the sea. Manchuria will then have the South Manchurian Railway with its two ports, Dairen and Antung; the Chinese Northern Railway with its terminus on the right bank of the Liao River at Ying-kou or Newchwang; Vladivostok, carrying its produce from the north of Changchun on the Eastern Chinese Railway, and thence eastward to the most northern outlet; and Shongchin, (Chongjin), a Korean port, perhaps with an important commercial as well as a great strategical future, with the extension of the Kirin railway running parallel to the Chinese Eastern Railway and competing with it for the produce of that region, distant only 120 miles south of Vladivostok.

With an ice-free port at Shongchin, and with interests in a railway running through this rapidly developing bean territory, it will surely be possible for Japan to regain control of the bean business should the awakened activity of Vladivostock menace her present predominating commercial position in Manchuria. The latest Vladivostock complete figures available are those of 1908, and though later figures for Dairen have been sent us by the South Manchurian Railway Company, and are given below for purposes of comparison, the exports for 1907-8 must be considered. These figures show the export of beans from Dairen to have been nearly double the quantity exported from Vladivostock. Shipments of beans from the latter port, however, have increased more than threefold since 1907-8. At this rate of growth, it will not be long before the Russian port and the Chinese Eastern Railway control the trade. The Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (Limited) have prepared a table showing that the export of beans from Dairen in 1907-8 was 2,449,807 piculs, or 145,820 tons, and from Vladivostock 1,004,560 piculs, or 86,471 tons, and for the season November, 1908, to February, 1909, from Dairen 6,974,960 piculs, or 415,200 tons, and from Vladivostock 3,674,256 piculs, or about 218,700 tons. Relatively Vladivostock shows the highest percentage of gain. A significant fact, as indicating that the Japanese do not intend to lose their grip on the bean trade if they can help it, is that the Mitsui Company shipped 2,180,000 piculs, or 129,760 tons, from Dairen and identically the same quantity from Vladivostock. The total export of beans for 1907-8 was 5,191,467 piculs, or 306,442 tons; for 1908-9, 13,364,241 piculs, or 788,916 tons, of which 51 per cent. was sent to Europe, 30 per cent. to South China,

and 19 per cent. to Japan. The total export of bean cake for 1907 was 8,958,367 piculs, or 528,830 tons ; for 1908-9 11,543,718 piculs, or 681,446 tons, of which 94 per cent. was sent to Japan, 5.9 per cent. to South China, and one-tenth per cent. to Europe. Nearly a quarter of the shipments to Japan were made the by Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (Limited).

The relative positions of the three Manchurian ports and the value of the trade of South Manchuria may be shown by a glance at the following table, which has been prepared from the returns of last year :—

Relative
positions
of the
Manchu-
rian ports.

	Exports	Imports	Total
Newchwang	£4,009,425	£4,897,345	£8,906,770
Dairen	4,017,081	3,230,223	7,247,304
Antung (in- cluding Tatungkow)	981,633	1,001,234	1,982,867
	<u>£9,008,139</u>	<u>£9,128,802</u>	<u>£18,136,941</u>

The principal exports are beans, bean cake and bean oil, grain and seeds, wild silk, timber and coal. The principal imports were cotton piece-goods, cotton yarns and thread, raw cotton, food and drink, and hardware. The sundries and unenumerated items reach a large total and comprise a great variety of manufactured articles.

The trade was distributed as follows :—

Exports	Newch- wang	Dairen	Antung (including Tatungkow)	Total
	£	£	£	£
To Japan	1,367,100	1,619,450	89,425	3,075,975
„ Korean ports . . .	307	46,142	38,333	84,832
„ Chinese „	2,381,297	1,244,191	853,825	4,479,313
„ other „	260,721	1,107,298		1,368,019
	<u>£4,009,425</u>	<u>£4,017,081</u>	<u>£981,633</u>	<u>£9,008,139</u>

Exports	Newchwang	Dairen	Antung (including Tatungkow)	Total
By steam boats and sailing-vessels .	£ 3,471,854	£ 3,713,179	£ 413,131	£ 7,598,164
By junks . . .	537,571	303,902	568,502	1,409,975
	£4,009,425	£4,017,081	£981,633	£9,008,139
Imports				
From Japan . .	596,983	1,829,027	393,021	2,819,031
„ Korea . . .	4,900	116,375	128,829	250,104
„ China . . .	3,706,135	695,187	472,442	4,873,764
„ others . . .	589,327	589,634	6,942	1,185,903
	£4,897,345	£3,230,223	£1,001,234	£9,128,802
By steam boats and sailing-vessels .	3,792,293	3,084,141	895,475	7,771,909
By junks . . .	1,105,052	146,082	105,759	1,356,893
	£4,897,345	£3,230,223	£1,001,234	£9,128,802

Newchwang and Vladivostock, it should be remembered, are ice-bound ports for several months in the winter; Dairen, Antung, and Shongchin are ice-free, and are therefore open all the year round. The port of Dairen is at present showing healthy development. Newchwang still has the carts, and the junks, and the river, which together bring her 65 per cent. of the produce she exports. Probably a certain quantity of her supplies come from the South Manchurian Railway, and 10 per cent. through the Chinese Railway. Her futurê, however, may be threatened as the railways extend and the farmers realize that this is the cheapest and surest method of transportation. The building of bean elevators which is projected will also aid the railways, because it will make it possible to store the beans. The exclusion of large vessels, because of the bar in the river, and the fact that the port is ice-bound for three or four months in the winter, count against Newchwang. Improvements,

however, are now in progress in the harbour, and it is believed that the merchants whose trade has been threatened are awake to the importance of taking action to retain the commerce of the port.

The trade of Vladivostock is increasing and will continue to increase as the northern, and, as some experts believe, the richest, part of Manchuria is opened up. Apparently the most fertile soil is situated around Changchun and Harbin, and these districts present the greatest possibilities for development. Nevertheless, the bean traffic may have to be divided with the Russian port of Vladivostock now that the freight rates have been reduced to compete with those of Dairen. Vladivostock has undoubtedly the best bean country within her railway sphere, and only her own folly and the stupidity of her railway and shipping management can deprive her of this traffic. It is well for other foreigners that Japan and Russia are competing for this trade, as it will ensure for them reasonable freight rates, avoid discrimination, and secure prompt deliveries.

In the stern struggle between Vladivostock and Dairen for the exports and imports of North Manchuria the Russians have been partially successful, and even Japanese firms like Mitsui have dispatched shipments from Harbin *via* Vladivostock. Still, the fact that the port is ice-bound in the winter will always be a handicap—and it is one which was recognized by the Russians themselves when they built the South Manchurian Railway and laid the foundations of the new port of Dairen.

That the position of Vladivostock as a free port has been abolished is another advantage which those who control Dairen will not be slow to utilize. The maintenance, therefore, of Dairen as a free port, the com-

pletion of the new harbour accommodation described in another chapter, and the promotion of an extensive maritime traffic will greatly aid in making her the first port of Manchuria. Only by this course, and by encouraging important foreign firms to establish their business at Dairen, can its commerce assume an international character. Foreign merchants will not be attracted if the idea gets abroad that the Japanese are adopting a narrow policy by unfair methods and are trying to capture all the business for themselves. Only by healthy competition and honest business methods, and by a policy of giving to every one a permanent share of the profits, will Dairen become what the Japanese are ambitious to make it—an international port. Dairen now offers Europeans in many respects improved conditions for residence. There is a foreign population of perhaps 100 at the present time; there are several Consuls, a comfortable club, an excellent hotel, and an English newspaper, the *Manchurian Daily News*.

CHAPTER XLV

MANCHURIA—ITS TOWNS AND PORTS.

FROM Japan there are now several alternative routes Japanese routes to North China. to North China, each one of which offers its special attractions. One may go from Kobe by a fairly comfortably equipped passenger steamer through the Inland Sea to Tien-tsin, and thence, in about three hours, by the Imperial Railways of North China to Peking. This is probably the quickest and most direct means of travelling. A second route is from Kobe by steamer to Fusan, Korea, and from Fusan by the Korean Railway—apart from the Inland Sea, this route has only 122 miles of open water—to Seoul, and from Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, by boat across the Gulf of Chihli to Tien-tsin. Though the laying down of the standard-gauge line between Antung and Mukden will not be finished until the end of this year (1911), and, until the bridge across the Yalu is opened for traffic in the following February, connexion between the Seoul-New Wiju line and the Antung-Mukden railway has to be made by ferry across the river, the overland journey from Seoul to Mukden is not only The Seoul-Antung-Mukden route. possible in comparative comfort, allowing for certain changes from the narrow-gauge mountain railway to the completed portions of the standard-gauge line, but provides an interesting survey of the stages of construction of the latter, which in parts runs alongside the narrow-gauge, as well as a comparison between the engineering details of the two that cannot fail to in our admiration for the builders of the first railway.

From Shihchiaotsu, two-thirds of the way between Antung and Mukden, the train climbs steadily up into the mountains, and it is then that the traveller realizes the indomitable perseverance of the Japanese, for this Antung-Mukden road was built during the actual progress of the Russian war, when as there was little time for engineering technicalities, such as tunnelling the mountains (as is now being done for the standard-gauge track), they carried their rails round the summits for many miles. The sensation of climbing at such a height is a very weird one, and the eventual abandonment of this for the new track, which can be seen many hundred feet below, will cause passengers to miss what is probably a unique experience in railway travelling.

The Antung-Mukden Railway, however, does not run trains at night, and while the distance is only 189 miles, through a charming country with wooded hills and clear rivulets, and the journey is a picturesque one, it should only be undertaken by experienced travellers with a limited amount of luggage. The South Manchurian Railway Company is building the new standard-gauge railway between these two points, and when this line is completed, and the road is equipped with similar carriages to those now in use on the main line from Dairen to Mukden, including good sleeping and dining carriages, the journey from Tokyo to Peking, or from Tokyo to Changchun (where the Russian railway begins), can be made with only a few hours' passage by sea. The length of water journey can still further be reduced by taking the Japanese railway from Tokyo to Shimonoseki, instead of the boat from Kobe. The beautiful Inland Sea of Japan is, however, an attraction that even a poor sailor dislikes to forgo for the smoke and dust of the railway.

When the Antung-Mukden Railway is completed it will be possible to reduce the time between Tokyo and Peking by twenty-four hours, and thereby to cut off a day by the Siberian route between Tokyo and London. The Japanese Government will then run well-equipped trains from Tokyo to Shimonoseki, which will connect with the Fusan boat at Moji. A train will await the arrival of the boat, and through passengers will be taken over the Korean-Manchurian Railway without change to Changchun, where the Japanese standard-gauge ends and the Russian broad-gauge section of the Manchurian Railway begins. This route, besides being a day shorter, will furnish a more comfortable and interesting mode of travelling than that by way of Vladivostock. The traveller wishing to see something of Korea, and then to visit Peking, can take a steamer at Chemulpo, easily reached by rail from Seoul, and journey thence *via* Chefoo to Peking, a distance of 515 miles. From Chemulpo to Dairen by water is 280 miles. .

Shorten-
ing of
journey
between
Peking
and
Tokyo.

The journey might be broken at Changchun, where the traveller will find the Yamato Hotel, recently built by the Manchurian Railway Company, and one of the best in the Far East. From Changchun it is an eight-hours' easy journey to Harbin, and nine days from Harbin to St. Petersburg. The present journey, however, is by no means rapid, and could easily be reduced by a day. The time will probably be reduced two days between Vladivostock and Moscow as soon as the double tracking and improvements on the Siberian Railway are completed.

The Tsuruga-Vladivostock route (415 miles by sea) is at present the one usually taken when travellers desire to make the overland journey to Europe as quickly as possible. A special boat train leaves

Tsuruga-
Vladivo-
stock
route.

Tokyo three times a week in the evening and connects with the Vladivostock boat next morning. The distance by sea from Tsuruga to Vladivostock is one day less than by the Kobe-Dairen route, but of course one misses the Inland Sea and much else of interest. Even if time cannot be afforded for lingering, the Kobe-Dairen route is the more picturesque and interesting. In the first place, the boats, which belong to the Osaka Shosen Kaisha—one of the oldest and most prosperous of the Japanese steamship companies—are good, and passengers are made quite comfortable. The officers and the stewards are uniformly courteous and attentive and most of them speak English. The cabins are clean, and the food is excellent. The day on the Inland Sea is full of fascination for those who enjoy beautiful scenery, and these delights may be extended into the night when the moon is shining and the water is illuminated by phosphorescence.

In the morning, about sunrise, the boat arrives at Moji, which has now become an important and prosperous port. On the opposite side of what may be called the 'Gateway of Japan' is the ancient town of Shimonoseki, known to the modern world as the place where the treaty of peace between China and Japan was signed in 1895. There is time to visit both of these towns. In a beautiful garden on a richly wooded hillside, reached by an inviting flight of moss-grown steps, nestles the charming little Japanese hotel where the late Prince Ito and Li Hung-Chang negotiated the terms which ended the Chino-Japanese War. It is well worth a visit, and so are several attractive temples and shrines in the same vicinity. Moji is less picturesque and is much given over to the mining and shipment of coal and the manufacture of cement, which imparts to the town

a dingy appearance. Its streets, however, are busy and crowded, its shops are filled with customers, and its trade and commerce are increasing so rapidly that it is known as the 'boom town' of Japan. The second day's voyage is not so interesting, but the sea is generally smooth and, if not delayed by fogs, the ship is tied up to the spacious wharf at Dairen in the afternoon of the third day from Kobe. The distance from Moji to Dairen is 620 miles.

Dairen, better known to European readers as Dalny, ^{Dalien.} forms the basis of the commercial, as Port Arthur does of the military, strength of Japan on the Liaotung Peninsula. The history of Dairen is of recent date, but its brief story may be said to abound with stirring incidents. The town was planned and magnificently laid out by the Russians, who intended to make it the principal port of the Empire for the Pacific. Money was lavishly expended on the harbour, warehouses, streets, public buildings, and the residences, many of which are imposing edifices.

Of late years much work has been done on the Port of Dairen, which is becoming increasingly important in Manchurian trade. The roadstead is open, easy of ingress and egress, and sufficiently deep to accommodate even the largest vessels of the present day. It is divided into an inner and an outer harbour, and even the inner harbour is capable of accommodating vessels drawing 28 feet of water.

The wharves and harbour works passed into the ^{Wharves} jurisdiction of the South Manchurian Railway in 1907, ^{and} and since that date the Japanese have made many ^{harbour} improvements. The Wharf Office was established in ^{improve-} 1907 to superintend the loading and unloading of cargo, and it is estimated that the increased facilities in the way of railway sidings, sheds, cranes, shunting

engines, and lighter-boats, which the harbour now affords, have had the effect of augmenting the trade of the port until it now reaches 1,500,000 tons annually. Dredging works have been undertaken at many of the old wharves, and a new wharf is in course of construction, having a total frontage of 1,495 feet, to be completed by 1913. This wharf will have accommodation for vessels of 10,000 tons. The Japanese have also undertaken the extension of the breakwaters. The eastern breakwater, with a length of 1,220 feet, was completed last year, and now only requires a lighthouse, while an important scheme is being carried out whereby the northern breakwater may be extended to the north-west by 3,150 feet, and then continued in a southerly direction until it touches the western shore of Hanachao, making a total length of 12,000 feet. It is expected that this work will be finished in the early part of 1916.

The Yamato Hotel, owned and managed by the South Manchurian Company, is an excellent one. Another hotel is in process of building, which, when completed, will, it is said, be one of the finest hotels in the Far East. The streets and avenues, some of them wide and of considerable length, converge upon a circular park forming the centre of the town. From this centre the electric tramways radiate in various directions. Around the circle cluster some of the finest edifices, and here the new hotel and other public buildings will be erected. The pleasure ground, or so-called 'Electric Park', was designed after the style of an ordinary amusement park for the creation of tramway traffic, and is some distance from the centre of the city. Here may be found restaurants, theatrical entertainments, bowling and shooting alleys, roller skating, and a range of amusements. Lectures by

well-known scholars on educational topics are given in the Assembly Rooms of this park. No Western city with a population equal to that of Dairen can boast of being a more complete resort for recreation and instruction. Moreover, Dairen has a golf-links.

The head-quarters and offices of the Manchurian Railway Company are located in a commodious building which was formerly the palace or official residence of a Russian official. Part of this building is used as an industrial museum, illustrative of the products of Manchuria. Here the Company has large railway workshops at present building cars for the Antung-Mukden road that will run through from Mukden to Fusan. These consist of baggage, mail, and sleeping cars, all 10 feet wide by 60 feet long. There is also a technical school with a laboratory effectively managed by the railway company, where may be seen interesting experimental work tending to promote the scientific utilization of the agricultural and mineral products of Manchuria.

Perhaps the most interesting as well as the most practical of these is the model silk mill, in which all the processes in the treatment of the filature, the bleaching, the reeling, and the spinning of the silk from the wild cocoons, which abound in Manchuria, may be witnessed. A large number of operatives are engaged in the work, directed by well-trained scientific silk experts, and it is possible that the result may some day add an important industry to those already successfully carried on at Dairen. Among the most flourishing of these may be mentioned the bean oil and bean cake mills; both of these are modern establishments, owned by rich and enterprising Japanese firms, and in one of them electrical power is employed. The President of one of these firms is Mr. Okura of

Tokyo, whose famous museum in that city is well worth a visit. Mr. Okura is the founder of an excellent commercial school and is identified with many useful and public-spirited works. The bean industry and the trade of the Port of Dairen are treated elsewhere:

Dairen at night impresses one favourably. Its harbour is wonderfully well lighted, the lights stretching out a long way and being very brilliant. In the morning, on landing, it appears like an American town in the making; only the Chinese coolies and their garb give it a strange air. There are many railway tracks, and more are being constructed, and there are several fine bridges. It possesses a very good telephone service and a new electric-power station owned by the South Manchurian Railway Company. This supplies electric light as well as power for the 12 or 13 miles of tramways, which, by the way, are operated entirely by Chinese. The tramway tracks are well laid, after the English practice, the rails being level with the streets. Some of the streets are macadamized, and many of them have been planted with rows of shade trees. Modern gas-works have just been completed, which furnish gas made from Fushun coal for lighting and power purposes, the idea being in this way to encourage industrial development by rendering available a cheap motive power.

The Japanese, it will be noted, have not allowed Dairen to fall behind, whether as a business or as a residential resort. As soon as the railway was rebuilt and put in order they turned their attention to their newly-leased port. The unoccupied spaces are covered with large iron water mains for the new waterworks, and immense piles of bricks and materials for new buildings. There is, in fact, on every side the

evidence of progress and enterprise, and the dream of the Russians will probably become an accomplished fact in the hands of the intensely practical Japanese. Dairen may not be the terminus of a great international highway (the Trans-Siberian Railway), but the increasing use of this line is adding greatly to its importance, a fact shown by the necessity of building another large hotel to accommodate the tourist traffic, for which the original hotel has lately been insufficient, while the opening of the South Manchurian Railway's steamship service between Dairen and Shanghai has been another factor of development. Also it will become the principal outlet for the staple products of Manchuria and the receiving port for the merchandise which the Manchurians will purchase with their beans and other products.

• Additional interest is given to Dairen because an ^{Port} hour and a half—39 miles by rail—brings the visitor ^{Arthur,} to Port Arthur. About 15 miles distant is Hsia-chia-ho-tsu, which the enterprise of the South Manchurian Railway is rapidly turning into a seaside resort, and which faces the Gulf of Chihli. Port Arthur has been converted into a place which may be visited without inconvenience. Competent guides can be obtained, and the Yamato Hotel at Port Arthur, like the other hotels of the South Manchurian Railway Company, is comfortable and reasonable in its charges. •

• The question has been raised as to whether Port Arthur might originally have been made a better maritime port than Dairen. Perhaps such might have been the case, but as vast sums of money have been spent both by the Russians and Japanese on Dairen, and as the business has concentrated there, it is not likely that any special efforts will be made at present to change the course of trade. The cost of the work neces-

sary to develop Port Arthur on a large scale would, it is said, be much more than the cost of finishing the harbour work planned for Dairen. It is probable, therefore, that Port Arthur will be left in possession of the coastwise trade, and the traffic of the junks and small steamers with China, and perhaps trade with Japan might be directed there. The Naval authorities only maintain a small station at Port Arthur, and hereafter will only make use of a section of that port.

The Japanese Government has formally announced the opening of Port Arthur as a trading port, and has considered the advisability of adopting the western part of the port for that purpose. The South Manchurian Railway Company have several plans in connexion with the opening of this port, and part of the proposed work has been commenced. It is said that an extensive area will be dredged so as to keep the water 24 to 30 feet deep at low tide. Three piers will be built providing accommodation for several vessels at one time.

There is a museum in which is exhibited a collection of mementos of the terrific struggle between Russia and Japan for the possession of this port. They are rather gruesome, some of them, but the neighbourhood is one of intense interest, and a visit makes clear many points which puzzled one when the news of the siege was being cabled from day to day to the newspapers. Most of the forts, trenches, and defence works have been preserved, and it is possible to study the progress of the siege—probably the fiercest in modern history. Port Arthur has now been thrown open for commercial purposes in virtue of the Imperial Decree of June 30, 1909.

From Dairen it is about six hours' journey by rail to the rival Manchurian port, Newchwang, or Ying-

kou, as it is called. Before the advent of Dairen and of the South Manchurian Railway, Newchwang monopolized the exports of local produce and received most of the important commodities from foreign countries. It was then the only port in Manchuria, and being located near the mouth of the river Liao it was the terminus of the considerable river trade, in which a fleet of over 3,000 native vessels was engaged. The railway under Japanese management, however, has diverted a portion of this trade to Dairen, and the merchants of Newchwang are very unhappy over what they call the loss of their business. The loss, however, has been more imaginary than real, for if one goes back over the records for ten years it will be found that the trade of Newchwang has more than doubled during the decade, and the total value of the business last year (1909) was greater by some millions of dollars than it was for any year during the decade, except 1905, when the railways were engaged in a more serious business than the transportation of beans. Unless the figures are entirely misleading, Newchwang merchants are lamenting more over the trade they might have gained, had not Dairen suddenly loomed up as a competitor, than over the trade they have actually lost.

Newchwang is still ahead of Dairen, the totals for last year being—Newchwang 112,707,990 *yen*, Dairen 79,091,233 *yen*, and Antung 23,516,296 *yen*; total for the three ports of Manchuria 215,315,519 silver *yen*. Newchwang has no right to complain of its progress, for less than fifty years ago it was a small village, and by the aid of the river it became the most important centre of the trade of Manchuria, which was then entirely conducted in a primitive manner by native carts with three or four and even as many as seven or

eight horses. These carts brought the beans to the river, and thence they were taken in small boats to Newchwang.

To-day Newchwang is a straggling, dirty place, the Chinese quarters being especially bad. The streets are unpaved, there is no drainage, and the water supply is obtained by dipping buckets into an open reservoir or pond near the centre of the town. Ships having 18 feet of draught or more cannot go up the river, owing to the bar in the mouth, and the river is completely frozen over during three months in the winter. Unless the merchants and those who have made their fortunes in Newchwang under the old conditions of trade are willing to improve the existing state of things, the present stagnation of trade will be followed by an actual decline.

The principal European hotel is a queer little black building, facing the river. It is not over-clean, the cooking is bad, and the charges are extortionate—seven Mexican dollars per person for bed and breakfast. Unless Newchwang wakes up Dairen will soon be as much ahead of it in its trade as it is in all that goes to make a decent sanitary town fit for the residence or the business of an industrial or trading population. There is still some river trade, but as the farmer finds he can do better by taking his produce to the railway than by carrying it so far in carts to the river, the railway trade will continue to increase, and the river trade, except for the country immediately adjacent to the Liao, will correspondingly decrease.

Newchwang was first opened by the Tien-tsin Treaty of 1860, and the town was populated by emigrants from Shantung, Canton, and Foochow. It was formerly under the control of the Russians, but was occupied by the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War,

though it was placed under the administration of the Chinese Government by the Peking Treaty in 1906. In June, 1910, when the writer visited Newchwang, the Taotai did not appear to take much interest in the affairs of the place, and the foreign residents seemed somewhat discouraged at the outlook. The foreign population consists of 2,300 Japanese, 60 English, 18 Americans, 15 Germans, and 23 Russians.

Cotton piece-goods and yarns, sugar, flour, kerosene oil, and matches are its principal imports, and beans and bean cake constitute almost its entire exports. About half the cotton goods come from the United States, 20 per cent. from England, and 15 per cent. from Japan. The beans go to South China and Japan, and the bean cakes almost entirely to Japan. The manufacture of bean cakes began about seventy years ago in the northern part of Manchuria. Before this, oil was the principal and cake the subsidiary product. Since it was found that the cakes were effective fertilizers, the cake manufacture has become more important than the production of oil. There are about twenty bean-cake manufacturing firms in Newchwang, producing last year 4,600,000 piculs, or 273,600 tons. These cakes look like solid wooden cart-wheels, and the mills turn out 10,000,000 of them annually.

The city of Antung is situated a few miles from Antung, the mouth of the Yalu River, which flows between Korea and China. It is the largest place in the Yalu Valley, and is the terminus of the Antung-Mukden Railway. Little was known of it until the China-Japanese war. Before that date the Chinese had established a Taotai's office there, but the place had no business beyond such as arose from its being a station for Chinese junks and timber rafts. Both the

Russian and Japanese Governments seem to have recognized the importance of Antung as a locality for the supply of timber. From this district came the timber which supplied the Japanese troops both during their war with China, and subsequently with Russia. The new line will be of standard gauge (4 ft. 8½ in.), and will traverse a route of 170 miles instead of 189 miles, the length of the narrow-gauge railway now in operation. The work on the new line is divided into 19 contractors' sections. The 19th section or 27⅓ miles, from Mukden to Shihchiaotsu has been already completed, and has been in operation for traffic since January, 1910. The remaining sections are still in course of construction. Ten tunnels out of twenty-four have been already pierced. The whole line will be finished in 1912. When the railway now in progress of completion is finished Antung will become better known to the travelling world, since this route will provide the quickest way to reach Europe by rail, and in conjunction with the Korean line and the main track of the South Manchurian Railway, it will become part of the great international system which brings the Far East within 12 to 14 days of the principal capitals of Europe.

Antung-Hsien, for that is the full title of the place, and the Chinese city Shaho-chen, about 1½ miles distant, which constitutes the Chinese quarter of Antung, have together a population of nearly 40,000, the Japanese settlement numbering about 7,000 out of the total. Like nearly all the South Manchurian cities, Antung has gone through many vicissitudes in its history. Neglected by the Chinese Government as being territory outside of the jurisdiction, it was only considered worthy of a Taotai, or perhaps some lower provincial officer, in 1875.

In 1894-5 the Japanese recognized its importance and procured from there, as already stated, their timber supplies to carry on the war. After the war with China, Antung became a bone of contention between China, Russia, and Japan, on account of the timber business of the Yalu River. Indeed, these disputes may be said to have conduced to the Russo-Japanese War. For a second time within ten years the Japanese troops occupied Antung. The large business in timber attracted merchants, especially the Chinese and Japanese, to Antung. After the war, the Japanese Government built a new town, and Japanese immigration has greatly increased. Moreover, the work of reconstructing the Antung-Mukden Railway has brought about a recovery in business in this locality.

Timber, wild cocoons, wild silk yarn, beans, bean cake, and *kaoliang*, are the principal exports of Antung; and shirtings, flour, kerosene oil, sugar, rice, tobacco, and sundries, form the chief imports.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KWANTUNG PENINSULA

ON the 5th September, 1905, Japanese relations with Manchuria, which for over ten years, since the beginning of the China-Japan War, had been pointing to the necessity of the establishment of some definite *status quo*, were fundamentally defined. The concluding treaty of peace between Japan and Russia (Treaty of Portsmouth) gave the former rights over those districts in Manchuria that Russia had hitherto held. Following upon that agreement came the Peking Treaty of December, 1905, wherein China openly recognized Japan's new position, and the position of the contracting parties to both these treaties cannot be better defined than by quoting the most important items of the special treaty between Japan and Russia that was finally entered upon:—

1. When, upon the pacification of Manchuria, China is fully enabled to protect the lives and properties of foreigners, Japan together with Russia will withdraw the railway garrisons.

2. The military railway built during the Russo-Japanese War between Antung on the borders of Korea and Mukden will be managed by the Japanese for the transport of commercial and industrial goods of all countries, and Japan will have the right of possession of these railways for fifteen years, beginning with the date of the completion of such improvements needed for the service.

Before enlarging upon the details of the administration established in Manchuria to deal with the special rights secured by the above and the two preceding treaties, an authoritative exposition of Japanese policy in this country which the writer during his stay in Tokyo received from a member of that administration will make clear the special position that Japan holds, and explain the functions that she has in consequence assumed.

This statement is of considerable interest, as it represents the views of the present Government on a question much discussed of late, and but imperfectly comprehended in some quarters. In order rightly to understand Japan's attitude in Manchuria, said this authority, the principles underlying her policy should first be made clear. They are these:—(a) A love of peace and not of war; (b) a self-restraint which, in spite of the tendencies of the age, seeks neither territorial expansion nor encroachment upon any foreign dominion; (c) readiness for national defence in case of need; (d) the conviction that maintenance of peace is the only justification for war; and (e) the belief that sincerity is the right aim and method of diplomacy.

These five principles are, according to this high official, the essence of Japan's policy, the unwritten articles, of the faith of the people and an expression of the will of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor. The fact that the nation was ready for self-defence should not be interpreted as indicating that the Japanese have a warlike temperament and are bent upon national aggrandizement, for such an interpretation is fundamentally false. The peaceful development of Japan being the weightiest concern of the Government, they look upon anything which would threaten

the peace of the Far East as a potential cause of war, whilst believing that the ultimate outcome would still be for the benefit of mankind. Many misunderstandings have arisen abroad in regard to the foreign policy of Japan in relation to Manchuria. The position acquired by Japan in that part of China, solely for self-protection and the maintenance of peace, has evoked the envy and jealousy of other nations. The Japanese hope that with a clearer comprehension of Japanese sincerity the suspicions with which their proceedings in Manchuria have been viewed will be removed, and that their activity in that region will be recognized as a chief factor for universal peace, causing Manchuria to become the meeting-place of the civilizations of the East and West.

To fortify this position it is pointed out that the war with China was undertaken for no other purpose than the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the preservation of Japan. When, as a result of that war, the Liaotung Peninsula had been ceded to Japan, it was, nevertheless, upon the advice of friendly Powers, restored to China. Shortly afterwards, the relations between China and certain European Powers brought about unexpected changes, the most startling of which was the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen to Russia. As this was fraught with danger to the national existence of Japan, repeated efforts were made by friendly negotiations to remove this standing menace to the peace of the Empire. The attitude of Russia, however, remained unchanged, and when every means that patience and diplomacy could command had been exhausted Japan felt compelled to resort to arms.

The issue resulted in the transfer to Japan of the southern portion of the Manchurian Railway and of the territory which had been leased by China to

Russia. Far from being an act of violence or of forcible aggrandizement, the Japanese contend that this acquisition was rightly and fairly earned—a legitimate reward for their expenditure of blood and treasure. There were many who thought its value inadequate to the sacrifice made, and loud and long was the popular outcry. That outcry, however, had been successfully resisted by those who regarded the moral issue of the war as being of far greater moment than the gain in territory. Japan having thus become responsible for South Manchuria, the Kwantung Government was organized for its administration, whilst for its economic development special importance was attached to the railway system, upon the effective working of which must largely depend the success of Japanese policy.

The Kwantung Administration Office and the Manchurian Railway Office were the two administrative organizations that Japan established,—immediately upon securing the treaty rights above referred to.

The Kwantung Administration Office has charge of the administration of the leased territory as well as the protection and control of the districts adjacent to railway lines transferred from Russia. The preceding chapters deal in detail with the scope of the Manchurian Railway Company—here it need only be said that the Company's main object is to work the railways between Dairen, Port Arthur, and Changchun, Mukden, and Antung, and other branch lines, with certain subsidiary undertakings, not least of which in importance is the mining industry and the operation of the Fushun and Yentai coal-mines.

The Kwantung Province is the most southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula and covers an area of about 218 square miles; it has a population of a little over

400,000, 95 per cent. of which is Chinese, and the remainder Japanese and foreigners. The province was first under military control, but since order has been restored the administration has been discharged by a Governor-General, who presides over the Civil Administration. There are two administrative districts, those of Port Arthur and Dairen, and each district discharges its own local administrative duties. For the control of the land adjacent to the railways owned by the Manchurian Railway Company there is an office of Police affairs which is concerned with the protection and control of the lines. To Japanese consuls in South Manchuria also are delegated powers of commissioners for the Kwantung Government. The various branches of the administration such as those dealing with Communications, Education, Public Health, and Marine Affairs, have gradually acquired such importance as to demand the establishment of special departments exclusively devoted to their several objects, and now the whole administration is marked by considerable differentiation of sections.

The provisions of the judicial administration do not materially differ from those in Japan. The Kwantung Court and its divisions were created in 1906, and the regulations have been framed with regard to the legal conceptions of the Chinese, and to the applicability of native laws. In the application of the penal code all inhabitants of the province, both Chinese and Japanese, are treated indiscriminately; only as far as punishment is concerned the characteristics and customs of the Chinese have been considered, and punishment by flogging or fines has been transmuted into short-period confinement. Local courts are invested with all the rights of judgment in civil and penal affairs, which do not come under the authority of the

chiefs of the local administration offices, but appeals may be made to the High Court against the latter or against the findings of the local court.

The Russian prisons have been taken over by the Kwantung Administration, and repaired and rearranged.

The unpolitical nature of the Japanese position in Manchuria is constantly being emphasized by Japanese officials, to whose statements of policy the writer has already referred, and by official reports dealing with the Kwantung Administration. Indeed, in the latest available report, the admission of Japan's peaceful interest in the country is so frankly put that it may be quoted:—

‘Manchuria, Kwantung Province in particular, subsequent to the Russo-Japanese War forms no longer the theme of political dispute, but is to be regarded rather as the treasury in the Extreme Orient where interests common to the Powers of the world are protected according to the principles of open door and equal opportunity. The special position that Japan enjoys in Manchuria is utilized toward the development and exploitation of this treasury. Such being the case, the measures regarding productive industries occupy the most important place in the administration of the Kwantung Government. In fact, the extension of the administration may be regarded as the harbinger of the final withdrawal of the Japanese garrisons from Manchuria.’

Land in the Kwantung Province is generally adapted to cultivation, and the development of such cities as Port Arthur and Dairen creates a demand for the produce of the ordinary market-gardener. The civil administration authorities have encouraged, by the distribution of seeds and plants and by leasing the

land in some cases free, to as many agricultural undertakings as showed the least signs of development.

The principal agricultural products are Indian corn, *kaoliang*, millet, sorghum, and beans—and the extraordinary success of the bean export trade during the last few years, in South Manchuria, principally through Dairén, claims for it special treatment in another chapter.

With the exception of bean cake, manufacturing industries have not advanced beyond the first stages of development. Since the opening of the South Manchurian railways, and the consequent improved facility of export at Dairen, the number of bean oil manufactures has rapidly increased, and the old-fashioned horse- or mule-worked presses by means of which the beans are treated are giving way to presses with petroleum or oil as motive power. There are some fifteen to twenty factories in the province, working with capitals of over 10,000 *yen*, of which the Nissin Bean Cakes Manufacturing Company, at Dairen, is the largest, with a capital of 3,000,000 *yen*.

It is claimed that brick manufacturing has excellent prospects. It was undertaken in the neighbourhood of Port Arthur and Dairen, and made headway under the Russian Government, but a great number of factories were ruined during the late war. Though, when new construction works under Japanese control were begun on a large scale and there was naturally a great demand for bricks the trade recovered to a certain extent, the general economic depression of 1908 brought a second check to the industry.

Lime and oyster shell works are doing a good business. The Nissin Match Works at Changchun meet local demand and the Sansin Koshi tobacco manufacture is a flourishing concern.

Mining enterprises in Kwantung, though varied as to Mining products, have not as yet made good returns. When enter- the province came under the Japanese lease a great prises. many of the mining concessions registered under Russian control were rejected, and though since 1907 there have been eight gold-mining concessions granted, the enterprise is of recent growth and results are not well known. The quarrying of stones for building and industrial purposes is being undertaken by the Japanese.

Forestry enterprise was one of the first undertaken Forestry. by the military government in 1905, and the Civil Administration to which the work has since been transferred has taken it up in good earnest not only in the leased land but also in the railway zone. Seedling offices have been established in the principal towns, and the Agricultural Experiment Office at Dairen has charged itself with the most practical methods of forestry encouragement.

Fishery is one of the most profitable industries of Fisheries. the province. The waters of the Yellow Sea on the East and the Gulf of Pechilien on the West are suited to a variety of fish for which Dairen and Port Arthur supply constant markets. It is estimated that there are about 15,000 fishers and 2,140 fishing-boats engaged in the industry. A marine industry laboratory has been established by the Government at Lao-hu-tan, and a subsidy is also granted to the fishing guild.

The salt industry—once a flourishing one—has, Salt. since the war, revived considerably, and the number of salt-fields has increased. A salt-field surveying office has been instituted, which conducts a survey of the salt-fields owned by the natives and prospective fields. The total area of existing salt-fields was, at the end of 1908, about 3,670 acres.

In selecting Baron Goto to reorganize the South Manchurian Railway the Japanese Government undoubtedly acted wisely, for it would have been difficult to find a broader-minded man, or one better equipped for a task full of perplexities and delicate problems. Baron Goto had proved his capacity as civil administrator of Formosa, and the work he accomplished in that Island will always stand as a monument to his capacity, executive ability, and tact. Believing fully in his capacity and judgment the Government entrusted Baron Goto with wide latitude of action, and left him free to work out as he deemed best the impartial policy to which Japan is committed in Manchuria. To him were confided the management of the railways, the mines, and other contributory industries, as well as the organization of education, sanitation, and public works both in the leased territory and in the area included in the railway zone.

That this work is being well done and that the activities of the Japanese in South Manchuria have been skilfully directed will be seen by the perusal of the observations and impressions recorded throughout this volume in regard to the cities and ports and territories served by the South Manchurian Railway. The Japanese Government and the officials of the railway company maintain that all nationalities are treated within that territory with entire impartiality and equality, and they point to the fact that although inquiry has been made by the diplomatic and consular representatives of different countries, whose subjects and citizens have brought forward complaints, not a single case has been proved to show that the railway company imposed a differential tariff rate or differential loading or unloading charges, or in any way discriminated against a foreign firm or company in favour of

a Japanese concern. They repudiate all these charges as pure inventions, and by way of proof point to their publicly issued tariffs and instructions, all of which are printed in the English language.

The above may be said to represent in substance the views of the Japanese Government in regard to their Manchurian policy and to the controversy to which it has given rise. The personage to whom the writer is indebted for the above facts, ended the conversation by summarizing what he called the 'emphatic points of the Japanese régime in Manchuria' in the following words, which are quoted textually:—

1. 'The control of this territory by Japan is deemed absolutely necessary to maintain the integrity of the Empire.'

2. 'The peace of the Far East is indispensable to our own safety.'

3. 'The maintenance of the *status quo* in Manchuria is needed, we are convinced, to safeguard universal peace; for unless this territory is under Japanese jurisdiction, it is not possible to serve the cause of peace and progress.'

4. 'As is evident from the trend of current events, the 400 millions of China can most judiciously be brought to an appreciation of modern civilization through the development of Manchuria, and Japan as the pioneer nation of the East accepts the task as her bounden duty.'

5. 'An impartial observer free from prejudice should realize that our policy in Manchuria offers little scope for criticism. War, if aggressive and for the enlargement of territory, is foreign to the interests and traditions of our race. The maintenance of peace in the East and the integrity of our own land, can alone be for us the cause of war.'

The South Manchurian Railway is now working satisfactorily, and is steadily extending its business. The improvements on the line between Mukden and Antung, and the gradual development of the Kwantung Peninsula, will probably increase its profits. At the expiration of the lease the Chinese Government must pay to the Japanese Government all the money they have expended on the railway. Meanwhile to make the line pay and to improve the trade of the country, the Japanese are expending a good deal of money in improving the property. The more activity this railway company shows the better for the people of the locality as well as for international trade. The talk about discrimination the writer found to be baseless—goods shipped by merchants of different nationality are all treated alike. One Japanese financier, who had raised over £10,000,000 of debenture stocks for the South Manchurian Railway, declared that the company is working in a very satisfactory manner and that the debt would be redeemed at maturity.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE SOYA BEAN

THE history of the growth of the bean trade in Manchuria is as captivating as the story of the rise of Jack's famous beanstalk of our nursery days. It reads more like a fairy tale than a page from the Board of Trade Returns. Only after one has travelled through the region where the soya bean reigns supreme, and has seen the wharves and the warehouses, the stations, and the platforms laden with bags of beans, and noted the thousands of queer looking stacks with pagoda-like roofs with which the country is dotted and which serve as temporary storehouses for the produce whilst awaiting shipment, does one realize that it is not a fable, but a veritable fact in the history of international commerce. Nevertheless, more than the ordinary amount of imagination is required to grasp the fact that the first commercial consignment of this crop was sent to Europe in 1906, and that the requirements for the coming season are estimated at a million tons. At the minimum price of £6 10s. per ton, this means a business of £6,500,000, or something like 70 millions of silver dollars. That an industry of such vast proportions should at a time like this spring up in a few years indicates that all the opportunities of commerce are not closed to those who have courage and foresight enough to search for new openings for trade. And the manifold uses, agricultural and industrial as well as dietary, to which the bean can be put, invest this generous vegetable

Recent
great
develop-
ment in
export
trade of
soya
bean.

with increasing importance and the future of the bean crop with romantic mystery.

The development of the soya bean is of such recent date, and has been so intimately connected with Japanese enterprise, that a few facts in regard to its rise and progress may be of interest in this volume.

It is not known when the bean was actually introduced into Manchuria, but, according to a useful treatise written by Mr. Norman Shaw, of Newchwang, and issued as one of the special series of Imperial Maritime Customs publications, 'the probability is that it came north from the central provinces of China many centuries ago,' and we learn from a story in the life of Wen, tyrant in the kingdom of Wei, that beans were a staple article of diet in the early centuries of the Christian era. Though the bean trade has for many years been a flourishing item of local trade, it was not until 1908 that the first trial shipment was sent to Hull, and the trade with that port has grown in two years from nothing to nearly 250,000 tons.

It is strange that the potency of the little green bean—it looks more like a dried pea than the bean grown in England—which is furnishing three railway systems with freight, hundreds of vessels with cargoés, and three ports with business, and starting new industries in the north of England, should have remained so long undiscovered by Europeans. Its advantages appear to have been forced upon the attention of England by a Japanese merchant, who, failing in his first efforts, made a second attempt to introduce the soya bean into Europe. These beans, raised by industrious Chinamen toiling incessantly for a few pence per day, are generally brought to the river in carts and shipped

in junks in the summer time, while in the winter they are often brought for miles along very bad roads by cart to Newchwang.

After the building of the railways it was natural that these exports should gravitate more and more to the maritime outlets of the railways at Dairen, Vladivostock, and, to a lesser extent, to Newchwang, which last port, as will be seen in another chapter, is still receiving the bulk of its consignments by means of junks and by carts. The Newchwang exports consisted of oil and cakes, which were manufactured by the aid of numerous crude Chinese oil-presses worked with mule power—the oil going to China and the cakes to Japan. As soon as the bean assumed an international importance Newchwang lost its monopoly of the trade. As recently as 1907 almost all the beans available for export—namely, 120,000 tons—were exported *via* Newchwang. Of the 800,000 tons exported in 1909, half went by way of Dairen and the remainder from Vladivostock and from Newchwang. In the export of bean cake Newchwang holds the first position because of her numerous Chinese oil-presses, and her one modern factory. Extensive up-to-date factories capable of extracting a greater percentage of oil are, however, being established—of these two are at Dairen—and unless Newchwang shows more enterprise than one observes in a visit to the city, she will soon lose the first place in the bean-cake trade.

Manual labour in bean-crushing was everywhere employed until a few years ago, and as regards cultivation, still predominates over mechanical power. The natural prejudice of the Chinese towards the latter does not, however, find any justification in the results achieved by the two methods, and though no mechanical substitute for the human foot in wine-pressing has

Chief
ports for
export of
bean.

New-
chwang
exports.

Manual
and me-
chanical
labour in
bean-
crushing.

been found, the mechanical process of bean-crushing extracts more oil than does manual labour, and the oil is of a purer quality.

The quantity of oil in the soya bean varies from 16 to 17 per cent., and by some chemical processes even 19 per cent. has been extracted. Of course nothing like this amount is obtained even in the excellent mills which the writer visited at Dairen. To what extent the extraction of practically all the oil would impair the value of the cake as a fertilizer is difficult to say. These are questions which will have to be dealt with in the future. For the present the industry is still in its infancy, so far as the application of applied chemistry and modern methods is concerned.

In case the story of the rise of the soya bean industry should prove too alluring to British merchants of a speculative turn of mind, and not provided with a knowledge of the methods of doing business in the Far East, it may be well to mention that it would be quite useless to start an office at some point like Dairen or Changehun in order to buy beans in the local market. The only way is to travel into the interior, to visit the country markets, and to buy in small quantities for silver coins of low value, that is, 20 or 10-cent pieces. The Chinese silver dollar is only worth 85 *sen* Japanese money, or 1s. 9*d.*, and five of the 20-cent silver pieces are worth about 2½*d.* less than the Mexican or Chinese dollar. The Japanese, by purchasing the beans with the little silver coins, obtain them cheaper than would be possible for an English firm which was paying for them in silver dollars. For some unaccountable reason the Chinese producer prefers the small coin, though its value is 10 per cent. less. This is not generally known, for

one naturally assumes that ten 10-cent silver coins or five 20-cent coins make alike one silver dollar; but such is not the case in the bean district of Manchuria.

The soya bean now constitutes an important part in the Hull import trade, and has provided a new source of revenue for the shipping industry. It is estimated, indeed, that already the cost of the freight to British ports has reached over a million sterling. The imports into Hull in 1910 were 245,829 tons, more than half the total import into the United Kingdom. The soya oil exported from Hull, the pioneer in the crushing of soya beans, reached 113,372 barrels. Good judges are of opinion that the rapidly increasing import trade into Europe must ultimately have a serious effect upon the seed industry, and is likely particularly to affect the imports of cotton seed. The bulk of the soya beans imported into Hull are the yellow beans, and those engaged in the seed trade in the Hull district have a good opinion of the new bean. According to Mr. Shaw's treatise, before referred to, the yellow bean appears to be the most profitable variety as regards oil production. It is to the cattle grower, as well as to the oil trade, that the advent of the soya bean into this country is of importance. The cake is cheaper than cotton-seed cake, and is said to be richer in those constituents for which the cotton-seed cake is valued. The experiments in feeding British cattle on bean cakes only have not been very satisfactory, but when mixed with other food it has proved more practicable. The British farmer has not yet quite made up his mind as to its value as a food for cattle. The value of soya oil is widely recognized by soap manufacturers, and there is a notable tendency to employ it in preference to cotton oil.

Soya bean
an item of
the Hull
import
trade.

Cotton
seed
imports
likely
to be
affected.

There are evidences of the beginning of an export trade from Hull to the Continent. A quantity of soya cake has been exported from Hull, and if a further reduction in the price should take place a large export trade may be established. Continental dairy-farmers are employing soya meal, and in conjunction with other food the experiment has been satisfactory. Inquiries made at Hull show that the mills have had their capacity taxed by the advent of the soya bean.

The credit for the introduction of this useful article of commerce is due to Messrs. Mitsui & Company, the well-known Japanese financial and industrial firm, who sent their first trial shipment of beans to England in the winter of 1905-6. This consignment was not successful owing to imperfect packing. A second shipment met with better results and led to a succession of large orders. The beans were found to be valuable both for the extraction of oil similar to that obtained from other cultivated seeds, and also when mixed with other food as cake for feeding cattle. Excellent biscuits have been made out of one variety of these beans. The United Kingdom was at once able to take advantage of this newly-found import because of its admission free of duty, the high tariff on such produce precluding the soya beans from access to Germany, France, and other Continental countries. So great was the demand that by the end of the season of 1908 the Mitsui Company had exported to Europe 200,000 tons of these beans, and both this concern and the Yokohama Specie Bank, operating in conjunction, are said to have made very handsome profits on these transactions. In the season of 1909 the sales to Great Britain alone are stated to have reached 400,000 tons. Several other well-

known firms have entered the field, including the firm of Samuel Samuel & Company. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce estimates the consumption value of a ton of soya beans in London at £6 10s., and a British Consular report optimistically concludes that England alone will in the future be able to take one million tons of beans annually.

Under date of Dairen, 'August 3rd, 1911, the Statistical Department of the South Manchurian Railway Company kindly furnished the writer with the latest figures relating to the soya bean trade. According to these figures the total value of the exports of beans and bean cake from the three ports Dairen, Newchwang, and Antung for last year (1910) amounted to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. These three ports exported nearly 1,500,000 tons, the export from Dairen alone for that year reaching 352,620 tons of beans and approximately 250,000 tons of bean cake. ^{Exports in 1910.}

Whilst the soya bean has thus suddenly come into international fame, its uses and virtues have long been known in the Far East. The oil of the bean has been used throughout China as an article of food and for other purposes. The cake is valuable as a fertilizer for rice and sugar-cane fields, and the figures given above show the enormous quantities of the cake exported to Japan, a country which, according to Government estimates, is obliged to spend £12,000,000, some estimates say £20,000,000, annually on fertilizers of various kinds. In Manchuria the soya bean is primarily used for the extraction of oil and for the manufacture of cake; it is also made into vermicelli and similar articles of food. Manchuria seems to have a natural monopoly in the growing of this bean for export. The bean plant is hardy and prolific, as is shown by the universality of its appearance, in ^{Uses and value of the soya bean.}

North America, parts of the British colonies, Japan, and the Yang-tze valley. But Manchuria appears to be ideally suited to its cultivation, and it does not seem likely that she can ever be seriously displaced as a bean-growing centre. The other producing countries, Japan and Korea, require all they are able to raise for domestic consumption, whilst the production of the French possessions in Asia, in Asia Minor, and in West Africa is said to be neither large nor promising enough to be of much account for export. Down to the present time the soya bean has not been successfully produced elsewhere, though experimental efforts to grow this particular bean in other parts of the world are in progress.

The soya bean is the foundation of the prosperity of Changchun. The beans shipped southwards and exported through Changchun Station represent the Japanese sphere of this trade, and they are carried to the progressive port of Dairen. The beans attracted northwards passing through Harbin represent the Russian share of the trade, and indicate the progress of the Russian port of Vladivostock. Russian and Japanese interests may, therefore, be said to have merged at Changchun in two senses, for the connexion between the Russian-Japanese lines which was temporarily interrupted near Changchun was re-established in 1909, and the railway is now operating continuously—that is, passengers leave the standard-gauge train at the Changchun Station on the one track and take the Russian broad-gauge train on the other. Changchun has become an important station, and business is watched there with considerable interest. With the growth of the foreign demand for these beans, the Chinese farmers increased their cultivation with such rapidity that the total export from Manchuria

during 1908-9 reached an unusually high figure. During the season 1909-10, when the crop, from climatic causes, was less favourable than during the period 1908-9, the amount exported does not appear to have increased though there has been an appreciable advance in the price of the beans. At the same time, more land has been devoted to the cultivation of soya beans in the north, particularly in the territory north of Harbin, from which it may be assumed that less has been produced in the south; in fact, it is stated on good authority that the soil in the south is already showing signs of deterioration. The wastefulness, or rather ignorance, of the Manchurian farmer may be held partly accountable for this—as his habits of tearing up plants and roots for fuel prevent the natural fertilization of the soil by the nitrogenous properties which the bean roots possess. The Russian Railway Company, recognizing this development in the north, have done their best to secure the transit of grain from the agricultural centre of Changchun so as to compete with the South Manchurian Railway Company. Freight rates are quoted which enable shippers to send their cargo from Changchun to Vladivostock at the same cost by the Russian lines as from Changchun to Dairen by the Japanese railway.

When in Changchun the writer was told that it was cheaper to ship beans from Changchun *via* Harbin to Vladivostock than from Harbin to Vladivostock direct. The result of this competition and the development of cultivation in the north is shown in the statistics for the season. In spite of these facilities in rates afforded by the Russian lines, shipments are invariably attended with vexatious delays and cause innumerable complaints on the part of the exporters.

Railway transport.

Defects in transport offered by Russian railways.

The wharves at Dairen are capable of loading and unloading nearly 5,500 tons per day, but when the new cranes now in course of construction are completed, the average bulk handled per day will be more than 3,000 tons of loading and discharging respectively. At Vladivostock, however, recent experience shows that steamers have taken as long as ten days to load 3,500 tons. Again, cargoes take two days to do the journey from Changchun to Dairen. Owing to various breakdowns, blockings, and sundry causes on the Russian lines, a cargo has taken over thirty days from Harbin to Vladivostock. 'These points,' said the writer's informant (a well-known British merchant at Changchun), 'go to prove the superiority of the Japanese over the Russian lines. In not one single instance in the past season has there been any cause of delay on the former.' It is also stated that shippers from Harbin have frequently to expedite their shipments by making it worth the while of the officials on the Russian railway. On asking if there was any truth in the statements that favouritism is shown by the South Manchurian Railway Company to the Japanese the reply was given:—'A great deal is heard nowadays of cases of reported favoured terms given by the Japanese lines to their own countrymen, but in not a single case has this been proved.' The fact that Japanese bean merchants in the district of Changchun have all failed or have come to grief, with the exception of the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, and, perhaps, one or two others, is given as a reason to show that they can secure only the regular rates from the railway company. The South Manchurian Company afford every convenience for shipments of cargo, and it can be truthfully said that the working of this line will compare favourably with European or German railways.

Another point that recent criticism has concerned itself with is the defective condition of so many of the receptacles for oils shipped from Manchuria as well as from Japan. The Japanese Commercial Commissioner in London reports upon the defectiveness of the kerosene oil-can, which has been most largely used for this purpose. The leakage, consequent upon the wear and tear of the oversea shipment, in the majority of cases, he says, neutralizes the margin of profit to owners, and creates a risk which the insurance companies will not approach save at almost prohibitive premiums. The substitution of drums of British make has been found to answer, but it is not likely to be encouraged unless the Japanese Government exempts, in case of their being re-exported, these empty vessels from the heavy rates of duty now exacted.

With the influx of so much money it is apparent that the import trade will be worth consideration. The principal item is piece-goods, and British merchants in Manchuria declare that European manufacturers are allowing the Japanese to have it all their own way. This, however, they admit is in no sense due to any favouritism on the part of the railways or of the Government, but has been attained by 'a steady and careful nursing of the country' on the part of the Japanese. Japanese firms hold large stocks of goods at all the principal centres, and are able to supply the wants of the community at short notice. European manufacturers desiring to enter into this field of great possibility must be prepared to adopt methods similar to those employed by the Japanese. A profitable import business is done in such staple commodities as soap, candles, and matches, also in tin, iron, and steel.

The majority of important firms at Changchun are German and American houses; British manu-

facturers pay but little attention to the business. Excepting the South Manchurian Railway Company, who place the greater part of their contracts in connexion with their railways in Tokyo, it is difficult, if not impossible, it is said, to point to a single contract of importance for municipal work of an engineering or electrical nature which has gone into the hands of British contractors. The reason given for this is that the assistance rendered to Germans and Americans by their respective Consular officers is much greater than that rendered by the British Consular Service. The appointment of a Commercial Attaché for Manchuria is greatly to be desired. These remarks, of course, apply also to the other towns in Manchuria, where the jurisdiction is in the hands of Chinese officials having the power to place such contracts for the development of the towns under their control. The preference in every case is shown to those firms who are introduced to the officials by the Consular officers or interpreters, rather than to those who have not the benefit of such assistance. It is, moreover, stated that at Changchun the Chinese officials regard ordinary commercial representatives as of quite a different caste to themselves, and that it is difficult for such a representative to obtain facilities without Consular assistance.

A British merchant of Changchun sends the writer the following letter in relation to the attitude of the Japanese in Manchuria :—

‘With regard to that part of Manchuria which comes under Japanese influence, too great praise cannot be given. The conveniences and facilities afforded by the Japanese to one and all in regard to banking institutions, railway communications, postal and telegraph service are far and away superior to those afforded by the Russian and the Chinese institu-

tions. The Yokohama Specie Bank, with its numerous branches, enables foreign traders to transact business on the same lines as they are accustomed to do in other civilized countries. Transactions with this bank are free from the exorbitant rates and the petty red-tapeism, to which it is necessary to conform in working with either the Russians or Chinese. It is a recognized fact that it takes any time over an hour to get a cheque cashed at a Russian bank; moreover, the absence of any knowledge of the English language renders transactions with them considerably irksome. Every employee in the Yokohama Specie Bank, on the other hand, has a good knowledge of the English language. Notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese Customs are supposed to manage the Postal Service in Manchuria, that service has become practically confined to the transmission of Chinese correspondence. The Japanese appear to handle the greater part, if not all, of the foreign mail in a satisfactory manner.

‘In conclusion, Japan has fulfilled all her obligations, and continues to do so, in the development of Manchuria, and woe betide the day if the country comes under Russian influence or if it is handed back again to the control of the Chinese. Too great attention cannot be devoted to this country by the Press in Great Britain, in order to direct the attention of British firms to the enormous prospects which await them here in various directions. It is to be hoped they will soon awaken to these possibilities. If these efforts are delayed too long they will find that it is too late, as other countries will have secured the business.’

• It is well in criticizing a Government to reflect long enough to contemplate the results which would follow in the event of its overthrow. The choice, should the Japanese relinquish or abandon Manchuria, would be either Russia or China, alternatives which may well make foreign traders willing to bear their present ills rather than to end them by flying to evils that, in this instance, they know all about.

CHAPTER XLVIII

AROUND THE WORLD VIA JAPAN

Around the World in Eighty Days, by Jules Verne, a romance which aroused such keen interest and evoked so much discussion respecting the possibility of such an achievement, when the first translation was published in 1873, would seem rather a pointless story to the youth of the present generation. It took the writer less than forty days of actual travelling to make a circle of the world, and the journey was neither undertaken for a wager nor made for the purpose of ascertaining how quickly it could be accomplished. Phineas Fogg would not have embarked upon such a leisurely boat as the *Amerika*, of the Hamburg-American Line, but probably upon the *Mauretania*, though arriving in New York he could have done no better than to have taken the 6.55 express on a Thursday evening and by this means made connexion with the 10.30 Canadian Pacific boat train, which leaves Montreal on Friday, by which train he would secure the Pacific steamer of that line at Vancouver. Although these boats have been in service for some years they are as comfortable as ever, and can make the journey across the Pacific and land their passengers alongside the new wharves at Yokohama in twelve days. From Yokohama the traveller may now by train and boat reach Harbin in four days, and thence find himself in Moscow in nine days more. In this way, if no connexions are missed, he would be in London again in just under forty days.

This time, within a few years, will probably be further reduced by contemplated improvements on both the Canadian and Asiatic parts of the journey. The Canadian Pacific Railway will either build new boats for the Pacific service or transfer their fast ships of the Atlantic to the Pacific and build the new ones for the Atlantic service. The journey from Liverpool to Yokohama across the Dominion could then be made in twenty or twenty-one days, and connexions assured. We repeat that the Japanese Government is laying out its plans for a future through route—Tokyo—Shimonoseki—Korea—Mukden—Harbin. This route will involve only ten hours of sea voyage. With the Antung—Mukden line finished, the time required will be only three and a half days to Harbin, and with the Japanese State railways reconstructed to standard gauge, it is hoped to reduce the time to three days. From Harbin to Moscow now takes nine days at a speed of less than 25 miles an hour, and with innumerable stops. The officials of the Siberian Railway say that two days will be gained in the journey between Vladivostock and Moscow as soon as the double-tracking of the road and other improvements are carried out, and the journey round the world by Canadian Pacific, Japanese State Railways, and Siberia, may be as follows:—London to Yokohama, twenty days; Yokohama to Harbin, three days; Harbin to Moscow, less than eight days; Moscow to London, two days; total, thirty-three days.

Within the next two years the double-tracking of the Trans-Siberian Railway will have been completed between Omsk—the junction of the Tiumen (new) and Cheliabinsk through lines to Russia—and Karymskaya (the junction of the Manchurian and Amur lines, the latter in course of construction). A small section of

the Circum-Baikal Railway (from Baikal to Tanhoy, about 130 miles in length) is to remain single-tracked for the present; but this deficiency is compensated for by ferry communication over the lake. The Tiumen-Omsk section links up the Trans-Siberian with the Tiumen-Ekaterinburg and the new direct Ekaterinburg-Perm lines.

By the end of next year Russia will have two continuous independent lines (Viatka and Samara Ufa) connecting her European system with Omsk, and thence a double track to and beyond Lake Baikal.

The Amur Railway, connecting the Trans-Baikal and Usguri lines, will probably be completed by the end of 1915 at a cost of £30,000,000. Russia will then have a Trans-Continental route entirely within her own territory. The work is being carried out in four sections—Kivenga-Uryum, 183 versts; Uryum-Kerak, 621 versts; Kerak-Dia, 638 versts; Dia-Habarovsk, 480 versts, altogether 1,922 versts, or 1,280 miles. To this must be added a branch line to Blagoveshchensk, bringing up the length of permanent way to about 1,340 miles.

A glance at the map shows that the line had to be kept well north of the Amur River. This was for strategical reasons, to keep it beyond the reach of a possible foe on the Chinese side. It was also necessary to avoid the mountainous regions, with concomitant tunnels which could be blocked by snow or by the hand of the enemy. On the other hand, if the distance were excessive, strategy would not benefit, because the Russian colonization of the country would not be developed.

East of Kerak three alternative routes were surveyed—one following the Zea (which flows, like the Amur, through vast gaps in the great Hinghan Range),

thence sweeping far northward around the Burey Mountains to Habarovsk; another almost continuous with the arc already described, and a third nearer to the Amur. A compromise between the two last was chosen.

By facilitating communications on the Vladivostock route a corresponding gain in time and convenience will result for passengers going to Peking. Steamship connexions between Vladivostock and Dairen and Japanese and Chinese ports will be equally benefited. A Russo-Japanese railway agreement will further develop transport facilities. The journey from London or Paris to Tokyo will, by the end of 1912, have been reduced by two days. The distance to Peking, 7,500 miles (*via* Harbin and Mukden), which now requires fourteen days, will be covered in less than twelve days. ^{Paris to Peking in twelve days.}

A further gain would result from the construction of the much-debated Aigum-Tsitsihar-Tsintchen railway, but in the event of the adoption of Russia's proposal to connect the Circum-Baikal with the Peking-Kalgan lines, *via* Kiakhta-Urga (total length about 1,000 miles), the distance between Paris and Peking would be reduced to about 5,600 miles, and the time might eventually be shortened to eight days.

Little was known by the travelling public of the Trans-Siberian Railway until the International Sleeping Car Company, in conjunction with the Russian and Chinese Eastern railways, established what is called a through train to the Far East on the railway which begins at the Russian frontier town of Alexandrowo, or at Virballen, and travels over the broad-gauge railway of European Russia to Cheliabinsk, 2,311 versts from St. Petersburg. Here the two branch lines, one from St. Petersburg and one from Moscow, converge and connect with the Trans-Siberian Railway. From ^{The Trans-Siberian Railway.}

this station to Manchuria, a distance of 4,472 versts, the line runs right across Siberia through thousands of miles of forests and vast stretches of agricultural land, crossing several mountain ranges and mighty rivers to Manchuria. At Manchuria, the first station in Manchuria, the Chinese Eastern Railway begins, and as this railway was built on the 5-foot gauge, and is operated by the Russian Government, no change is necessary, after once starting on the Russian railways, until Vladivostock is reached, a distance of 1,604 versts. The distance traversed from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock is therefore 8,387 versts, or 5,560 miles. As Alexandrowo is 1,472 kilomètres (915 miles) from Ostend, the total distance from Ostend to Vladivostock is 6,475 miles, or from London to Vladivostock 6,611 miles. By the route *via* St. Petersburg, Moscow, Samara, and Irkutsk it is 5,900 miles from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock, but by the Northern route *via* Viatka the distance is reduced to the figure above mentioned.

The last rail of this great enterprise was laid on November 3, 1901, but the line was not opened for permanent regular traffic until two years later. Then came the Russo-Japanese War, which disorganized the railway service and ended in the transfer of the Port Arthur branch into the control of Japan. It is only, therefore, within the last three or four years that any attempt has been made to utilize this tremendous undertaking for commercial purposes. In London very little interest has been aroused in the regular operation of this railway, except among firms doing business in the Far East—letters posted and marked by this route reach Peking or Tokyo in fifteen or seventeen days, instead of forty and forty-five days, the time required by the Suez Canal route—but in the East it is a

matter of living interest and a topic of almost daily conversation. We may describe an actual journey.

Two through expresses—Russian State trains—and one train made up of the International Sleeping Car and dining coaches are now running over this route, making three through trains weekly. Of these the International train is the most popular, because the attendants speak English, French, and German, and because the dining-car arrangements and food are admittedly better than on the Russian trains. Apart from these advantages there is no difference, as all three trains seem to make the journey in about the same time, and as the Russian cars are equal in all respects to those of the International Sleeping Car Company.

The Russian gauge of the Chinese Eastern Railway now starts at Changchun, and on Saturday morning, at 11 o'clock, passengers from China for the Russian State express are provided with a train at Changchun, which includes sleeping-coaches and a buffet-car, and the journey across Siberia begins. These coaches are attached to the Vladivostock train at Harbin, reached the same day, about 8 o'clock in the evening, and the whole train then goes through to Irkutsk, where we arrived on the morning of the following Tuesday. At Irkutsk all passengers, including those who started from Vladivostock, are transferred into the St. Petersburg train, and there is no further change until the capital of Russia is reached on the following Monday evening, nine days after leaving Harbin and ten days from Vladivostock. The train, after a steady run of ten days and nights, arrived at St. Petersburg punctual to the minute. The transfer at Irkutsk is easily made by civil porters, whose charge is 10 kopeks per package, and the two trains are brought alongside each other in the station.

Securing
accommo-
dation.

The
State
Railway.

The carriage in which the journey was begun, and which was left at Irkutsk with the rest of the Vladivostock train, was evidently one of the earlier coaches. It was well built, heavy, and a little cumbersome, while the space was not utilized to the best advantage, though it is only just to say that each passenger is allotted as much, if not more, space than in European and American sleeping-cars. It was fairly clean, though the Russian guards and porters are not punctilious where rigid cleanliness is concerned. The toilet accommodation is inadequate, the water was not plentiful, and was only obtainable in tiny streams through a sort of watering-pot nozzle fastened on the tap, and there were no towels or sundries in the toilet room.

The second-class compartments on the Russian trains are as good as the first, if not better, and some passengers, though holding first-class tickets, used second-class accommodation because the carriages seemed cleaner. When the trains are not crowded it would be just as comfortable to travel second class, saving from £12 to £14 respectively on each ticket from London to Harbin or Vladivostock. The second-class passengers have the same rights in the buffet as have those of the first class, and are allowed the same weight of luggage. The buffet on the Irkutsk train and the one on the subsequent train which ran through to St. Petersburg were both very poor. In the first instance, there was one waiter who spoke a little English and French, but on the St. Petersburg train no language but Russian was spoken by any attendant.

It was at times amusing to see French, Germans, English, and Japanese trying to make themselves understood. The density and opaqueness of the dining-room attendants were almost incredible, and they seemed

utterly devoid of imagination. They could not even guess at the meaning of such words as 'tea,' 'coffee,' 'salt,' 'milk,' 'hot' or 'cold' water when successively given them in French, German, or English. A list printed in Russian and in French is furnished with the names and prices of the food to be had, arranged in parallel columns, but even with this list carefully marked the attendants would make the most ludicrous mistakes. At times one had misgivings as to their ability to read their own language. However, they were good-natured about it all, and the process of obtaining one's daily bread in this way to some extent relieved the monotony of the journey. As all nationalities, except the Russians, were in the same dilemma, we were placed on an equal footing. Another interesting way of foraging for food is in the station restaurants and from the peddlers who offer bottles of milk, hard-boiled and new-laid eggs, and other delicacies for sale along the route. There are many good things to be thus obtained at the stations, such as fresh caviare, good cakes, and glass jars of jam. These may be taken to the dining-car and a picnic with coffee, tea, or beer from the buffet arranged. The attendants take care of what remains for your next meal. In this respect the Russian State trains offer a freedom not possible on the International trains. The attendants, according to their lights, are uniformly accommodating, and not at all grasping in the matter of tips, which cannot be said of the employees of the International Sleeping Car Company.

There is one regular meal served in the buffet each day at 1 o'clock. Passengers may partake of this or order something specially cooked, and may have it served at the same time. The most abnormal appetite could not complain of the quantity provided at the

Indif-
ferent
catering.

table d'hôte luncheon, at the cost of a rouble and a half. Those who desire quality and dislike food cooked in grease and strongly flavoured would prefer something more simple. It is a pity that a little more care is not exercised in cooking on these trains. The substitution of more wholesome food and a few plain dishes would add greatly to the comfort of passengers unaccustomed to Russian food—one does not like to say at its worst, but certainly not at its best. There is a great lack of vegetables, and of fruits there are practically none, oranges and apples of the poorest quality costing 6*d.* and 8*d.* each. It is possible occasionally to obtain better ones at the stations for half the price charged on the train. With the exception of the charges for fruit, the other prices are not unreasonable, and living in the way described above, the cost per person will range from 6*s.* to 10*s.* per day—the latter including beer and native wines. The wines from the Imperial vineyards must always be sold at fixed prices on the train, and they are the best, and the prices are reasonable.

Those contemplating the journey should provide themselves with a spirit lamp, teapot, cups, and glasses, and also with a hamper containing tea, chocolate, a few tins of biscuits, and fruit such as apples and oranges. Boiling water can readily be obtained, either at the station or on the train, and the Russian attendants will always cheerfully fill your teapot. By this method, and by purchasing food at the stations, the number of Russian meals can be reduced and some of the rich food avoided.

A stock of towels, soap, and other toilet requisites is essential, for these articles are not supplied by the State railways, or if furnished the supply is intermittent. The second carriage which we occupied—

that from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg—was much better than the first. Nothing could have been more comfortable. The compartments were spacious and each one had a wash-basin and running water—not merely one between two compartments. There is a good table and an electric drop light. The racks are built wide and strong, and any reasonable amount of luggage can be stowed away during the daytime. The beds are large and comfortable and the linen of the best quality. In fact, nothing could have been better than this coach in all its appointments.

The Imperial Government has certainly spared no ^{Trains} expense to make these carriages the best and most ^{clean.} commodious in operation. The wide gauge and the great weight of the coaches reduces the motion, and except in bad parts of the road—and there are not so many as might be expected on such a long journey—they run remarkably smoothly. The average speed is under 25 miles an hour, but the rate of travelling is uniform and the stops, though at times frequent, are short. The carriage was kept exceptionally clean. Several times a day, during fifteen minutes' stops, women with pails of fresh water came into the carriages and washed the floors of the passages and cleaned the windows, inside and out. As a result, the carriage had a fresh appearance when you returned to it after your fifteen minutes' walk up and down the platform. During the day one is able to take eight or ten of these outings—some of ten minutes' duration, and occasionally at very important stations a halt is made of twenty minutes, amounting perhaps to an hour or an hour and a half daily.

With all the essentials so well provided for, the Russian Government should improve the minor features of the service. Among such good linguists as the

Russians, surely attendants could be found who speak a little French, German, or English. There are a few other ways in which the convenience of travel could be improved and the comfort of the passengers considered. They would entail but small outlay on the part of the railway. Attention must be given to the matters referred to if the Russian Government wants to popularize and to make a commercial success of its great railway.

Scattered all through the coaches in the empty first and second class compartments were the attendants of various grades. There are many officers in Russian State trains for whose existence it is difficult to find a reason. They are ornamental in their long coats, top boots, and military caps, but what they really do one could never quite make out. If one of them came round for a ticket, which event rarely happened more than once in two or three days, he brought an assistant with him, who actually held the ticket while the 'top man' snipped or punched it. Roughly speaking, after travelling on the railways of China, Japan, and Russia, one concludes that it takes twice as many men to operate a Russian train as it does a Chinese train, and twice as many to manage a Chinese train as it does to staff a Japanese train. Nevertheless, the Japanese trains are operated in a more business-like way than the Russian trains, especially those of the South Manchurian Railway. There are many more soldiers and military guards on the Russian than on the Japanese trains running through Chinese territory. On the Imperial railways of North China, the head trainman is usually an Englishman, civil and gentlemanly. His assistants are very efficient and hard-working Chinamen. These trains are well managed, and though some of the carriages are not up to the standard of the newer

coaches which the Japanese have put on the Dairen-Mukden branch of the South Manchurian line, they are comfortable, and the service both in the sleeping- and dining-cars is excellent. The food and service on both Chinese and Japanese trains are better than on the Russian trains.

If the experience of the passengers travelling on the train we came on from Harbin to St. Petersburg was not exceptional, a great deal of injustice is done to the Russian Customs officers. To one familiar with the New York Custom House these stories had no terrors, but from what one hears in Tokyo and elsewhere the passengers were prepared for a searching and, perhaps, disagreeable examination. On the contrary, they found at Mandchuria station civil officials who merely went through the form of examining the through heavy baggage, and who came on board the train and inspected the hand baggage and smaller packages. The effects of all were treated with reasonable impartiality, and there could be no cause for complaint. Some passengers did not understand why luggage registered through to London should be examined. The reason is simple. Mandchuria station is the Chinese as well as the Russian Customs station, and the Chinese Government levy an export tax on certain articles. There are both Chinese and Russian officials at this station, and in fact a dual examination takes place. Passengers who do not understand the language, or who do not take pains to inquire—for both Russian and Chinese officials speak English—fail to understand why two sets of officials examine their luggage, and become irritated. There may, however, have been good cause in the past for some of these complaints. Travellers familiar with this route say it has been considerably improved within the last two years.

The magnitude and boldness of such an enterprise as the Trans-Siberian railway, which can only be realized after one has travelled day after day through vast stretches of virgin forests and agricultural land, make a striking impression upon the traveller. The grandeur of the conception of the enterprise being Russian, why not keep the operation Russian, especially when the Government has spared no expense, so far as the trains go, to make a superb service? A capable British or American railway man experienced in the sleeping- and dining-car departments, if allowed a free hand, could so improve this service in six or even three months that travellers would no longer stop to inquire whether the train was State or International; nor would the Russian Government be hauling half-empty carriages over those thousands of miles whilst people waited months (it must be admitted without good reason) to secure accommodation on the International train.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE HOTELS OF JAPAN

THE hotels of Japan have improved since 1896, but the improvements have not kept pace with the increase in prices. From three to five *yen* (value about two shillings then and now) per day, inclusive of food, the rates have increased to eight, and even fifteen *yen* a day. The practice in the Far East of including the cost of meals in the charges, and of not letting rooms on the European fashion without meals, makes it impossible to economize, and the average charges for a comfortable room and board in a first-class hotel in Japan and China will not be less than from 18s. to 20s. a day. In Yokohama, the first stopping-place, the Grand Hotel still flourishes, and a constant throng of travellers from all parts of the world pass in rapid succession through its maze of corridors and halls, while it has grown in so many different directions that it is difficult to find one's way about in it without the aid of a guide. Apart from these additions, and the higher scale of prices, there is not much change. It has lost some of the individuality which pervaded it under the original manager, now deceased, and it has become merged into a company represented by a number of civil young Japanese. The financial department is still controlled by efficient Chinamen who seem anxious to please.

The weak point of the hotels of the East is in the housekeeping department, which, owing to the apparent necessity for having these duties performed by men, is

attended to imperfectly. The bedrooms of these expensive hotels are, from the European standard, not properly cleaned. The work at its best may be described as slovenly and untidy, and at its worst in terms much stronger. The Oriental Hotel at Yokohama is not the centre of so much life as the Grand Hotel, but it retains its place as an excellent and well-conducted hostelry. The cuisine of nearly all these hotels has, upon the whole, improved. A greater variety of food is supplied than formerly, and the cooking is undoubtedly better.

The consumption of fruit must have increased enormously in Japan during the last ten or fifteen years, not only in the European hotels but amongst the Japanese population. Fruit shops and stalls have become perceptibly more numerous, and in the distinctively Japanese and poorer quarters of all the cities one finds many and attractive displays, especially of apples, pears, and oranges. In Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Osaka these shops and stalls are simply innumerable. A large quantity of fruit formerly came from China, but the Japanese themselves have been giving attention to fruit-growing with most satisfactory results. Apples, pears, peaches, and plums are being cultivated with success, and in May one observes large orchards of peach trees, their deep pink bloom adding beauty to the Japanese landscape.

The Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, still remains practically the only first-class European hotel in that city. The structure has been enlarged, and the old Métropole and other adjoining buildings have been annexed, but it is still far from being the hotel that a capital city like Tokyo requires. It is said that one of the reasons for the postponement of the International Exhibition was because of the lack of hotel accommodation. No

time should be lost in supplying this demand, and a large modern hotel with several hundred bedrooms should be built. Kobe and Kyoto are both better supplied with hotel accommodation than Tokyo. The Imperial is, in fact, the centre of European life in Tokyo, and while it takes the place of a hotel, it is in reality a set of large public assembly rooms, with an excellent restaurant attached. Here are held all the public functions in which Europeans participate, and a constant succession of banquets, balls, theatrical entertainments, and receptions take place, to say nothing of the numerous associations and company meetings in which refreshments form part of the programme. The cuisine is far in advance of the sleeping accommodation, and in April and May hundreds of people are turned away from the Imperial, simply because of the lack of bedrooms. Many of them are obliged to remain in Yokohama, travelling to and fro by the express trains, which cover the 18 miles in about 30 minutes. The electric tramway between the two cities does not make such good time as the railway. In spite of some drawbacks the Imperial Hotel is an interesting place to stay at. Here one meets people from all parts of the world, and a page from the 'Arrival Book' literally brings all corners of the earth together.

Nagoya, a good stopping-place at which to break Nagoya. the railway journey to Kyoto, now has a comfortable hotel, and its manager is most anxious to please European guests who find time to make a visit to this enterprising town. Nagoya to-day, however, as a glance at the chapters on cities will show, has much more to offer the traveller than these relics of its past. A few days here will well repay those interested in the industries and modern development of Japan.

Kyoto, in itself less changed than any city, is no longer a place of one hotel, but offers two or three, all excellent, to choose from. The Myako Hotel, which in point of importance takes the place of the picturesque old Yaami Hotel (partially destroyed by fire, but still open), is a fascinating place. Its position on one of the lovely wooded hillsides with which the ancient capital of the Mikado is surrounded lends itself to Japanese architecture. Once within its walls you really feel you are in Japan. All that can be done to combine Japanese surroundings (including picturesque and obliging Japanese waitresses) with European comforts may be found here. The one drawback is the difficulty of access, necessitating the climbing of a long, steep hill, which is severe on the human ponies that cheerfully undertake the task of pulling you up the hill. If one could not be content here, with the innumerable charms of Kyoto to gaze at from the windows and enjoy when you descend from your elevation, there is little hope of happiness anywhere. The Kyoto Hotel, more centrally situated, is equally first class and correspondingly high-priced.

Osaka has but one European hotel—solid, sombre externally, and well built. The Osaka Hotel, like the Imperial Hotel of Tokyo, serves not only as hotel, but as the public rendezvous for all the social events of the great industrial city of Japan. Banquets, balls, and company meetings are held here, and distinguished strangers are entertained. It is distinctly European, and was built for hotel purposes. There are some spacious suites of rooms, with bath-rooms attached, and all modern conveniences. More surprising is the fact that it is quite reasonable in its charges. You pay for your room and food separately, and the manager and the attendants have not yet become possessed

with the idea that a European on his travels must be a millionaire.

Kobe undoubtedly can boast the finest hotels—from the European point of view—in Japan. The Oriental reminds one of those imposing hotel buildings which the Canadian Pacific is erecting throughout Canada. It is managed by an American, and is clean and comfortable, with an excellent cuisine, and until a second and more magnificent competitor arose on the bluff was a lucrative investment. The famous Tor Hotel, planned on far too large and grand a scale, has reduced the Oriental to a less profitable investment, and is making no money itself. The Tor is beautifully situated on the bluff and is really a fine hotel, but is chiefly supported by residents. There are several other hotels at Kobe, all of which are comfortable, and some of which are more reasonable in price than the two above mentioned.

At Shimonoseki the traveller is perhaps surprised to find a comfortable European hotel, the Sanyo. This hotel was purchased by the Government with the railway, and is now under the management of the Imperial Government Railways. The manager naively informs his patrons that 'profit is not the purpose of this hotel' but 'to make the travelling public comfortable', sentiments which the wayfarer cannot fail to applaud. When Shimonoseki becomes the place of departure for the 'all-around-the-world route' the travelling public will have an opportunity to test this declaration of 'comfort, not profit', as the motto for an hotel.

Besides the above, good hotels for foreigners will be found in Nagasaki, Miyajima, Kamakura, Karuizawa and Sendai. The best hotels in picturesque cities of Japan, 'towns of pleasure,' as the Japanese

call them, will be found at Nara, Hakone, and Nikko.

The South Manchurian Railway Company, following the excellent practice of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is building a chain of hotels which will become—indeed, are becoming—valuable adjuncts in the development of their property, and are attracting foreign capital and enterprise to Manchuria. If it is true that Japan desires to exclude all Europeans from participating in the trade of this part of the world, the worst thing she could have done was to build these hotels. They were not built for profit, for none of them are paying expenses. They were not built for Japanese, for most Japanese prefer comfortable Japanese hotels. Each of these hotels, therefore, besides affording food and shelter for the few tourists who now find their way into these regions, is an attraction to Europeans who are looking after international business, or who are seeking opportunities for trade and enterprise.

Nothing nourishes a policy of exclusiveness so much as a miserable hotel where only a man of strong stomach can make a long stay. Nothing encourages the 'open door' so much as a good hotel, and the policy of 'good hotels' has been adopted both in America and Canada by railway companies wishing to attract capital and encourage immigration along their lines. Beginning at Dairen and Port Arthur and ending at Changchun, where the Japanese section of the South Manchurian Railway terminates, good hotels have been built and are open for business. Another of these hotels was opened this year at Mukden, a town greatly in need of a clean and comfortable stopping-place. The South Manchurian Railway Company's hotels are substantially built and well

supplied with bath-rooms and all modern conveniences. The management is excellent and the managers courteous and obliging to travellers.

This policy of good hotels has been carried by the Japanese into both Chosen and Taiwan, and a comfortable European hotel may be found at Taihoku, about eighteen miles from the port of Keelung, and also at Takao, the southern terminus of the Taiwan Railway. At Seoul there are two fairly convenient European hotels, and those over which the Japanese exercise control are clean and comfortable, and the managers do everything possible to oblige their guests. They nearly all print for free distribution good guide-books of the locality, which usually contain the information necessary for a short stay and a superficial journey through the country, with a glimpse at the most interesting objects and places. Some of these handbooks are models of their kind, and are quite indispensable. Not many British or even American hotels would take the trouble to do this. Nearly all the Japanese railway stations, besides the name of the station in English, give on a large and prominently-placed notice-board a list of the principal places to be reached from that station, together with the distance to each shrine or temple, or historic spot. The Japanese do not believe in hiding their light under a bushel, and are second only to our American cousins in their advertising propensities.

A word is due in this connexion about the extensive public-spirited work of the Welcome Society of Japan, which, established in 1893, was only in its infancy on the writer's former visit. The object of this Society in brief is to welcome foreign visitors to Japan, and to render them all possible assistance during their sojourn. It is in no sense a money-making corpora-

The wise
policy of
decent
hotels.

The
Welcome
Society.

tion, and its promoters and supporters, among whom is numbered his Majesty the Emperor, contribute periodically such sums as may be necessary to make up the difference between the receipts and the expenditure. The Welcome Society has published the best cheap guide-book of Japan, and the most useful map of the country, and it has just issued excellent maps of Manchuria, Chosen, Taiwan, and Karafuto. Its work is well performed and practical in character. The avowed purpose is to promote and facilitate such intimate intercourse between Japan and foreign peoples as will tend to dispel racial prejudice and break down the barriers between East and West. To those who visit Japan and who are anxious to see as much as possible with a limited outlay, no better advice can be given than to place themselves in the hands of the Welcome Society.

If, however, the traveller has work to do in a very short time and requires the services of an educated and travelled gentleman, well versed in the history of his own and European countries, he would be extremely fortunate to secure the services of Mr. Shinichi Ando. To Mr. Ando the writer is greatly indebted, and had it not been for his assistance it would have been impossible to have gathered in such a short time the material required either for the newspaper which the writer represented when in Japan or for this volume.

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